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THE ILIAD





# THE ILIAD

EDITED, WITH APPARATUS CRITICUS, PROLEGOMENA  
NOTES, AND APPENDICES

BY

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VOL. I

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## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

By the rewriting of large portions of the notes, and the addition of an Apparatus Criticus and Appendices, the present volume has grown almost into a new work. The thirteen years which have elapsed since the first edition appeared have naturally brought with them many modifications in the opinions then expressed, as well as many corrections of error. But the Homeric problems still present themselves substantially in the same aspect as they did in 1886, and the only serious change in point of view between this volume and its predecessor is that involved in the full acceptance of the Peisistratean recension as an all-important factor in the constitution of the *Iliad*.

Among books which have appeared since 1886 I am conscious of particular debts to van Leeuwen's *Enchiridium*, Cauer's *Grundfragen*, Erhardt's *Entstehung der Homerischen Gedichte*, and Schulze's *Quaestiones Epicae*. Prof. J. A. Platt has by his published papers again put me under many obligations, among others in calling attention to Brandreth's edition of the *Iliad*, which in 1841 surprisingly anticipated many recent conjectures of the "forward" school. It is impossible to specify obligations to papers in periodicals, but I have satisfaction in thinking

that the proportion of valuable contributions from English scholars has largely increased of late years.

My warmest thanks are due to the French Ministry of Education, and to M. Delisle of the Bibliothèque Nationale, for lending to the British Museum for my use the three valuable mss. quoted in this edition as P, Q, R. I must add, with deep regret, that my sense of obligation is all the greater because England refuses similar courtesy to continental students.

I have to express my special gratitude to the Rev. M. A. Bayfield of Eastbourne College, who has read the proof-sheets and assisted me with many invaluable criticisms and suggestions beyond those to which his initials are appended; to Mr. T. W. Allen for much valuable information from his unrivalled knowledge of the mss. of the *Iliad*; and lastly to the scholarly care and accuracy of Mr. Webb, Messrs. R. & R. Clark's proof-reader.

*December 9, 1899.*



## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE object of the present edition of the *Iliad* is to offer a guide to students anxious to know more of Homer than they can learn from elementary school-books. It must be confessed that, when once the strict limits of a verbal commentary are passed, it is hard to know which path to choose from the many which open into the world revealed to us by the Homeric poems. We find ourselves at the starting-point of all that has given Greece her place in the world—of Greek history, of Greek art, of Greek philosophy, theology, and myth. The poems are our ultimate resource for the study of the history of the Greek language, and it is to them that we owe all our knowledge of the one great school of Greek criticism. An editor may be pardoned if, at the risk of apparent superficiality and discursiveness, he attempts, not of course to follow all or any of these roads, but barely to indicate the direction in which they lead.

Unfortunately for the English student, the works which he must study if he wishes to pursue these lines of inquiry are almost entirely in German; unfortunately also for the editor, who can hardly escape the appearance of pedantry when he has to be continually quoting works in a foreign language. The difficulty is one, however, which it lies with English scholars themselves to remove.

Where the acumen and industry of Germany have been for nearly a century so largely devoted to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it is not to be expected, or even desired, that in a commentary for general use a new editor should contribute much that is really original. The proper place for new work is in the pages of philological journals and dissertations. Indeed it is not possible for any man to be sure of the novelty of any suggestion he may make, so vast is the mass of Homeric literature which has been annually poured forth since Wolf revived the study. While believing therefore that some few improvements on old interpretation will be found in the following pages, I am at no pains to specify them, and shall be quite content if I see them adopted without acknowledgment. On the other hand, I have freely taken wherever I have found, only acknowledging in the case of recent work which has not yet passed into the common stock, and reserving for this place a general statement of the great debts which I owe to previous authors.

Prominent among these<sup>1</sup> I must place Ameis's edition of the *Iliad*, and more particularly Dr. Hentze's Appendix thereto; the references given in it are of inestimable value to the student. Heyne's large *Iliad*, and the editions of Pierron, Düntzer, Paley, La Roche, Christ, Nauck, Nägelsbach, Fäsi, and Mr. Monro, have all been consulted; the last two continually and with especial respect. References to notes on the *Odyssey* have, as far as possible, been confined to Merry and Riddell's edition of the first twelve books, but here again Ameis and Hentze have been valued guides. Ebeling's great *Lexicon Homericum*, at last completed, has

<sup>1</sup> If I do not place Mr. Monro's *Homeric Grammar* in the first place, it is because I trust that the continual references to it will keep before the reader my immense debt to it.

been of course an indispensable companion, though often usefully supplemented by Seiler's smaller dictionary. The other principal authorities will be found in the list at the end of the Introduction ; isolated papers and monographs can hardly be enumerated.

I have further to express my thanks to Mr. J. A. Platt, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, who has been so good as to read through the proofs, and contribute many valuable remarks.

Finally, I have to name with affectionate remembrance my friend, the late John Henry Pratt, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. The eight years which have elapsed since his lamentable death by drowning in the lake of Como have so greatly modified the work which I inherited from him that I have no right to make him responsible for any opinion expressed in the following pages ; but I would emphatically say that their existence is entirely due to him, and that it is my earnest hope that I have said nothing which would not have met with his approval had he lived.

[*April* 1886.]



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## PROLEGOMENA

### I.—THE ORIGIN OF THE *ILIAD*

It is impossible to approach either the textual criticism or the exegesis of Homer without some theory as to the way in which the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* reached their present form. The Homeric question can here be but briefly touched upon; no more will be attempted than to give the main points of the hypothesis adopted by the present editor; it will be stated in a categorical form for convenience only, and with no desire to disguise the undoubted fact that it is but one among many scores of theories, all of which have had equal attraction for their own authors. It is here put forward as a working hypothesis, which appears to answer the conditions of the problem.

Greek tradition knows that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, with various other poems, were the work of a historical poet called Homer, whose birth, residence, and death are placed in various cities and islands, but by a preponderating authority are attributed to Asia Minor, and in particular to Smyrna or Chios. For reasons which will appear, the one poet can no longer be regarded as historical; but this much at least is certain—that in the fifth century and later nothing was known of any Epic poetry older than that of the Ionian cities of Asia. As for date, we have the definite opinion of Herodotos<sup>1</sup> that Homer and Hesiod lived “400 years before me, and no more.”

When we come to examine the poems themselves, however, we find that they do not ostensibly shew signs of Asiatic origin. The scene of the *Iliad* is of course laid in the Troad, but its point of view is professedly that of dwellers in Greece proper;

<sup>1</sup> ii. 53.

it is there that the heroes have their homes, and thither that they return after the war. The poems profess a close acquaintance with the topography of Greece, and almost completely ignore that of Asia. And in particular, there is no overt mention of the great movement of peoples, generally called the Dorian invasion, which led, according to a tradition which has every sign of truth, to the presence of Greeks on the eastern coasts of the Aegæan.

Rude mountaineers from the North, it was said, had descended into central and southern Greece, and had dispossessed the ancient lords of the soil, driving them eastwards in successive waves. Recent discoveries have borne out this tradition. They have shewn us that there was in Greece proper, and indeed through most lands bordering on the Aegæan, an extremely ancient civilization, the zenith of which is now commonly supposed to have fallen between 1500 and 1200 B.C. We can in the remains trace the end of this culture, and its displacement by far ruder elements, which only slowly grow into the more perfect form which we call Hellenic.

That the poems, when professing to depict the prae-Dorian age, are as a whole actually contemporary with it, has probably never been maintained. There can be no question that, at least in great part, they merely bring back in imagination the "good old days" which have passed away. In so doing they touch on countless details of daily life, which we can to some extent control by the monuments. We can give some sort of answer to the question whether they reproduce the real circumstances of the old time, or only clothe the old tales with the garb of their own days. For an uncritical age the latter supposition is *a priori* the most probable; but it is not entirely borne out by facts. There is, on the whole, a striking similarity between the life of Homer's heroes in its material aspect and the remains which have been discovered at Tiryns, Mykenæ, and elsewhere. The two cultures are not identical, but, beyond a doubt, the Homeric resembles in the main the Mykenæan rather than that of the "Dipylon" (so far as we know it) or the archaic Greek. The ancient tradition is on the whole truly kept in the Epos. Yet in many points we can see traces of apparent anachronism. But it is very difficult to say whether a departure from the Mykenæan culture as we know it in the monuments is due to a later development of that culture

itself, or to an unintentional introduction of elements from the very different conditions of later Greece. In discussing such questions it is well always to remember that the epoch of Mykenaeen civilization with which we are best acquainted, that of the "shaft-tombs" of Mykene, is far from the end of the whole Mykenaeen age. The Homeric stage is certainly later than the "shaft-tombs," but it does not necessarily follow that it is post-Mykenaeen. It is quite possible that certain notable differences between the poems and the monuments, in burial, for instance, and in women's dress, may be due to changes which arose within the Mykenaeen age itself, in that later part of it of which our knowledge is defective—almost as defective as it is of the subsequent "Dipylon" period. On the whole, the resemblance to the typical Mykenaeen culture is more striking than the difference.

The inevitable conclusion seems to be that Epic poetry had its roots in the Mykenaeen period, and that this true tradition of the departed grandeur was carried across the Aegaeen in lays which were the progenitors of the Homeric poetry. The whole scenery of the poems, the details of armour, palaces, dress, decoration, must have been so long the subjects of song before the Dorian invasion that they had become stereotyped, and formed a foundation which the Epic poet dared not intentionally sap, easily though he slipped from time to time into involuntary anachronism. How far these oldest songs may have actually left traces of themselves in our "Homer" it is naturally impossible to say; but it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that some part of the most primitive *Iliad* may have been actually sung by the court minstrel in the palace whose ruins can still be seen in Mykene.

The Epic dialect lends some countenance to the belief that the Ionians were not the originators of the Epos. It has always been recognized that the dialect is not pure Ionic, such as would be expected from the reputed birthplace of the poems; and the presence of "Aiolic" elements has been generally admitted. Fick published in 1882 and following years elaborate disquisitions to shew that the older parts of both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had in fact been composed in pure Aiolic, and translated into Ionic, only those Aiolic forms being left untouched which were fixed by the fact that the Ionic equivalent differed metrically; and that only the later portions were composed in Ionic. The theory involves too many arbitrary alterations of the text to be accepted in the

form in which he states it; but it remains probable that the dialect is in fact the resultant of older poems composed in a dialect which may, in the vaguest sense, be called Aiolic. The peculiarly non-Ionic forms point rather to the Thessalian and Arkadio-Kyprian dialects, however, than to that of the Asiatic Aiolis as the precursor of the Epic. But it must be admitted, after all the discussion which has taken place, that our knowledge of the early state of the Greek dialects is far too imperfect to enable us to base any far-reaching conclusions upon such hypotheses. It can only be said that they seem to correspond with the probabilities of the case, and in particular with the localization of "Homer" at Smyrna, the city which was taken by the rising Ionic race from the decadent Aioliens.

We assume, then, as a probable hypothesis that the old Greeks, expelled from their homes by the invading Dorians, carried with them across the sea a body of Epic poetry, the outcome of so long a development that it had already stereotyped much of what we find to-day in Homer; that this poetry dealt with the legends of Greece proper, in particular the Trojan War, including the return of the heroes, the tale of Thebes, perhaps the adventures of Herakles, and doubtless legends of the gods; that it was taken over by the Ionians from the descendants of these emigrants, and cultivated by them on their own account, much of the old being faithfully preserved, though adapted to new hearers, but much new being added; that the same scenery, spirit, and phraseology were retained, though with the admission of occasional anachronisms, which, of course, grew more frequent as time went on; and that this Ionian development lasted from, perhaps, the ninth century B.C. to the seventh. But in all probability the corpus of Epic poetry had been brought substantially to completion some time before the latter date; as the creative and imaginative forces of the Ionian race turned to other forms of expression, it is probable that but small and unimportant additions were made to "Homer" after the end of the eighth century or thereabouts.

The poems were all this time handed down orally only, by tradition among the singers who used to wander over Greece reciting them at popular festivals. Writing was indeed known in some form through the whole period of Epic development; but it is in the highest degree unlikely that it was ever employed to form a standard text of the Epos or any portion of it. There can



hardly have been any standard text; at best there was a continuous tradition of those portions of the poems which were especially popular, and the knowledge of which was therefore a valuable asset to the professional reciter.

By the end of the seventh century there must have been in existence a large amount of such Epic poetry, concerning itself chiefly, so far as we know, with the subjects previously named. But the tale of Troy must have been infinitely the most important, and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the most important poems on Troy. Some scholars have spoken as though they regarded the whole mass of this poetry as equally "Homeric" in the eyes of men of that day, and as approximately homogeneous in quality—a floating mass of which lengths were cut off more or less by chance, and labelled *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. For such a supposition there are no grounds; that parts at least of the mass had long before attained complete solidity and permanence is amply proved by the fact that the *Iliad* is notably earlier in language than the *Odyssey*. The kernel of it must therefore have attained its permanent form at a time materially earlier than the beginning of the *Odyssey*. But though the kernel was thus solid, it was surrounded by a great deal of later addition which was in a more or less fluid state. The rhapsodist, like the modern concert-giver, had to consider his hearers' liking for "old friends" on the one hand, and their wish for novelty on the other. He sought to reconcile the two by inventing fresh episodes to continue and extend those tales which every one knew. Here and there such a new episode would survive and come into such general repute as to ensure its permanence. But it is easy to see how the répertoires of various rhapsodists would differ, though all were based on the same original story.

We can now understand the reasonableness of such a provision as that ascribed by a widely spread tradition to the Attic statesmen of the sixth century, a provision that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* should be recited at the Panathenaia in a regular and officially recognized order; and we can also see that such a rule involved a new constitution of the text. The most widely accepted tradition attributed the recension to Peisistratos. But Solon is named in a famous passage of Diogenes Laertios (*Life of Solon* i 57): τά τε Ὅμηρου ἐξ ὑποβολῆς γέγραφε ράψωιδεῖσθαι, οἷον ὅπου ὁ πρῶτος ἐληξεν ἐκείθεν ἄρχεσθαι τὸν

ἐχόμενον. μᾶλλον οὖν Σόλων "Ὅμηρον ἐφώτισεν ἢ Πεισί-  
 στρατος, ὥς φησι Διευχίδας ἐν πέμπτῳ Μεγαρικῶν. ἦν δὲ  
 μάλιστα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα· "οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον," καὶ τὰ  
 ἑξῆς (B 546–58). There is unfortunately something lost in  
 this passage, asserting explicitly the interpolation of the lines  
 mentioned. The reference is to the arbitration between Athens  
 and Megara for the possession of Salamis, when each side brought  
 forward lines from Homer, the Athenians relying on B 558 as  
 we have it, the Megarians accusing them of falsifying the text  
 and putting forward a different version. The natural sense of  
 the passage as it stands is this: "it was not Peisistratos, as is  
 generally supposed, but Solon who collected the scattered Homer  
 of his day; for he it was who interpolated the lines in the  
 Catalogue of the Ships"; so that we should add something like  
 this after Πεισίστρατος:—ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἦν ὁ τὰ ἔπη εἰς τὸν  
 κατάλογον ἐμποίησας, καὶ οὐ Πεισίστρατος. Ritschl, however,  
 gives the whole passage a quite different turn by inserting (in the  
 same place)—ὅσπερ συλλέξας τὰ Ὅμηρου ἐνεποίησέ τινα εἰς  
 τὴν Ἀθηναίων χάριν. This has been accepted by Wilamowitz  
 and Cauer, but is clearly wrong. Tradition unanimously held  
 that the recovery of Salamis took place in the time of Solon,  
 while Peisistratos was still a boy. Dieuchidas, giving the  
 Megarian version, must therefore have attributed the interpolation  
 to Solon, and concluded that the compilation of the Athenian  
 copy was due to him and not to his successor. But in any case  
 the passage shews that the tradition about Peisistratos was  
 current in the fourth century B.C., when, as Wilamowitz has  
 shewn, Dieuchidas must have written. There was yet another  
 version which ascribed the collection to Hipparchos;<sup>1</sup> but for us  
 the names are comparatively a matter of indifference; the  
 essential element is that all tradition points to Athens of the  
 sixth century. This tradition is probable enough in itself, and if  
 once accepted it explains many a difficulty. The great problem  
 for those who maintain the gradual growth of the poems by a  
 process of crystallization has been to understand how a single  
 version came to be accepted, where many rival versions must,  
 from the necessity of the case, have once existed side by side.  
 The assumption of a school or guild of singers has been made;  
 but the rare mention of Ὅμηρίδαι in Chios gives no support

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Plat. *Hipparchos* 228 c.

to this hypothesis, which lacks any other confirmation. The Peisistratean recension is the only source, other than the autograph of a real Homer, which will account for the unity of the vulgate text. It agrees, too, with the constitution of the *Iliad* itself, which in several places<sup>1</sup> shews such a piecing together of parallel narrative as can hardly be credited to natural growth in the hands of irresponsible rhapsodists, but involves the deliberate work of a literary editor based on a written text. This, too, accounts for the numerous traces in our text of an unobtrusive but sufficiently clear Attic influence. It agrees with the position of Athens as the first book-mart of Greece. It agrees with the evidence that the archetype of the vulgate was written in the old Attic alphabet. In fact we might almost reconstruct the necessity of such a "codification" of the text from the conditions. An official copy of some sort is implied by the transformation of fluctuating oral compositions into such a vulgate as we possess; it must have taken place at Athens, the head of the intellectual Greece and the centre of the publishing trade; it must have been created before the fifth century, for Herodotes and Plato already have Homer as we know him; it must have taken place after the seventh, to which we can date some of the latest additions to the *Iliad*; therefore an official copy of Homer was made in Athens in the time of Solon and Peisistratos.

Belief in the recension of Peisistratos was not so long ago unfashionable; but in the last few years a clear reaction has set in.<sup>2</sup> The chief reason for scepticism has been the complete silence of the Aristarchean scholia respecting any edition of Peisistratos. This has been held to shew that the tradition is no more than a late invention absolutely unknown to Aristarchos. But now that Wilamowitz has shewn that Dieuchidas wrote in the fourth century, it is no longer possible to hold that Aristarchos had never heard the story—which is moreover involved in the allusion to the Salamis arbitration by Aristotle (see note on B 558). It follows, therefore, either that Aristarchos deliberately ignored the tradition—which is hardly like him—or that he dealt with it in his lost works. The argument from silence is especially deceptive in the case of an author like Aristarchos, of whom we have nothing whatever preserved beyond excerpts of second-hand

<sup>1</sup> See Introductions to B, N, T.

<sup>2</sup> Dating, I think, from Seeck's *Die Quellen der Odyssee*, 1887.



accounts of his commentaries, with some titles of lost works. It is likely enough that he dealt with the Attic recension somewhere, and having settled the matter one way or the other found no need to refer to it in his critical notes. On the other side of the account we must set the facts that he believed Homer to have been an Athenian, and that he often assumes the transliteration of the poems from the old Attic alphabet into the new—indirect proofs at least that he held the vulgate text with which he dealt to have reached him from purely Attic sources. The scholia can therefore count neither one way or the other; and the hypothesis of the Peisistratean recension appears so highly probable that it will be adopted as a postulate in the following commentary.

The Peisistratean text is identical with the vulgate, which has held its own through all time. Recent discoveries in Egypt have shewn, indeed, that there was a time when different texts, altered from the vulgate chiefly by the insertion of additional lines of no intrinsic importance, had attained a great vogue, at least in Egypt. This is certain to be the case with all highly popular books reproduced in large quantities for an uncritical public. The rise of criticism at Alexandria put an end to these commercial texts, and established the vulgate in its rightful position again. In this sense only can Aristarchos and his predecessors be said to have altered the Homeric text; they did not work upon these inferior copies and decide which lines were to be expelled, but they gave the weight of their authority to a demand for copies of MSS. of approved antiquity and correctness. The position of Aristarchos was, in fact, precisely that of a critic who would make a correct text of Firdausi's *Shahnamah* to-day. The variation between different copies of the Persian is incomparably greater than that between the prae-Aristarchean papyri and the vulgate, though here there was undoubtedly one common source in the poet's own MS. Even the unbroken existence of a written tradition has not been able to save Firdausi from the interpolations of popular reciters; the task of the Persian Aristarchos will be to point out which MSS. contain the ancient and pure tradition, and to stop the demand for copies of any others.

Such as the vulgate was before the days of Aristarchos, such it still remains. In only an infinitesimal number of cases can

it be shewn that he produced any effect upon the current reading. Lines of which he disapproved remain uncanceled; the readings he preferred do not therefore in any appreciable degree supplant those which he held inferior. The mss. in our libraries differ from one another in the same degree as those of Aristarchos, and with fresh collations the number of variants which we know through Aristarchos alone is constantly dwindling; it may not be long before we are able to point to an existing MS. representative of almost every variant mentioned by Didymos and Aristonikos. The great addition to our knowledge of the tradition made by the discoveries of papyri has shewn how wonderfully tenacious and correct was the mediaeval scribe.

## II.—ANALYSIS OF THE *ILIAD*

Two cardinal assumptions have been made in the preceding section: first, that the *Iliad* was not composed by a single poet, but was the growth of a long period; and secondly, that this growth took place by gradual accretion or crystallization about a central nucleus, which was from the first something fixed amid later expansions and accretions of a more or less fluctuating nature, though some of these in time gained a solidity almost equal to that of the original kernel.

The arguments on which these two assumptions are founded are set out in detail in the commentary which follows. With regard to the first it is sufficient to say here that the discrepancies and contradictions which seem to disprove unity of authorship are those which go deep into the structure of the poem, not casual mistakes of detail to which all authors are liable. The most significant of these is undoubtedly the contradiction involved in the Embassy of the ninth book, which is completely ignored in the eleventh and sixteenth. The tenth book is so loosely inserted into the *Iliad* that doubts as to its rights date from very early days. Wider but perhaps less glaring discrepancy is involved in the fact that the promise of Zeus to Thetis is entirely forgotten from the first book to the eleventh, and that the whole balance of the story is disturbed by the way in which the exploits of Achilles, the real hero, are outdone by Diomedes in E.

The kernel of the *Iliad* is, beyond a doubt, the story of the



Wrath, the *Mênis* which is announced in the Prologue. This tale is given in the following books—A, Λ, O, II, Τ—X, or rather in parts of them, for there is not one which has not received large additions. The plot is as follows:—Agamemnon has received as part of his booty from a foray the daughter of Chryses, priest of Apollo, and refused her to the petition of her father, who thereupon prays to his god for vengeance. Apollo answers his prayer by sending a pestilence upon the Greek army. An assembly is held to discuss the position, and Kalchas the augur explains why the host is suffering. Achilles calls on Agamemnon to appease the god by sending Chryseis back. This leads to a quarrel; in the issue Achilles withdraws in anger, and through his mother Thetis obtains a promise from Zeus that, to satisfy his wounded pride, the Trojans shall defeat the hitherto victorious Greeks (Book A). Agamemnon is therefore lured to battle by a deceptive dream, which promises him victory (B 1–50). He begins by driving the Trojans before him. Presently, however, he is wounded and has to leave the field; the other chief Greek heroes suffer the same fate, and the whole army is driven back to the ships, which are attacked by Hector. Aias alone holds his ground (Λ). He is at length disarmed for a moment, and fire is set to the ship of Protesilaos (O 592 ff.). Achilles thereupon, though he will not fight himself, relents so far as to send Patroklos with the Myrmidons to the rescue. Patroklos drives the Trojans back, and among many others slays Sarpedon; but he presses his advantage too far, and is himself slain by Hector (II). Achilles on hearing of his death sallies forth to avenge it, and after making havoc of the Trojans, chases Hector thrice round the walls of Troy, and finally slays him (parts of Τ, Φ, X). The story ends with the dragging of Hector's body (X 404).

This is the backbone of the *Iliad* as we have it, whether or no it be the earliest portion of it historically; it is the main plot to which all else stands in an episodical relation. That it is also the oldest kernel I feel no doubt. The conditions of the *Mênis* have been imposed on all the rest of the book. The absence of Achilles from the field is everywhere either tacitly assumed or expressly alluded to. It is in the story of the Wrath that the real unity of the *Iliad* is to be found. Here, at least, we need not hesitate to see the work of a single poet, perhaps

the greatest in all the world's history. How far he may have made his poem from pre-existing materials it is beyond our powers of analysis to say.<sup>1</sup> The story is organically and indissolubly bound together; the arguments which are still brought forward to separate the Patrokleia and the death of Hector from the earlier part, the *Mêvus* proper, seem to me wholly inadequate and improbable.

From the several Introductions to the books, it will be seen that the main episodes included in this volume are (i) the duel of Menelaos and Paris, and the treachery of Pandaros in I'-Δ; (ii) the Diomedea in E and Z, itself a composition shewing continuous growth from the earliest days to the latest; (iii) the duel of Aias and Hector in II; (iv) the Embassy to Achilles in I with its prologue, the defeat of the Greeks in Θ; (v) the Doloneia in K; (vi) the battle at the wall in M, with an introduction, the building of the wall in H. The relation of these episodes and the *Mêvus* to one another and to the whole structure of the *Iliad* will be more conveniently discussed in the next volume.

### III.—THE TEXT OF THE *ILIAD*

From what has been said, the aim of an editor of the Homeric text clearly follows. He must endeavour to reconstitute the Attic text as transliterated into the new alphabet from the official Athenian original. Farther back than this it is useless for him to attempt to go, for this is the earliest date at which the *Iliad*, as we know it, existed. It is true indeed that many portions of the *Iliad* bear signs of greater antiquity; we can trace with confidence not only the older form of the story, but remains of an older form of dialect, corrupted in the course of transmission in the mouths of rhapsodists and editors, to whom it was virtually a dead language. But it is a complete error to try, from these indications, however numerous and clear, to introduce into Homer a uniformity of "Proto-Epic" language. In Homer, as we know it, no such uniformity can ever have existed. The later parts of the poems, such for instance as the

<sup>1</sup> On one point only do I now feel hesitation. It will be seen from the Introduction to B that there is some ground for supposing that the oldest

form of the Wrath did not contain the promise of Zeus to Thetis; it was a tale played exclusively on the earthly stage.

Doloneia, were in all probability composed originally in almost exactly the same form, allowing for the difference of alphabet, as that which we now have. Even if it were not so, our means do not permit us to reconstruct the more ancient dialect with any approach to confidence. Our only guide in so doing is the metre; and though in many matters this is a safe test, yet it is impossible for us to say in how many others it may leave us in the lurch. To take an obvious instance, it enables us to restore an initial digamma in a large number of cases, but leaves us almost always uncertain as to whether we should at the same time restore the letter internally. For these reasons all attempts to introduce the digamma without exception in all words where we know it once to have existed are interesting and instructive philological exercises, but lie outside the province of the commentator. His business is to take the text as he finds it, and to indicate from time to time where it shews traces of a more ancient form, but to accept as a part of it the constant inequalities and anachronisms with which it abounds.

The materials for the constitution of the text are found in (1) MSS. of all ages; (2) the scholia, especially the excerpts from the works of Didymos and Aristonikos on the writings of Aristarchos; (3) quotations in ancient authors. On these the present text is entirely based. Little weight is given to the evidence of quotations; interesting though they often are, it is impossible to be sure in any case of the accuracy of the author who is quoting. Of MSS. of the *Iliad* some hundreds exist, from the third century B.C. to the sixteenth A.D. Of most of these very little is known; of complete MSS. only thirteen have been collated throughout, and of these five are now for the first time published. Of fragmentary MSS., however, earlier than the Venetus A, we have full information; the papyri are now so numerous that we know something of the tradition of every century since the third B.C., with the exception of the two or three which intervene between the Syrian palimpsest in the seventh and A in the tenth A.D.

The value of the various MSS. and scholia will be treated in detail in the next volume. It may be said here that readings of Aristarchos are taken as equal to those of the best MSS.; readings of Zenodotos are treated as of the second rank. Between the variants thus attested we are at liberty to choose with the aid of

modern critical lights. Only in an extremely small minority of cases will any reading be found which has not the certificate of one or other of these authorities, and then generally in matters where the MS. tradition leaves us in doubt. It is, for instance, almost indifferent even to our best MSS. whether they write *ει* or *ηι*, or whether they write a liquid single or double. Thus readings such as *πεφύκηι* for *πεφύκει* (Δ 483), or *τῶν ἡδυμος* for *τῶν νήδυμος* (K 187), can hardly be regarded as departures even from our MSS.; the two readings would certainly have been indistinguishable in the old alphabet. The most serious departure from tradition is the acceptance of Nauck's *ῥομι* for *ῥωμαι* of all MSS. in I 414; I could not make up my mind to leave the unmetrical reading, though I have endured *ἕως* as a trochee rather than go to pure conjecture and write *εἶος* or *ῆος*.<sup>1</sup> Generally speaking I have endeavoured to choose in each particular case what seemed to me to be the best reading among those current in the fifth century; and I have not hesitated in many cases to give a reading in the text which is described in the notes as clearly wrong—a corruption, that is, as old as the fifth century, of an older form which we can confidently restore.

For the adscription in place of the subscription of *ι* in the diphthongs *αι*, *ηι*, *ωι* no apology is needed—at all events I shall offer none. It is curious that a twelfth-century device for correcting the blunders of copyists should have been so far canonised as to lead the unthinking to suppose that it has some ancient authority. It is typographically ugly as well as philologically misleading.

#### IV.—THE APPARATUS CRITICUS

In compiling the Apparatus Criticus I have aimed at compression and brevity, not only from considerations of space, but in a firm belief that for the purposes of the critic a small selection of readings is more useful than approximate completeness. I have therefore omitted as a rule all variants which affect only orthographical questions, or which, to the best of my judgment, were mere blunders of no critical interest. The omissions under the head of orthography include all such

<sup>1</sup> The only other readings in the text for which no ancient authority can be quoted are, I believe, *τῆι ἐμήι* in I 654 for

the *τῆι μῆι* or *ῥμῆι* of the MSS. (compare Δ 608); and *ῥστασαν* for *ἔστασαν* or *ἔστασαν* M 56.



matters as accentuation, breathings, omission or addition of  $\nu$  ἐφελκυστικόν or iota subscript, single or double writing of  $\lambda$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\sigma$ ,  $\rho$ , itacism, confusion of  $\omicron$  and  $\omega$ , and many cases of difference in the division of words, especially such forms as  $\delta'$  ἐμοί or δέ μοι,  $\delta'$  ἐφέβοντο or δὲ φέβοντο, πάντοσ' εἶσιν or πάντοσε ἴσιν. In all these the testimony of MSS. is practically indifferent, and it is waste of space and energy to accumulate it; our choice has to be made on other grounds.

It is in the omission of what I believe to have been mere copyists' mistakes that I may have neglected something in which acuter eyes than my own might detect traces of a genuine variant. The risk of this must be preferred, however, to the accumulation of ridiculous blunders such as would make it difficult to see the wood for the trees.

For similar reasons, namely, at once to save space and to give a clearer view of the weight of testimony, I have as a rule quoted only one of each group of related MSS. My P and La Roche's L, for instance, are so closely connected, coming evidently from a common archetype, that I have not quoted L except where it differs from P. So I quote only G and omit its satellites "Mor Bar" except where they differ from it; the three can only be weighed as a single MS.

Thus though my Apparatus seems brief in comparison with La Roche's, I feel confident that it gives all that is really of importance for the constitution of the text, and indeed adds a very considerable amount of new matter. Our knowledge of the MSS. will soon be greatly enlarged by other hands; but in the meantime there can be no loss in this humble contribution to a strangely neglected field of Homeric criticism.

## V.—MANUSCRIPTS

The MSS. quoted in the Apparatus Criticus are the following:—

### A. PAPYRI

- Pap. α** = Petrie, *Hawara Biahmu and Arsinoe*, pp. 24–8 (collated also by myself); contains part of B 1–877. 5th cent. A.D.  
 „ **β** = British Museum cxxvi. (*Classical Texts from Papyri in the B. M.* p. 81); B 101–Δ 40. 4th or 5th cent. A.D.  
 „ **γ** = B. M. cxxxvi. (*Class. Texts* p. 93); parts of Γ 317–Δ 544. 3rd cent. A.D.



- Pap. δ** = Bodleian d 20 (Grenfell *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri* p. 6); parts of Θ 64-75, 96-116. 2nd cent. A.D.
- .. **ε** = B. M. delxxxix. (Grenfell *Greek Papyri, Second Series* p. 4); Θ 217-9, 249-53. 3rd cent. B.C.
- .. **z** = Mahaffy *Flinders Petrie Papyri* Pl. iii. (4); fragments from Λ 503-37. 2nd cent. B.C.
- .. **h** = Genavensis; Nicole *Rev. de Philologie*, Jan. 1894 (Kenyon *C. R.* viii. pp. 134-6); small fragments from Α, Δ, and Ζ, and Λ 788-M 11. 2nd cent. B.C. ?
- .. **ο** = Louvre; La Roche *Homerische Textkritik* p. 448; N 1-175. 1st cent. B.C. ?
- .. **ι** = B. M. cvii. (Harris Papyrus); *Catalogue of Ancient MSS. in the B. M.*, part i.: *Greek*, pp. 1-6; Σ 1-218, 311-617. 1st cent. B.C.
- .. **κ** = B. M. cxxvii. (*Class. Texts* p. 98); small fragments from E, Z, Σ. 3rd or 4th cent. A.D.
- .. **λ** = Bodleian b 3 (Grenfell *Greek Papyri, Second Series* p. 5); fragments of Φ, X, Ψ. 3rd cent. B.C.
- .. **μ** = B. M. cxxviii. (*Class. Texts* p. 100; *J. P.* xxi. pp. 17-24, 296-343); large parts of Ψ 1-79, 402-Ω 759. 1st cent. B.C.
- .. **ν** = B. M. cxiv. (Bankes Papyrus); *Catal. of Anc. MSS.* p. 6, *Phil. Mus.* i. p. 177, and my own collation; Ω 127-end. 2nd cent. A.D.
- .. **Ξ** = Grenfell and Hunt *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* p. 46; B 730-828. 2nd cent. A.D.
- .. **ο** = B. M. dcxxxii. (Hunt *A New Homeric Papyrus* in *J. P.* xxvi. pp. 25-59); most of N 2-775, Ξ 120-522. 1st cent. A.D.
- .. **π** = Grenfell and Hunt *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* ii. p. 96; E 1-303 and a few fragments from E 329-705. Beginning of 3rd cent. A.D. For readings see App. F.

## B. UNCIAL

**Ambr.** = *Ambrosianus Pictus*, saec. v.-vi., a MS. at Milan consisting of leaves containing illustrations of the *Iliad* and accompanying portions of the text. It contains pieces from all the books except Γ, Σ, Τ, Υ—800 lines in all. Published by Angelo Mai, 1819, *Iliadis fragmenta antiquissima cum picturis*.

**Syr.** = B. M. Add. 17, 210; *Catal. of Anc. MSS.* p. 6, and *Fragments of the Iliad of Homer from a Syriac Palimpsest. Edited by W. Cureton* (saec. vi. or vii.). It contains 3873 lines from M to Ω. See Hoffmann, *21<sup>tes</sup> und 22<sup>tes</sup> Buch der Ilias* pp. 3 ff., *La R. H. T.* p. 454 no. 5.

## C. LA ROCHE'S MSS.

**A** = Venetus 454, in the Marcian Library at Venice, saec. x. First published by Villoison *Homeri Ilias ad veteris codicis Veneti fidem recensita. Scholia in eam antiquissima* . . . 1788. La Roche's collation in *Homeri Ilias* (1873-6) is followed; but I have to thank Mr. T. W. Allen for some valuable additions and corrections, which are distinguished by his initials. (Hoffmann pp. 12 ff.)

**A** = portions of the above ms. which have been supplied by a later hand, the original leaves having been lost. The supplements consist of E 336-635, P 277-577, 729-61, T 126-326, Ω 405-504.

**C** = Cod. Laurentianus xxxii. 3, in the Medicean Library at Florence, saec. xi. La R. *Hom. Textkritik* no. 14 p. 460, Hoffmann p. 28.

**D** = Cod. Laurentianus xxxii. 15, saec. xi.-xii. La R. *ibid.* no. 15, Hoffmann p. 31.

**D** = portions of the above supplied by later hands. These are not mentioned by La Roche or Hoffmann. Mr. T. W. Allen has kindly given me the following valuable list of the passages thus supplied.

“(1) A hand coeval or nearly so with D, though markedly different from it; O 388-II 167.

(2) A hand of s. xii. or xiii.; books A-Δ and N 96-160.

(3) A hand of s. xv.; Θ 390-525, P 359-Σ 192, 593-T 38, Ψ 652-719, 854-Ω 85, 219-348, 754-804.

(4) Another s. xv. hand supplies Σ 326-93 and 538-92.”

[**E**] (*Note.*—La Roche's E refers to the printed text of the Roman edition of Eustathius, 1542, and is not quoted here as it is of no critical value.)

**G** = Vindobonensis 39, saec. xiv. La R. *H. T.* p. 472 no. 92. First published by Alter, Vienna 1789.

**H** = Vindobonensis 117, saec. xiii. La R. *H. T.* p. 473 no. 95, Hoffmann p. 33. From Ψ 648 to the end is in another hand, noted as *H*.<sup>1</sup>

**L** = Vindobonensis 5, saec. xiv.-xv. La R. *H. T.* p. 476 no. 105, Hoffmann p. 40. This ms. is almost identical with my P, and is only quoted when it differs from P.

**M** = Venetus 456, saec. xv. La R. *H. T.* p. 477 no. 107. La R. has published a collation of three books only, Δ-Z. This ms. is almost identical with Harl. a; I have ascertained that they agree for all readings of M given in my Apparatus, except where a difference is noted.

**N** and **O** = Venetus 459, which consists of portions of two mss., one (N) containing A 1-H 392 (saec. xv.), the other (O) A 214-M (saec. xiv.). La R. *H. T.* p. 459 no. 10. The collation of books Δ-Z only has been published.

**S** = Stuttgartensis 5 (saec. xv.?). La R. *H. T.* p. 478 no. 111. La R. follows the collation of the *Iliad* published by Rieckher in *Eos*, 1865.

#### D. MANUSCRIPTS NOW ADDED

(See *J. P.* xx. pp. 237-51. The first five are collated by myself.)

**J** = B. M. Harley 1771—a late xv. cent. ms., with glosses in red and black ink, mostly rhetorical and grammatical. Leaves have been lost containing Λ 622-653, O 31-62, Ω 719-end.

<sup>1</sup> I regret that I overlooked Hoffmann's statement that Book A is also in a different hand. *H* should therefore be read for *H* throughout this book.

- P** = Paris, grec 2766—late xv. cent. (so dated by Sir E. Maunde Thompson from the watermark). The ms. is nearly identical with L. The writing is often very small, and  $\epsilon$ ,  $\eta$ , and  $\alpha$  are frequently almost or quite indistinguishable from one another. La R. *H. T.* p. 471 no. 88.
- Q** = Paris, grec 2767. A 1–118, 204–233,  $\Omega$  673–end are missing, and a good many lines have been lost by mutilation of the lower margin. xiv. cent. (so Catalogue; rather, late xv.). La R. *ibid.* no. 89.
- R** = Paris, grec 1805, saec. xv., written by Georgios Gregoropoulos, in a neat clear hand. La R. p. 470 no. 80.
- T** = Townleianus, B. M. Burney 86; saec. xiii.? This was very imperfectly collated by Heyne in 1802; my own collation is independent, but I have used (and checked) Heyne's as well. See Heyne vol. iii. p. c.; E. M. Thompson in *C. R.* ii. p. 103; La Roche *H. T.* p. 467 no. 65; Maass in *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem Townleyana* i. (vol. v. of the Oxford ed.) pp. vii. ff.; Gardthausen *Gr. Paläogr.* p. 405; myself in *C. R.* iii. p. 156. I have occasionally named John Rhosos of Crete as responsible for some added lines, etc., as his handwriting is unmistakable.
- U** = Genavensis, for which I have of course followed the laboriously minute collation of Nicole *Scolies Genevoises de l'Iliade* ii. pp. 219 ff. The ms. is exhaustively described in the Introduction to that work.
- U** = portions supplied by later hands, viz. A 1–54, 109–66, B 506–877,  $\Theta$  214–565, I 1–63, 706–13, K 1–50, O 576–617,  $\Omega$  707–62.

All the mss. hitherto named except M, N, O have been collated throughout. In all that follow the collation is presumably or certainly only partial.

**Harl. a** = B. M. Harl. 5693; saec. xiv.–xv. This is the “Harl.” of Heyne, who took his readings from Bentley's ms. notes (vol. iii. pp. xcvii. ff.). See also *C. R.* iii. 295. I have repeated Heyne's readings where I found them correct, after checking the whole with the ms.—a very necessary precaution—and added a few of my own. In  $\Delta$ –Z Harl. a is quoted only where differing from M (see above).

The following B. M. and Paris mss. I have collated only in selected passages (about 2000).

- „ **b** = Harl. 5600, by John Rhosos, finished 16th May 1466. It is based on T and another ms. not yet identified.
- „ **c** = Harl. 5672, also in the hand of Rhosos. Contains A, B 1–9, 490–594,  $\Gamma$  123–461,  $\Delta$  1–246. This is not based on T.
- „ **d** = Harl. 5601, saec. xv.–xvi.

**King's** = B. M. King's 16. Written in 1431.

**Par. a** = Paris, grec 2681, saec. xiv.–xv.? The ms. has large gaps filled up in another hand on different paper (*J. P.* xx. p. 244, La R. *H. T.* p. 470 no. 81).

- „ **b** = Paris, supplément grec 497, saec. xiii. (?) ; a fragmentary ms., see *J. P.* xx. p. 250; not in La R.
- „ **c** = Paris 2894, saec. xiii. (?) (La R. *H. T.* p. 475 no. 103).
- „ **d** = Paris 2680, saec. xv. (La R. *H. T.* p. 476 no. 100).
- „ **e** = Paris 2682, saec. xiv.–xv. (La R. *H. T.* p. 471 no. 82).

- Par.** f = Paris 2683, saec. xiv. (La R. *H. T.* p. 471 no. 83).  
 „ g = Paris 2684, saec. xiv. (La R. p. 471 no. 84 is wrong ; A 1-583 are supplied by another hand, but the ms. contains the whole *Iliad*).  
 „ h = Paris 2685, saec. xv. (La R. p. 471 no. 85).  
 „ j = Paris 2768, saec. xiii. (?) (La R. p. 472 no. 90).  
 „ k = Paris 2697 (not in La R.), 'saec. xiii.' (?). Contains A-M only ; I is in a different hand (*J. P.* xx. p. 246).

(*Note*.—Paris suppl. grec 144 is in the hand of George Gregoropoulos, like R, and is identical in its readings with that ms. as far as Y 367. After that line it is practically identical with P as far as the end of Φ, and apparently to the end of Ω. It is therefore not quoted here.)

#### E. HEYNE'S MSS.

(“Harl.” see Harl. a above ; “Townl.” see T.)

- Vr.** a = Vratislaviensis<sup>1</sup> a (La R. *H. T.* p. 477 no. 106). Heyne does not give any date. Contains A-Z 356 and the *Odyssey*.  
 „ b, acc. to La R. (*H. T.* p. 469 no. 72) saec. xiii.-xiv.  
 „ c (no date) contains A-K 377, with Eustathios.  
 „ d (no date) contains N-Ω. It is practically identical with La Roche's H.  
 „ A, written by Michael Apostolis, who died A.D. 1472. Contains *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

The above mss. were collated for Heyne by Prof. F. Jacobs of Gotha (vol. iii. pp. lxxxvii. ff.).

- Mosc.** 1, in the Archives of the Imperial College at Moscow, saec. xiv., contains A-Θ 434 (La R. *H. T.* p. 470 no. 76).  
 „ 2, in the Library of the Holy Synod, saec. xii. (?), contains A 195-331, 604-B 304, 391-406, 424-40, E 438-Z 97, 234-301, 438-H 24, Δ 65-133, 340-M 60, Ξ 237-522, Π, Υ-Ω 475.  
 „ 3 (“recentior” Heyne), in the Library of the Imperial Archive, contains A-B 26, Γ 1-323, Δ-A 688.

For these three Heyne used a collation made by C. F. Matthaei (vol. iii. pp. xc. ff.).

**frag. Mosc.**, portions of a ms. of which we are told nothing more, containing M 61-467, O, P, Σ, T. These fit so exactly into lacunae of Mosc. 2 that one would naturally suppose them to belong to that ms.; but Heyne does not suggest this. The collation is due to Heyne's pupil Nöhden (*ibid.* p. xci.)

**Eton.**, in the Library of Eton College, saec. xiii. (?), contains A-E 84. Collated by Nöhden (Heyne iii. p. cx.).

**Mor.** (saec. xv.), called from its owner, John More, Bishop of Ely ; at his death it was bought by Bentley, and is now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. This ms. and the next coincide so closely with G that only their differences from it are quoted. Heyne's collation is from Bentley's notes (iii. p. xcvi.).

<sup>1</sup> *Vratislavia* is the Latin name of Breslau.

- Bar.**, Baroccianus 203 in the Bodleian at Oxford, collated by T. Hearne (Heyne iii. p. xl).
- Laud.**, Laudianus (from the library of Abp. Laud), in the Bodleian, no. 731, contains, with other matter, A—B 493.
- Cant.**, in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. This contains *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. It was first used by Barnes, and afterwards by Bentley, on whose notes Heyne's readings seem to be based (iii. pp. xl., xcvi.). It is almost identical with S, and is quoted only when differing.
- Lips.** = Lipsiensis 1275. This consists of two parts, A—P 89 and P 90—Ω, on different paper and from different sources. The former is the older—about 1300 acc. to Hoffmann; the latter, here distinguished as *Lips.*, about 1350. It was collated by Ernesti for his ed. of Clarke's *Iliad*; Heyne follows him with additions from Bentley, who apparently had notes from Mencken or Bergler; Heyne iii. p. c. See Hoffmann pp. 46 ff. *Lips.* is closely related to P, and is quoted only in the rare event of a difference.
- Ven. B** = Venetus (Marcianus) 453, saec. xi. See Hoffmann p. 22, La R. H. T. p. 458 no. 7. Heyne rarely cites this ms., and it is not clear whence he got his readings. Hoffmann has given a full collation for Φ and X—as in the case of the other mss. for which his name has been cited above, viz. Syr. ACDHL *Lips.*
- Vat.** Heyne quotes occasional readings under this title, but I have been unable to find anything to identify the ms. referred to. He mentions Vatican mss. on pp. xlii., xlvii., c., but none of them seems to suit.

## VI.—EXPLANATION OF SIGNS AND CONTRACTIONS

- An.** = Aristonikos (the excerpts in the scholia from his book *περὶ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου σημείων*).
- Antim.** = Antimachos.
- Ap. Lex.** = Apollonii Sophistae Lexicon.
- Ap. Rhod.** = Apollonios Rhodios.  
(*Note.*—In the scholion on I 153 Ἀπολλώνιος ("Apollon.") is probably a mistake of the ms. for Ἀπολλόδορος, which Schol. L reads.)
- Aph.** = Aristophanes Byzantius.
- Ar.** = Aristarchos.
- Argol., Chia, Cypr., Mass., Sinop.**, the ancient editions quoted in the scholia as ἡ Ἀργολικὴ, Χία, Κυπρία, Μασσαλιωτικὴ, Σινωπικὴ.
- Dem. Ixion.** Δημήτριος ὁ Ἰξίων: **Dem. Skeps.**, Demetrios of Skepsis (Σκῆψις).
- Did.**, Didymos (the excerpts in the scholia from his work *περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως*).
- Dion. Sid.**, Dionysios Sidonios (see Ludw. i. 50), to be distinguished from **Dion. Thrax** (ibid. p. 49).
- Et. Mag.** = Etymologicum Magnum.



**Et. Gud.** = Etymologicum Gudianum.

**Herod.** = Herodianos (generally the excerpts in the scholia from his Ἰλιακὴ προσωιδία).

**Nik.** = Nikanor (the excerpts from his περὶ στιγμῆς).

**Porph.** = Porphyrios (the fragments of his Ζητήματα Ὀμηρικά).

**Ptol. Ask.** = Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀσκαλωνίτης : Ptol. Oroand. = Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ὀροάνδου, also called Πτολ. Πινδαρίων (Ludw. i. 50) ; both to be distinguished from Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἐπιθέτης (ibid. 48).

**Rhi.** = Rhianos.

**Sosig.** = Sosigenes.

**Zen.** = Zenodotos.

**ἀθ.** = ἀθετεῖ, ἀθετοῦσι.

**γρ.** = γράφεται, γράφουσι, γραπτέον.

**διχῶς** indicates different readings in the two editions of Ar.

**ap.** = apud ; generally of readings mentioned or implied, but not adopted, by an author.

**om.** = omittit, omittunt.

**supr.** = supra scriptum, supra scripto.

**C<sup>1</sup>** etc. = the first hand of C ; **D<sup>2</sup>** etc. = the second hand of D.

**G<sup>t</sup>** = G in the text, **G<sup>m</sup>** = G in the margin.

[**H**], the square brackets indicate a reading of one of La Roche's MSS. inferred from his silence only—i.e. he does not quote the MS. for any other alternative. The inference is, however, often highly doubtful.

**Ω** indicates, according to circumstances, "all MSS." or "all MSS. other than those explicitly quoted for a different reading"—in both cases, of course, with the qualification "so far as I am aware."

**\***, the asterisk indicates erasure of one letter.

All "suprascript" readings, on account of their generally secondary value, are enclosed in parentheses when occurring in a series of quotations. They are to be understood as implying (where no explicit statement is made) that the MS. itself agrees with **Ω** or the text. A similar reference is implied in **C<sup>1</sup>**, **D<sup>2</sup>** etc. So also **H<sup>t</sup>**, **P<sup>m</sup>** imply a reading of **H<sup>m</sup>**, **P<sup>t</sup>**, which will be clear on the same grounds.

All parentheses in a series of MSS. (when they do not themselves include the name of a MS.) refer to the MS. immediately preceding, and to no other.

Take then the following (imaginary) note : "999 *om.* CD<sup>t</sup> || **στείχει** Ar. **Ω** : **στείχη(ι)** D<sup>m</sup>G<sup>2</sup>H<sup>1</sup>J (γρ. **στείχει**) (L *supr.*) P (*supr.* **ει**), ἐν ἄλλωι A, γρ. Harl. a."

This conveys the following statements :—

C omits the line entirely.

D omits the line in the text but has it supplied in the margin.

Aristarchos reads **στείχει** (as in the text), and so do all MSS. (so far as I am aware) other than those which follow. These read either **στείχηι** or **στείχη** (which for the purposes of this Apparatus need not be distinguished) : namely :—

The line supplied in the margin of D (probably by a later hand, though information on this point is too often deficient).

The second hand of G—but the first hand had  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\iota$ .

The first hand of H—but the second hand has altered it to  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\iota$ .

J—but with  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\iota$  given as a marginal variant.

P—but with  $\epsilon\iota$  written over  $\eta(\iota)$ .

L, while reading  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\iota$ , has  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\eta(\iota)$  or simply  $\eta(\iota)$  written over it.

A and Harl. a, while reading  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon\iota$ , have the marginal variant  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\eta(\iota)$ , introduced in one case by  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  ἄλλωι, the formula peculiar to A, in the other case by the ordinary  $\gamma\rho$ .

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*Note.*—The books of the *Iliad* are referred to by the capitals, and those of the *Odyssey* by the minuscules, of the Greek alphabet.



## A

### INTRODUCTION

THE problem of the composition of the *Iliad* meets us in a peculiarly subtle and difficult aspect on the very threshold of the poem. The first book seems, even to a careful reader, to be a perfect and indivisible whole; yet it is here that the severest battles of the critic have been fought. Lachmann and his school have rightly felt that if the book could once be disintegrated in spite of its apparent solidity, the task of separation would be disproportionately facilitated for the rest of the *Iliad*.

The weak points on which Lachmann fixed are two. The first is the inconsistency involved in 423, where it is said that all the gods went 'yesterday' to the Aethiopians; whereas Apollo is elsewhere conceived as still shooting his darts at the Greeks, and in 474 as present at Chryse; while Hera and Athene are watching the strife in the assembly, the latter descending to Troy and returning to Olympus μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους. The second is found in ἐκ τοῖο 493, which refers back, not to the day indicated in the preceding lines, as we should expect, but to the interview between Thetis and her son which ended in 424, and since which at least one night, and apparently several, have passed.

The conclusion drawn by Lachmann is that the first book consists of an original 'lay,' 1-347, with two 'continuations,' (a) 430-92, (b) 348-429 and 493 to the end. Of these he thinks that (a) *may* be by the poet of the original lay, but that (b) is certainly of different origin, and not very skilfully adapted to the place where it is found.

We will first take (a), the episode of the restoration of Chryseis. The vague reference of ἐκ τοῖο, though not indefensible (as the preceding lines naturally lead the thought back to the point to which ἐκ τοῖο belongs, cf. 488 with 422), is certainly not what we should expect. Further, the whole episode can be cut out without being missed—we have only to make 490 follow 429 immediately—and is of no importance to the story. A large portion consists of lines which are found in other parts of the Homeric poems; and of these one at least, 463, seems to be more at home in the third book of the *Odyssey* than here, while 469-70 are not in harmony with a well-marked Homeric custom. According to the usual Greek ritual, the purifications of 312-17 should not precede but follow the removal of the plague by Apollo. There is therefore very strong ground for holding that Lachmann is right in saying that 'continuation (a)' is not an integral part of the original lay; but if the two are once separated, we can no

longer admit the possibility that they are by the same author; the continuation must, from the evidence of borrowing, be of a very much later date. But it is most skilfully introduced into a pause in the main action, and offers a pleasing contrast, with its peace and feasting, to the stormy scenes with which the book opens and continues.

This, however, is a subordinate matter; the real question is, whether the original story of the Menis contained the promise of Zeus to Thetis that he would bring disaster upon the Greeks to revenge the insult offered to Achilles. The inconsistency as to the whereabouts of the gods cannot be denied; is it inexplicable? We can hardly say so. The consistency with which the Epic poet, composing for hearers and not for readers, is concerned, is the consistency of the moment. The consistency of details in different scenes is of less importance, so long as they are not conspicuous enough to affect our understanding of the main story. This is not the only place where the poet may have hovered vaguely between the divine power of omnipresence and the limitations of the anthropomorphic body. We will say, then, that the contradiction is real and disquieting, but not convincing.

That Lachmann's original lay was ever really an independent poem, as he would have us believe, it is hard to think, and few are now found to hold that a great poet, such as he who composed this debate, would have left the quarrel truncated and without a conclusion. That the opening of the book, prologue and all, is the beginning of a poem of the Wrath, which went on through the defeat of the Greeks and the death of Patroklos to the slaying of Hector, seems as certain as anything in this thorny and obscure matter can be certain. But we must not forget that the more ancient any portion of the *Iliad* is, the more it has been exposed to weathering; and that one effect of the continual process of growth and adaptation has been to obscure and smooth down the rough joints. Hence in this oldest portion critical analysis is peculiarly difficult. But one consideration must be added which lends some weight to Lachmann's separation of 'continuation (b)'. In the Introduction to B it will be pointed out that there is some evidence of a different continuation of the quarrel scene; a continuation in which the dispute is laid at once before an assembly of the whole army, and the visit of Thetis to Zeus left unnoticed. This version was a parallel one, and A, as it stands, may have been adapted from the two. It is not in our power to say which of the two was older; time has effected a union which shews but the slightest scar, yet we cannot deny the mark, and can only interpret it in the way which seems best to account for the facts. And the facts are certainly to be accounted for on this supposition. The first part of A really belongs closely to a certain part of the assembly scene in B, especially to the speech of Thersites; it does not belong so closely to the scenes between Achilles and Thetis, and between Thetis and Zeus. In this form of the story it was the mere absence of Achilles from the field, not the interposition of Zeus, which brought about the rout of the Greek army in A. This is mere hypothesis, but it is a possible hypothesis, and it agrees with much that we shall find later, all pointing to the gradual composition of the *Iliad* by the more or less perfect fusion of different versions, knitted together from the first by the fact that all alike are outgrowths from the Story of the Wrath, but otherwise independent.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Α

Λοιμός. Μῆνις.

Μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος  
οὐλόμενην, ἣ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε' ἔθηκε,  
πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἀἶδι προΐαψεν  
ἡρώων, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλώρια τεύχε κύνεσσιν  
οἰωνοῖσί τε πᾶσι, Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή,

5

1. ἡ δὲ δοκοῦσα ἀρχαία Ἰλιάς, ἡ λεγομένη Ἀπελλικῶντος (ἀπ' ἐλικῶνος MS. corr. Nauck), προοίμιον ἔχει τοῦτο· Μούσας ἀείδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον, ὡς καὶ Νικάνωρ μέμνηται καὶ Κράτης ἐν τοῖς διορθωτικοῖς· Ἀριστοῦξενος δ' ἐν α' Πραξίδαμαντίων φησὶ κατὰ τινὰς ἔχειν Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι, ὅπως δὴ μῆνις τε χόλος θ' ἔλε Πηλεΐωνα, Λητοῦς τ' ἀγλαὸν υἱόν· ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεῖς, Osann *Anec. Romanum* p. 5.

3. πολλὰς: πολλῶν Matranga *Anec.* 500. ||  
ψυχὰς: κεφαλὰς Ap. Rhod.; cf. A 55. 4-5 ἀθ. Zen. 4. δ' ἑλλώρια  
CHPST al. 5. πᾶσι: Zen. δαῖτα? (v. *infra*) || βουλῇ: βουλῇ Nik. ap. Eust.

1. θεά, the Μοῦσα of a 1, who tells the poet the history which he has to relate; see B 484-92, and compare χ 347 αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμὶ, θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἶμας παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν, and θ 44, 64, 488 ἢ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε, Διὸς παῖς, ἢ σέ γ' Ἀπόλλων. Πηληϊάδεω, originally no doubt Πηληϊάδα(ο). This is one of a class of patronymics formed with a double suffix, the adjectival -ιο- and the purely patronymic -αδης-: while the commoner form Πηλεΐαδης has only one. Cf. B 566.

2. οὐλόμενην, accursed; it bears the same relation to the curse ὄλοιο as ὀνήμενος (β 33) to the blessing ὄναο, and means 'that of which we say ὄλοιο.' It is best regarded as a purely metrical variant of ὀλόμενος, which occurs in the same sense in Trag. (Eur. *Hel.* 231, *Phoen.* 1029, *Or.* 1363, *Herc.* 1061); see Schulze *Qu. Ep.* pp. 192 ff. μυρία, countless; in its later sense, 10,000, the word is accented *μύριοι*.

3. Ἰφειμος here, as in 24 other places (Knös), does not admit an initial F and never requires it. Thus connexion with *Fis*, *Fiφios* is impossible, in spite of the nearness of sense. For a suggested etymology see Collitz in *AJP.* viii. 214-7. The feminine *ιφθίμη* is also found, but only applied to women—e.g. T 116. Ἀἶδι, a metaplastic dative of Ἀΐδης, which in H. always means the *god*, not his realm—with the exception, apparently, of Ψ 244. προΐαψε: *προ* implies 'forth on their way,' as in *προπέμπειν*, *προϊέναι* (195, 442, etc.). *ιαπ*=*ιασ*-, so that *προΐαψεν*=*pro-iec-it* exactly.

4. αὐτοῦς: the *body* is to Homer the real self, the *ψυχή* is a mere shadow; cf. Ψ 65, where the soul of Patroklos is πάντ' αὐτῷ εἰκνία, like the real man.

5. πᾶσι, i.e. all that chose to come: a perfectly natural expression. The reading *δαῖτα* ascribed to Zen. is not mentioned in the scholia, which merely

ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε  
Ἄτρεϊδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

τίς τάρ σφωε θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;  
Λητοῦς καὶ Διὸς υἱός. ὁ γὰρ βασιλῆϊ χολωθεὶς  
νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὥρσε κακὴν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοί,  
οὐνεκα τὸν Χρῦσην ἠτίμασεν ἀρητῆρα  
Ἄτρεϊδης. ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,  
στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος

10

6. τινὲς γρ. διὰ στήτην ἐρίσαντο Eust.

8. σφῶϊ(ν) Zen. and others.

11. ἠτίμασεν ART<sup>1</sup> (?) Ambr.<sup>1</sup> Lips.<sup>2</sup> Vr. a: ἠτίμας L: ἠτίμασεν DU Ambr.<sup>2</sup>:  
ἠτίμας Ω. 14. στέμματ' Ar. Ω: στέμμα τ' Eton. Vr. a.

say that he athetized 4-5. The only authority for the statement is Athenaeus (i. p. 12), on whom no reliance can be placed. But the reading is in itself vigorous and poetical. In fact the metaphor is so natural that we cannot even argue with confidence that Aischylos had δαῖτα before him when he wrote (*Supp.* 800) κυσὶν δ' ἐπειθ' ἔλωρα κάπι-  
χωρίους | ὄρνισι δείπνον οὐκ ἀναίνομαι  
πελεῖν: or Eur. *Hec.* 1077 σφακτὰν  
κυσὶ τε φονίαν δαῖτ' ἀνήμερον, *Ion* 505  
πανοῖς ἐξώρισε θοῖναν θηρσί τε φονίαν  
δαῖτα (*Soph.* is neutral, *Aj.* 830 ῥιθῶ  
κυσὶν πρόβλητος οἰωνοῖς θ' ἔλωρ). In all  
these cases there is an apparent echo of  
the present passage, and δαῖτα if a real  
variant is much older than Zen. The  
argument against it in Athenaeus (often  
ascribed, though without ground, to  
Ar.), that H. never uses δαῖς except of  
human banquets, is not even based on  
fact, see Ω 43. On the whole δαῖτα  
seems intrinsically a better reading, but  
we have no right to leave the uniform  
tradition of the mss.

6. ἐξ οὗ may refer to the preceding  
line, 'the will of Zeus was being ful-  
filled from the time when' (so Ar.); or  
better, to αἰεὶδε in the first line, 'take  
up the song from the point when,' as in  
θ 500 φαῖνε δ' αἰοιδῆν, ἔνθεν ἑλὼν, ὡς οἱ  
μέν, κτλ. The extraordinary variant  
διὰ στήτην (ἐρίσαντο) was explained to  
mean 'on account of a woman' (!)

8. τάρ: an enclitic particle recognised  
by Herod. (and perhaps Ar.), from τ' ἄρ,  
as γάρ from γ' ἄρ. It does not of course  
make any perceptible difference here if  
we write τ' ἄρ (with mss. except Δ);  
but see 65, 93. The combination is a

favourite in questions; B 761, Γ 226,  
Λ 656, etc. ἔριδι goes with ξυνέηκε,  
'pitted them in strife,' σφῶε: according  
to the rule of Ar. this form belongs to  
the 3rd person. Zen. here and elsewhere  
read σφῶϊ, which Ar. confined to the 2nd  
person. It is, however, possible that the  
distinction is a mere fiction. Cf. Brug-  
mann *Gr.* ii. p. 804, and App. A.

11. Both ἀτιμάω and ἀτιμάζω occur  
in our texts, but the aor. is elsewhere  
only ἠτίμησεν, and ἀτιμάζω is peculiar  
to the *Odyssey*. Rhythm, how-  
ever, is a strong argument here in  
favour of ἠτίμασεν in place of the  
vulgate ἠτίμησ'. Nauck indeed wishes  
to expel ἀτιμάω from the text of Homer  
altogether; but v. Curtius *Vb.* i. p. 341 n.  
τὸν Χρῦσιν . . ἀρητῆρα: a use of  
the article which 'is scarcely to be  
paralleled in Homer.' In other ex-  
amples with a proper noun it is used  
with an adversative particle (αὐτάρ, μέν,  
δέ), and only of a person already men-  
tioned, e.g. B 105 (Monro). It would  
simplify this passage if we could take  
Χρῦσης as an appellative, 'that man of  
Chryse, even the priest'; but there  
seems to be no other instance either of a  
local name thus formed in -ης, or of a  
person addressed directly by a local name,  
as in 442 ὦ Χρῦση. Payne Knight conj.  
τοῖ, Nauck τοῦ, for τόν.

13. λυσόμενος: the mid. of the person  
who offers the ransom, the act. of him  
who accepts it, e.g. 20.

14. ἔχων is subordinate to the preced-  
ing participles, indicating a detail, and  
not co-ordinate with λυσόμενος, expressing  
the main object of his journey. It is  
therefore best to retain the vulg. instead



χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, καὶ λίσσεται πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς, 15  
Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω, κοσμήτορε λαῶν·

“Ἀτρεΐδαι τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐνκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,  
ὕμῃν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχοντες  
ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, ἐν δ’ οἴκαδ’ ἰκέσθαι·  
παῖδα δ’ ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ’ ἄποινα δέχεσθαι, 20  
ἄζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα.”

ἔνθ’ ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπενφήμησαν Ἀχαιοὶ  
αἰδεῖσθαι θ’ ἱερῇα καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα·  
ἀλλ’ οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἥνδανε θυμῷ,  
ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ’ ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε, 25  
“μή σε, γέρον, κοίλησις ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κιχείω  
ἢ νῦν δηθύνοντ’ ἢ ὕστερον αὖτις ἰόντα,

15. ΛΙΣΣΕΤΟ AT (*supr.* ε): ἘΛΙΣΣΕΤΟ Ω. 16. τινὲς ἀτρεΐδας An. 20.  
ἐμοὶ: ἐμῇ P. || λύσατε CDPT Vr. c: λύσα\*τε R. || δέχεσθαι ADH (*supr.* ε)  
J<sup>1</sup>TU (*supr.* ε) Vr. c: δέχεσσε Ω: τὸ δὲ δέχεσθαι ἀντὶ προστακτικοῦ ἀπαρέμφατον  
Schol. T. 24. Ἀτρεΐδῳ Ἀγαμέμνονος Zen. 27. αὖτις CHR Bar.

of reading *στέμμα τ’* with Bentley (to agree with *στέμμα* in 28). The *στέμμα* is the *Apollinis infula* of *Aen.* ii. 430, a wreath of wool wrapped round the staff in token of supplicantship; cf. the *ερίο-στέπτος κλάδος* of *Aisch. Supp.* 23. It is probably the fillet worn, in ordinary circumstances, by the priest himself, or possibly, as has been suggested, the wreath from the image of the god.

15. See on Γ 152. ΛΙΣΣΕΤΟ is preferable to *ἐλίσσεται*, as it is very rare to find a vowel left short before the first letter of this word (*H. G.* § 371). But v. II 46.

18. Bentley conj. *ἔμμι θεοὶ μὲν δοῖεν*, as the synizesis of *θεός* in H. is very improbable (§ 251 is the only other case); but Platt points out that this puts *μὲν* in the wrong place. He suggests *τοὶ* for *θεοί* (which can be spared, cf. E 383, O 115, etc., and particularly *Hymn. Cer.* 135). But Plato had *θεοί, Rep.* iii. 393. Brandreth *δοῖεν μὲν θεοὶ ἔμμιν*.

20. MSS. are divided between *λύσαιτε* and *λύσατε*. The former is practically equivalent to *λύσαι τε*, the reading of Apio and Herodorus adopted by Wolf. This involves changing *τὰ δ’* into *τά τ’* (with Wolf) or *καὶ* (with Ap. and Her.). Bentley conj. *λύσαντε*. But the text may pass, as the opt. is well suited to a suppliant. As between *δέχεσθε* and *δέχεσθαι* there is nothing to choose; in either case the change of mood is rather

harsh. See *H. G.* § 299 b, and for the article *τὰ δ’ ἄποινα*, ‘on the other hand accept ransom,’ § 259. 1.

22. *ἐπευφήμῃσαν*, gave pious assent, probably by shouting; hardly by silence, as in the later use of the word. For the use of the infin. to express *purpose*, *H. G.* § 231.

24. *οὐμῷ* is not a ‘whole and part’ construction with *Ἀγαμέμνονι*, but a locative, *in his soul*, as appears from numerous other passages.

26. For *κιχείω* many would read *κιχῶ*, but we have no right to neglect the consistent ancient rule by which in such forms *ει* is written before *ω* and *ο*, as it may represent a real difference of pronunciation (*H. G.* App. C). It is not necessary to supply any verb before *μή*, which is an independent prohibitive particle; the literal meaning is ‘Far be the thought that I shall find thee.’ *H. G.* § 278; *Delbrück S. F.* i. 22. Thus the constr. supplies the missing imperative for the 1st person (*M. and T.* § 257). The same explanation can be given in 28, though here the *μή*-clause is obviously far on its way to become subordinate. The progress of *μή οὐ* to complete subordination may be followed through 565, K 39, O 164, Ω 569 (the only other cases in H. of *μή οὐ* with subj.) to the change of mood in Ω 584 (*M. and T.* § 263).



μή νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμῃ σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο. —  
τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω· πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν  
ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τηλόθι πάτρης,  
ἰστὸν ἐποικομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιώσασιν.  
ἀλλ' ἴθι, μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὥς κε νέηαι."

30

ὧς ἔφατ', ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρον καὶ ἐπέθετο μύθῳ,  
βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θίνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.  
πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἡρᾶθ' ὁ γεραίος  
Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἡύκομος τέκε Δητῷ.  
"κλυθὶ μεν, ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσῃ ἀμφιβέβηκας  
Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιό τε ἱφί ἀνάσσεις,  
Σμινθεύ, εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,

35

29-31 ἀθ. Ar. (see below).  
(see Did. on O 123).

33. ὧς φάτο L. || ἔδδεισε(ν) Ω: ἔδεισεν Ar.?  
34. ἀκέων Zen.

39. ἔρεψα: [ἐρε]ξα H<sup>m</sup>.

28. **χραίσμῃ**: app. an aor., but irregular in stem (*H. G.* § 32, 3). There is no clear evidence for a pres. *χραισμέω*, though we have fut. *χραισμήσει* (T 296), and aor. *χραισμήσαι* (A 120, etc.).

29-31 ἀθετοῦνται, ὅτι ἀναλύουσι τὴν ἐπίτασιν τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπειλήν. ἡ-σμένισε γὰρ καὶ ὁ Χρῦσης εἰπούσης (ἀν-συνούσης? Cobet) αὐτῆς τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἀ-πρεπὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τοιαῦτα λέγειν. 'Quod autem dixit patri gratum esse filiam suam esse Regis concubinam, Alexandriae fortasse in aula dissoluta verum esse poterat, sed non apud heroicæ ætatis homines'—Cobet (*M. C.* p. 230, in an amusing essay on ἀπρεπῆ). It is in such judgments that Ar. appears at his worst.

31. **ἀντιώσασιν** with acc. only here; cf. Soph. *Aj.* 491 τὸ σὸν λέχος ζυνῆλθον, *Trach.* 159 ἀγῶνας ἐξιών (*going forth to meet*), Pind. *N. i.* 67 δταν θεοὶ γιγάντεσσιν μάχαν ἀντιάξωσιν, Eur. *Phoen.* 817 ἡ δὲ ζυναιμον λέχος ἦλθεν. This suggests that the acc. is that of the *end*, after the implied verb of motion (*coming to my bed to meet me*), rather than the 'adverbial acc.' of *H. G.* § 136(1). **ἐποικομένην** implies the walking backwards and forwards which was necessary with the ancient loom.

33. **ἔδεισεν** if read by Ar., must be a piece of genuine tradition from the form *ἐδφεισεν*. For the article in **ὁ γέρον** and **ὁ γεραίος** see *H. G.* § 261, 3.

37. Killa is placed by Strabo on the gulf of Adramytteion, near Thebe. The historical Chryse was on the west coast

of the Troad, though others, hard put to it to explain why Chryseis was captured at Thebe (see 366), knew of a Chryse close to Killa, afterwards deserted (Strabo pp. 604, 612-3). The alternative explanation was that she was on a visit to relatives at Thebe. Cf. note on 184. **ἀμφιβέβηκας**, *standest round about*, as protecting deity, like a warrior protecting a fallen friend, e.g. P 4. Cf. Aisch. *Sept.* 174 ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες λυτήριοι ἀμφιβάντες πόλιν.

38. **ἀνάσσεις**, *protectest* by thy might, rather than *rulest*; see note on Z 402.

39. **Σμινθεύ**, lit. 'Mouse-god'; Apollo was worshipped under this title in the Troad, as at Smyrna as 'Locust-god,' Παρνόπιος. Strabo (p. 606) knows of several places named Sminthia, as far as Rhodes. The Sminthian temple near Cape Lekton existed to historical times; and even on late coins of Alexandria Troas Apollo appears with a mouse at his feet. Mr. Lang argues that this indicates the amalgamation of the Greek Apollo with a local mouse-god, originally a tribal totem. The common explanation is that the word is a familiar abbreviation of *Σμινθοφθόρος*, destroying the field-mice or voles which ravaged the vineyards: οἱ γὰρ Κρήτες τοὺς μύας σμίνθους καλοῦσιν Schol. A (see Frazer's note on Paus. x. 12. 5). Only a few years ago Thessaly was seriously injured by an invasion of these little pests. Others see in the mouse the symbol of plague, which would be especially suitable here. In Herodotos the destruction of the army of Sennacherib

ἢ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα  
ταύρων ἡδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήνον ἐέλδωρ·  
τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.”

ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χώμενος κῆρ,  
τόξ' ὥμοισιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην.

ἔκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' οἷστοι ἐπ' ὤμων χωρόμενοι,  
αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος· ὁ δ' ἦϊε νυκτὶ εἰκώς.

ἔξετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε νεῶν, μετὰ δ' ἰὼν ἔηκε·  
δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο.

οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπώιχετο καὶ κύνας ἀργούς,  
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἔχεπευκὲς ἐφίεις  
βάλλ'. αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκύων καίοντο θαμειαί.

ἐννήμαρ μὲν ἀνὰ στρατὸν ὦιχετο κῆλα θεοῖο,  
τῇ δεκάτῃ δ' ἀγορήνδε καλέσσατο λαὸν Ἀχιλλεύς·  
τῶι γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη.

41. ΤΟΔΕ: τὸ δέ Ar. 42. ΤΙΣΕΙΑΝ Zen. (?) Ω: ΤΙΣΑΙΕΝ Ar. ? (see Ludw. *ad loc.*).  
46-7 ἀθ. Zen. 46. ἔκλασαν T<sup>1</sup> Lips.<sup>1</sup> 47. ΕἰΚΩΣ: ἔΛΥΘΕΙΣ Zen. (Schol.  
M 463). 51. ΒΕΛΟΣ r<sup>1</sup> S. || ἀφίεις S Mosc. 3.

is attributed not to a plague but to a host of field-mice which gnawed the Assyrian bow-strings in the night. A somewhat similar story connected with the colonization of the Troad is told by Strabo (p. 604). In 1 Sam. vi. 4 golden mice are offered as a propitiation when visited by a plague (W. Robertson Smith *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* p. 302, where further evidence is given for a Semitic mouse-god). ἔρεψα seems to indicate the most primitive form of temple—a mere roof to protect the image of a god standing in a grove; for it was to groves, not to buildings, that sanctity originally belonged. Temples are rarely mentioned in H.; we hear only of those of Apollo and Athene in Troy, and of Athene at Athens. See note on E 446. χαρίεντα seems to be proleptic, for *thy pleasure*. For the construction of the prayer cf. E 115.

40. ΠΙΟΝΑ ΜΗΡΙΑ: see note on 460.

42. For the form τίσειαν, probably read here by Ar., see note on Ω 38.

47. αὐτοῦ, 'he' emphatic, 'the god'; a use which reminds us of the Pythagorean αὐτὸς ἔφα. We should have expected the word to imply an opposition to some other person as in

51; merely to contrast the god with the arrows seems weak. It was probably this which induced Zen., followed by Bentley and Bekker, to athetize this and the preceding line; but the couplet is too fine to be sacrificed.

50. ἐπώιχετο, *visited*; the word is used in this sense only of attacks made by a god or under immediate divine inspiration; v. note on K 487.

51. αὐτοῖσι, *the men*.

52. The position of βάλλ' is the most emphatic possible; the same effect is obtained by Milton, 'Over them triumphant death his dart | Shook; but delayed to strike.' ἔχεπευκός, lit. *having sharpness*. For the form of the compound see H. G. § 124 d. πευκ- is doubtless conn. with Lat. *pug-*, *pungo*, cf. περιπευκός A 845, πευκεδανός K 8.

53. The rhythm of this line is very strange; the connexion of the preposition with its case is so close as hardly to admit a caesura; but there is no other in the third or fourth foot, cf. Σ 191. ἐννήμαρ . . τῇ δεκάτῃ: the regular formula for a vague number of days; Z 174, Ω 610, and elsewhere often.

55. τῶι ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε: so Θ 218, λ 146 ἔπος ἐρέω καὶ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήσω, etc.

κήδετο γὰρ Δαναῶν, ὅτι ῥα θνήσκοντας ὀράτο.  
οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἤγερθεν ὀμηγερέες τε γέγοντο,  
τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
“ Ἀτρεΐδῃ, νῦν ἄμμε πάλιν πλαγχθέντας οἶω  
ἄψ' ἀπονοστήσειν, εἴ κεν θάνατόν γε φύγοιμεν,  
εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμαῖ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιούς.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τίνα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῇα  
ἣ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον, καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν,  
ὅς κ' εἴποι ὅτι τόσσον ἐχώσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
εἴ ταρ ὃ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται ἡδ' ἐκατόμβης.”

60

65

56. ὀράτο Zen.

παλιππλάγε- P). 60. οἷ κεν Zen. : αἷ κεν C.

59. παλιππλά(γ)χεέντας Ω (-τα S : παλιππλάχεέντας D :

61. πόλεμος δ' ἀμῆ Mosc. 1 (πόλεμος δαμάς ?). 62. ἀλλά γε P (this variant is almost always found in some MS. and will not be again recorded). 63 ἀθ. Zen. 64. εἴπη H (*supr.* οἱ) L.65. εἴ ταρ Herod. A : εἴ τ' ἄρ Ω. || ἡδ' Ω (ἡδ' A). [All printed edd. hitherto have read εἴ τ' ἄρ' . . . εἴ θ', but εἴ θ' appears to have no MS. authority whatever, and is presumably a conj. of Demetrius Chalcondylas, editor of the *editio princeps*, 1488. Cf. on 93.]

A rather commoner phrase is ἐνὶ φρεσὶ (θυμῷ, στήθεσσι), which shows that ἐπι φρεσὶ is to be taken in a locative sense.

56. Note the variant ὀρήτο (ὀρητο) ascribed to Zen., and compare ὀρηαι ξ 343. The form in -η- agrees with the Ionic colouring of our present text ; ὄρατο would be the old non-thematic form, but ὀράτο is more probably due to Attic influence than to a survival from a prae-Ionic text.

59. πλαγχθέντας, *foiled*, lit. driven from the course ; cf. B 132 οἷ με μέγα πλάξουσιν. The mss. write παλιππλάγχθέντας in one word, which is so far right, as it indicates that πάλιν is to be taken in a purely local sense. There is an old and wrong explanation, that πάλιν means 'once again,' and contains an allusion to the legend, unknown to Homer, of a previous expedition against Troy in which the Greeks had lost their way, and invaded Mysia by mistake. See note on B 276.

60. εἴ κεν with the opt. assumes as a mere supposition, which is expressed as unlikely ('remoter and less emphatic,' *M. and T.* § 460), while in the next line εἰ with the future indic. assumes as a vivid probability. After οἶω ἀπονοστήσειν it comes in like a sudden correction of a too confident expression.

62. ἐρείομεν is an anomalous form, and should come from a present \*ἐρημι (*H. G.* § 80). The -ο- cannot, of course,

stand in the pres. subj. of a thematic form. Nauck writes ἐρώμεθα (cf. θ 133), Schulze ἐρήομεν, Fick ἐρεύομεν, as aorist (ἐρεῦναι like χεῖναι). The ἱερεύς is mentioned merely as an authority on ritual (65), not as a diviner ; for the Homeric priest as such seems to have had no functions of divination ; there are no omens from sacrifices.

63. ὄνειροπόλος, either a dreamer of dreams, one who has converse with the god in sleep ; or an interpreter of the dreams of others. In the absence of any other mention of professional dreamers or interpreters in H. (which doubtless led Zen. to reject the line) we cannot decide between the two. The root πολ seems to have been a very primitive word for agricultural and pastoral duties ; cf. οἶωνοπόλος beside αἰ-πόλος (βου-κόλος is probably from the same root *kar*, Curt. *Et.* p. 470). It thus means 'one who attends to dreams,' or perhaps, as we might say, 'cultivates' them ; compare the double significance of Lat. *col-ere*.

64. ὅτι is the rel. pron., not the adverb, and is, like τόσσον, an adverbial acc., expressing the content of ἐχώσατο : cf. ε 215 μή μοι τότε χῶεο, and E 185.

65. For ταρ see on l. 8. Herodianos expressly read it here, not τ' ἄρ, on the ground οὐκ ἐστίν ὁ τέ σύνδεσμος· ἐπεφέρετο γὰρ ἂν ἕτερος τέ. He thus distinctly excludes the accepted but purely conjectural reading εἴ θ' for ἡδ'. Granting

αἶ κέν πως ἀρνῶν κνίσσης αἰγῶν τε τελείων  
βούλεται ἀντιάσας ἡμῖν ἀπὸ λουγὸν ἀμῦναι."

ἦ τοι ὃ γ' ὥς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο, τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη  
Κάλχας Θεστορίδης, οἰωνοπόλων ὃχ' ἄριστος,  
ὃς ἡμῶν τά τ' ἔοντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἔοντα, 70  
καὶ νήεσσ' ἡγήσατ' Ἀχαιῶν Ἰλιον εἴσω  
ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·  
ὃ σφιν ἐν φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·  
"ὦ Ἀχιλεῦ, κέλεαί με, διίφιλε, μυθήσασθαι  
μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος, ἑκατηβελέταο ἄνακτος· 75  
τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καί μοι ὄμοσον  
ἦ μὲν μοι πρόφρων ἔπειςιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν.

66. ΚΝΙΣΗΣ Ar. : κνίς(ς)ης Ω : κνίσσης R : *τινὲς κνίσις* is implied in Did. 68.  
ἐκασέζετο Zen. 69. Κάλχας : μάντις Zen. 70. ἦδει J<sup>1</sup>P Mor. Vr. b,  
Mosc. 1<sup>2</sup>. 73. ὃ Ar. ACD<sup>1</sup>GT al. : ὅς D<sup>2</sup>HJP<sup>1</sup> (?) Ambr. al. : ὅς μιν ἀμειβόμενος  
ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα Zen. 76. ἐγὼ βέω J<sup>1</sup>.

the existence of *ταρ*—and the analogy of γάρ shews that it is at least possible—there is no reason for disregarding the unanimous tradition. The case is precisely the same in 93, where the corresponding conj. *οὐθ'* has supplanted the only attested reading *οὐδ'*. For the use of the gen. cf. *H. G.* § 151 c, and for other cases of *res pro rei defectu* (vow and hecatomb *not paid*) E 178, Φ 457. A colon is put at the end of the line (with Cauer), because the following αἶ κε is not a continuation of the preceding line, but recurs to the opening of the sentence (62), 'in the hope that.'

66. It will be observed that the rams and goats seem to represent the 'hecatomb,' which here does not consist of 100 or of any oxen. It may indeed be doubted if the -βη represents βούς at all. (Platt explains the word as 'one hundredth of the oxen' a man has; but even that does not suit this place.)

67. βούλεται after αἶ κεν must be subj., and is therefore an erroneous form, as the subj. of thematic verb-stems must have the long vowel (*H. G.* § 82). Read βούλητ' with P. Knight and Curtius (*Vb.* ii. 72).

69. ὃχ' : a word which only occurs in the phrase ὃχ' ἄριστος, and is of quite uncertain origin. It is generally compared with ἐξοχος, where, however, the idea of *eminence* is given by the ἐξ.

71. ἡγέομαι, with dat. = *to guide*, as

X 101, ψ 134, etc.; with gen. = *to command*. εἴσω is a pure adv., the acc. giving the idea 'to Ilios' (*H. G.* § 140, 4), and εἴσω being added = *inside*. This is always the use of εἴσω in *Il.*, and virtually makes εἴσω = εἰς. In *Od.* there is one instance (θ 290) of the 'quasi-prepositional' use with gen. familiar in later Greek. The earlier history of the expedition is evidently presumed as a familiar story. The μάντις was in historical times a regular official in every Greek army.

73. ἐν φρονέων may be either (1) *with good sense*, opposed to ἀφρονέων, O 104; or (2) *with good intent*, opposed to κακῶς φρονέων. This double meaning runs through later Greek: e.g. (1) Aisch. *Prom.* 385 κέρδιστον εἰ φρονούντα μὴ δοκεῖν φρονεῖν, and (2) *Ag.* 1436 Αἰγισθος ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν εἰ φρονῶν ἐμοί.

74. It would seem natural to write Διὶ φίλε as two words (*H. G.* § 124 f), but for the analogy of διυπετής, where the second element cannot have been independent. Probably, therefore, the combination was at an early date felt as a real compound. So also we have ἀρηϊφάτος beside ἀρηϊκτάμενος ('*Ἀρηϊκτάμενος*), πυρρικήs beside δουρικλυτός, etc.

76. Cf. Z 334, o 318, π 259. κύνεο. *mark my words*, as T 84, ρ 153.

77. ἦ μὲν is the regular Homeric formula of swearing, Att. ἦ μὴν. The short vowel is confirmed by the metre in



ἦ γὰρ οἶομαι ἄνδρα χολωσέμεν, ὃς μέγα πάντων  
 Ἀργείων κρατέει καὶ οἱ πείθονται Ἀχαιοί.  
 κρείσσων γὰρ βασιλεύς, ὅτε χώσεται ἀνδρὶ χέρηϊ.  
 εἷ περ γάρ τε χόλον γε καὶ αὐτῆμαρ καταπέψῃ,  
 ἀλλὰ τε καὶ μετόπισθεν ἔχει κότον, ὄφρα τελέσσει,  
 ἐν στήθεσιν ἐοῖσι. σὺ δὲ φράσαι, εἷ με σαώσεις.”  
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.  
 “ θαρσήςσας μάλα εἰπὲ θεοπρόπιον, ὅ τι οἶσθα.”  
 οὐ μὰ γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνα δῖφιλον, ὦι τε σύ, Κάλχαν,  
 εὐχόμενος Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπίας ἀναφαίνεις,  
 οὐ τις ἐμεῦ ζῶντος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο  
 σοὶ κοίλῃσι παρὰ νηυσὶ βαρείας χεῖρας ἐποίσει  
 συμπάντων Δαναῶν, οὐδ' ἦν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἵπησι,  
 ὃς νῦν πολλὸν ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν εὐχεται εἶναι.”  
 καὶ τότε δὴ θάρσησε καὶ ἦδα μάντις ἀμύμων.

80 ἀθ. Zen. || κρείσσω Zen. 81. καταπέψοι (C *supr.*) Laud. Vat.: καταπέμψῃ S (*supr.* οἱ). 82. τε A[D]U Eton.: γε Ω. 83. φράσων Zen. Par. d. || σάωσῃς D'. 85. οἶσεας Zen. ? 86. κάλχα Zen. D Par. c. 88. ζῶοντος D. 89. κοίλαις G. || ἐφῆσει Vr. a. 90. εἵποις R. 91. ἀχαιῶν Ar. Zen. Aph. Sosigenes [S ?]: ἐνὶ στρατῶι Ω. '

Ξ 275, T 261. μέν and μήν are of course only two forms of the same word.

78. ἄνδρα is of course the object of the transitive χολωσέμεν.

80. χέρηϊ: another form of χερείονι, with the weak comp. stem -ιες- or -ισ- (cf. -ισ-τος and Lat. *mag-is*, *mag-is-ter*). See *H. G.* § 121 and note on the analogous πλέες, B 129. χέρηϊ, will then stand for χέρεϊ, εἰ being altered to η on the analogy of the other forms mentioned in *H. G.* App. C, 4. See also Δ 400, Ξ 382.

81. καταπέψῃ, *swallow down*, lit. *digest*, as we say 'stomach.' Cf. on B 237, and Pindar *O.* i. 55 κατ. μέγαν ὀλβον. χόλον, as sudden anger, is contrasted by γε with κότον, enduring resentment. ὄφρα may mean *until*, but the omission of κε indicates rather that it is final. εἷ πέρ τε . . ἀλλὰ τε: τε here marks the two sentences as being correlative; so K 225 (*q.v.*), Δ 161.

83. φράσαι, *consider*; neither act. nor mid. means *say* in Homer.

85. θεοπρόπιον: the neuter form occurs only here in H. (and possibly Z 438, where however it is merely a question of accent), and seems harsh in

the immediate neighbourhood of the commoner θεοπροπίη (87). Hence both θεοπροπιῶν and -πέων (Nauck, as 109) have been conjectured here. But θεοπρόπιον is well established in Herod. (e.g. i. 54, 68). θεοπρόπος is probably one who prays to a god (προπ- is perhaps conn. with Lat. *prec.*, *prociis*, etc.). In Herod. it is used of one who consults an oracle (i. 67). (Cf. [θ]ιοπροπίοντος Οἰνοχίδαο, Collitz 494, 17, from Orchomenos.)

88. Cf. π 439. βλέπειν is commonly used in Attic in the sense of *living*; e.g. Eur. *Alc.* 143 καὶ πῶς ἂν αὐτὸς κατθανοῖ τε καὶ βλέποι; This line and the next contain three sins against old Epic prosody, the contracted ἐμεῦ and ζῶντος, and κοίλῃσι for κοίλῃσι. Van Leeuwen and others have removed them, but only by rewriting the couplet after the model of the line in π, which has the older forms (οὔτις σοὶ παρὰ νηυσὶ βαρ. χ. ἐποίσει, ζῶντός γ' ἐμέθεν καὶ ἐ. χθ. δ.).

91. εὐχεται does not imply any boastfulness in our sense of the word, but merely a naïve consciousness of his position. False modesty is unknown to the Homeric hero.



“οὐ τὰρ ὃ γ’ εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται οὐδ’ ἐκατόμβης,  
 ἀλλ’ ἔνεκ’ ἀρητῆρος, ὃν ἡτίμησ’ Ἀγαμέμνων  
 οὐδ’ ἀπέλυσε θύγατρα καὶ οὐκ ἀπεδέξατ’ ἄποινα,  
 τούνεκ’ ἄρ’ ἄλλγε’ ἔδωκεν ἐκηβόλος ἡδ’ ἔτι δώσει.  
 οὐδ’ ὃ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀπώσει,  
 πρὶν γ’ ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳι δόμεναι ἐλικώπιδα κούρην  
 ἀπριάτην ἀνάποινον, ἄγειν θ’ ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην  
 εἰς Χρύσην· τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπύθοιμεν.”  
 ἦ τοι ὃ γ’ ὥς εἰπὼν κατ’ ἄρ’ ἔξετο, τοῖσι δ’ ἀνέστη  
 ἦρως Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 ἀχυνόμενος· μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαιναι

93. οὐ τὰρ Herod.: οὐτ’ ἄρ’ (ἄρ) Ω. || οὐδ’ Ω: οὐε’ [G? U?]: οὐτ’ J. See on 65. I can find no explicit statement that οὐε’ appears in any MS. 94.  
 ἡτίμας LS. 96 ἀθ. Ar. || ἐκατηβόλος S. 97. ΔΑΝΑΟΙΣΙΝ ΑΙΕΚΕΑ ΛΟΙΓΟΝ  
 ΑΠΩΣΕΙ Ar. Rhianos Massil.: λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει Zen. Ω. 100.  
 ΤΟΤΕ: αἶ Zen.

93. See on 65.

94. ἡτίμας—Nauck ἡτίμασσ’: see on 11.

97. ΔΑΝΑΟΙΣΙΝ ΑΙΕΚΕΑ ΛΟΙΓΟΝ ΑΠΩΣΕΙ: so the editions of Ar. and Rhianos, and the *Μασσαλιωτική*. MSS. give λοιμοῖο βαρείας χεῖρας ἀφέξει, *he will not withhold his hands from the pestilence*, which is meaningless. To translate ‘he will not keep off (from us) the heavy hands of the pestilence’ involves a very un-Homeric personification of λοιμός, which is not much improved by Markland’s conj., *κῆρας* for *χεῖρας* (cf. v 263, φ 548); moreover this leaves no subject for the verbs in the next line. Still, in face of the almost unanimous tradition, the text, like Zen.’s *φίλον ἦτορ* in Z 285, looks very like a bold ancient conj. to avoid an obvious difficulty.

98. *ἐλικώπιδα*, with the masc. *ἐλικώπες* (Ἀχαιοί), has been variously explained: (1) by the ancients *black-eyed*, but *ελικός* in such a sense has no better authority than the glossographers, weakly supported by a quotation from Kallimachos; (2) *with round eyes*, *ἐλιξ* = *curved*; but *ἐλιξ* rather means ‘twisted,’ and is not used of a circular curve; (3) *rolling the eyes*; (4) *sparkling-eyed* (root *σελ-* of *σέλας*: so Ameis). The choice lies between (3) and (4), of which the former seems preferable. The epithet well expresses a vivacious keen spirit, such as the Greeks were conscious of possessing; while, as applied to a woman,

it will imply eagerness and youthful brightness. It is therefore needless to look beyond the familiar sense of *Φελικ-* for an interpretation. *ἐλικοβλέφαρον* Ἀφροδίτην in Hesiod *Th.* 16 must imply a loose use of *βλέφαρον* as = *ὄμμα*, cf. *ἐγὼ σκοτώσω βλέφαρα καὶ δεδορκότα*, Soph. *Aj.* 85 and elsewhere in Trag.

99. *ἀπριάτην* and *ἀνάποινον* were regarded by Ar. as adverbs—perhaps rightly. *ἀπριάτην* is certainly so used in ξ 317; for the form cf. *ἀντιβίην*, etc.

103. *ἀμφὶ μέλαιναι* is the Alexandrine reading; most edd. give *ἀμφιμέλαιναι*. The phrase recurs in P 83, 499, 573 (δ 661 is probably imitated from this passage). It means literally *his midriff black (with anger) was full of fury on both sides* (above and below). This connection of *ἀμφὶ* with *φρένες* is common; e.g. Γ 442 *ἔρος φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψε*, Z 355 *πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκε*, and other instances in *H. G.* § 181; *φρένας ἀμφιγεγηθώς* *Hym. Apoll.* 273. For the epithet *μέλαιναι*, as expressing deep emotion, cf. Aisch. *Pers.* 113 *ταῦτά μοι μελαγχίτων φρήν ἀμύσσειται φόβῳ*, Cho. 413 *σπλάγχνα δέ μοι κελαινοῦνται*, Theog. 1199 *κραδίην ἐπάταξε μέλαιναν*, as well as the Homeric *κραδίη πόρφυρε*. This (Autenrieth’s) explanation seems much superior to the ordinary interpretation of *ἀμφιμέλαιναι* as ‘lying in the midmost darkness of the body,’ which is hardly Homeric either in thought or expression; but the com-

πῖμπλαντ', ὅσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἔικτην.  
 Κάλχαντα πρότιστα κάκ' ὁσσόμενος προσέειπε· 105  
 " μάντι κακῶν, οὐ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας·  
 αἰεὶ τοι τὰ κάκ' ἐστὶ φίλα φρεσὶ μαντεύεσθαι,  
 ἐσθλὸν δ' οὔτέ τί πω εἶπας ἔπος οὔτ' ἐτέλεσσας.  
 καὶ νῦν ἐν Δαναοῖσι θεοπροπέων ἀγορεύεις,  
 ὥς δὴ τοῦδ' ἔνεκά σφιν ἐκηβόλος ἄλγεα τεύχει, 110  
 οὔνεκ' ἐγὼ κούρης Χρυσηΐδος ἀγλά' ἄποινα  
 οὐκ ἔβελον δέξασθαι,—ἐπεὶ πολὺ βούλομαι αὐτὴν  
 οἴκοι ἔχειν. καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα,  
 κουριδῆς ἀλόχου, ἐπεὶ οὐ ἔθέν ἐστι χερεῖων,

106. εἶπας Ar. Eust. : εἶπες A Cant. Vr. c A, Lips. : ἔειπες CJTU<sup>1</sup> : ἔειπας Ω.  
 108. οὔτέ τι Ar. Aph. Ω : οὐδέ τι A *surp.* (T.W.A.) DU<sup>1</sup> : οὔτ' ἔτι Bar. || εἶπες  
 DH<sup>1</sup>T || οὔτ' ἐτέλεσσας Ar. Aph. : οὐδ' ἐτέλεσσας Ω. 110 *ab.* Ar. 113.  
 ῥα *om.* Lips. || Κλυταιμνήστρης : A has two dots above the *κ* to mark it as  
 wrong (T.W.A.).

pound may be explained as proleptic, 'so as to become darkened all about' (with anger). Although in P 499, 573, *anger* is not in question, yet both refer to moments of strong emotion. The metaphor seems to come from the surface of water darkened by a breeze blowing over it ; cf. Ω 79, and especially Ξ 16 ὥς δτε πορφύρῃ πέλαγος . . ὥς ὁ γέρον ὤρμαινε. So καλχαίνειν in Soph. *Ant.* 20, where see Jebb's note.

105. κάκ' ὁσσόμενος, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ὅσων κακῶς ὑπιδόμενος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁσσης, τῆς φωνῆς, κακολογήσας, Ariston. The verb is always used of the mind's eye in the sense of *boiling* ; θυμός is generally added, e.g. κ 374, σ 154, Σ 224.

106. κρήγυον, a doubtful word ; it evidently means *good*, though in late Greek it is sometimes used in the sense of *true*. But the line labours under many suspicious irregularities—the use of the article, the neglected *F* of *Feἶπας*, and the lengthening of τὸ by position in the fourth thesis. Furthermore, τὸ κρήγυον in the sense *that which is good* is Attic, and unexampled in H. τὰ κακά in the next line, *those evil things of thine*, is entirely different. Hence Bentley's τὰ κρήγυα is but a partial remedy, and there seems to be some grave corruption. As we know nothing of the origin of κρήγυον, the *ν* may, for all we can tell, have been long ; we could then read οὐ πώ ποτέ μοι κρήγυν

εἶπας, and the ms. variants may point to something of the sort. For the form εἶπας see *H. G.* § 37.

107. For the personal constr. φίλα ἐστὶ μαντεύεσθαι cf. Δ 345 φίλ' ὅπταλέα κρέα ἔδμεναι, ρ 347 αἰδῶς οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένω ἀνδρὶ παρῆναι, etc. ; see *H. G.* § 232.

112. βούλομαι, *prefer*, as in 117, Δ 319, Ψ 594, and often ; and with πολὺ, P 331. This sense is still more emphatically brought out in the following compound, προβέβουλα (the perf. is *ἄπ.* λεγ. in Greek outside the *Anthology*). It is in this sense of *choice* that βούλομαι differs from ἐθέλω, not in any subtle difference as to the efficacy of the wish. αὐτήν, emphatic, as opposed to the ransom.

113. This is the only occurrence of the name of Klytaimnestra in the *Iliad*. It will be seen that A has an indication of what is now generally acknowledged to be the correct form, Κλυταιμνήστρη, given by the best mss. of Aeschylus and Soph., though the rest have the faulty -μνήστρη.

114. κουριδῆς, a difficult word ; the most plausible, but not entirely satisfactory, explanation is that of Curtius (*Stud.* i. 253), who derives it from κείρω, and refers it to the custom of cutting the bride's hair before marriage ; hence 'wedded.' So κοῦρος from the custom of cutting the πλόκαμος θρεπτήριος at the age of puberty.

οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φνὴν, οὐτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτε τι ἔργα. 115  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς ἐθέλω δόμεναι πάλιν, εἰ τό γ' ἄμεινον·  
 βούλομ' ἐγὼ λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γέρας αὐτίχ' ἐτοιμάσατ', ὄφρα μὴ οἶος  
 Ἀργείων ἀγέραςτος ἔω, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἔοικε.  
 λεύσσετε γὰρ τό γε πάντες, ὃ μοι γέρας ἔρχεται ἄλλῃ."  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς. 121  
 "Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων,  
 πῶς τάρ τοι δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί;  
 οὐδέ τί πω ἴδμεν ξυνήϊα κείμενα πολλά, 125  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πολίων ἐξεπράθομεν, τὰ δέδασται,  
 λαοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐπέοικε παλίλλογα ταῦτ' ἐπαγείρειν.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν τήνδε θεῶι πρόες, αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ  
 τριπλῇ τετραπλῇ τ' ἀποτίσομεν, αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς

116. ἄμεινον: ἄριστον L. 117 ἀθ. Zen. || **σόον** (σῶον) Ω: σῶν Ar.:  
 cάον Apoll. de Coni. 120. λεύσατε G: λεύσετε multi. || **τό γε**: τότε Vr. a.  
 122. φιλοκτεανέστατε Aph. (acc. to Seleukos ap. Eust.). 123. **τάρ** A: γάρ Ω.  
 124. **πω**: που Ar. Aph. (A sup. but ου dotted, T.W.A.).

115. The distinction of **δέμας** and **φνὴ** is not quite clear. From phrases like **δέμας πυρός** it would seem natural to take **δέμας** as 'outward appearance' generally; **φνὴ** as 'growth,' i.e. 'stature.' But this latter meaning belongs to **δέμας** in E 801 *Τυδεὺς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας*. Perhaps we may render 'stature and figure' with about the same degree of vagueness. Cf. N 432 *κάλλει καὶ ἔργοισιν ἰδὲ φρεσί*.

117. ὅτι *Ζηνόδοτος αὐτὸν ἡθέτηκεν ὡς τῆς διανοίας εὐήθους οὐσης*. οὐ δεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδῆαι προφέρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνάπτειν τοῖς ἄνω· ἐν παρενθέσει (MS. ἐν ἥθει) γὰρ λέγεται, Ariston, rightly. (For the emendation of ἐν ἥθει see Verrall on Eur. *Med.* 148; so in Schol. A on A 234, E 150.) **σόον** is preferable to the σῶν of Ar., a contracted form not elsewhere found in H. except in the nom. σῶς in X 332. But the correct form is *σῶος*: see note on I 424.

118. **γέρας**, the gift of honour to the king, set aside before the division of the spoil.

119. οὐδὲ ἔοικε, perhaps 'it is not even decent,' much less reasonable.

123. **ταρ**: see on 8. It is to be preferred as the rarer form, and has prob-

ably often been supplanted by γάρ in similar passages.

124. **κείμενα πολλά** go together, a common store laid up in abundance. **ξυνήϊα** recurs as an adj. in Ψ 809. **πω** here, as often in H., in any wise; it is not restricted, as in later use, to the sense *yet*.

125. **τὰ μὲν** is here the relative, *what we have plundered out of the towns, that is divided*. But this use of **τά** is not consistent with the usual practice by which the art. when used as a relative must follow the noun or pronoun to which it refers, and we ought probably to read *ἀλλὰ θ' ἂ μὲν* (see H. G. § 262). Even then *ἐξεπράθομεν* is curious; elsewhere *πέρθεσθαι* is used only with *city*, not *booty*, as the object. The preceding ten years of war have been mainly occupied in plundering neighbouring towns; Achilles counts twenty-three such forays in I 328, and they are alluded to elsewhere.

126. **λαοὺς** is perhaps to be taken after *ἐπαγείρειν*, in the sense *to gather again from the people*, with the double acc. usual after verbs of taking away. *ἐπι-* thus expresses, as often, the idea of going over a space, or round a number of people, e.g. *ἐπινεῖμαι*, *ἐπιπωλεῖσθαι*, *ἐπιστρῶφάν* (Paley).

δῶσι πόλιν Τροίην ἐντείχεον ἐξαλαπάξαι.”

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων· 130

“ μὴ δ' οὕτως, ἀγαθὸς περ ἑὼν, θεοείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
κλέπτε νόωι, ἐπεὶ οὐ παρελεύσεται οὐδέ με πείσεις.

ἢ ἐθέλεις, ὄφρ' αὐτὸς ἔχῃς γέρας, αὐτὰρ ἔμ' αὐτῶς  
ἦσθαι δευόμενον, κέλεαι δέ με τήνδ' ἀποδοῦναι ;

ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν δώσουσι γέρας μεγάθυμοι Ἀχαιοί, 135

ἄρσαντες κατὰ θυμόν, ὅπως ἀντάξιον ἔσται.

129. Τροίην Zen. : τροίην Ar.  
133. ἔχεις C. 136. ἄρσαντες Ar. A.

132. νόωι : νόον U.

133-4 ἀθ. Ar.

129. Τροίην, Ar., as an adj., a city of Troas, not 'the town of Troy.' It might appear in that case better to read Τρωίην, the usual form of the adj. (v. Cobet *M. C.* 252); but as Τρωίος generally, though by no means always, stands with the first syllable in thesis, it is probable that it should itself be written Τρώϊος: see van L. *Ench.* p. 84. Ar. held that H. does not use the expression πόλις Τροίην for 'the town of Troy,' but πόλις Τρώων, though in λ 510 πόλις Τροίην (Ar. Τροίην) must mean 'Troy'; and there seems no reason to reject this sense here. Zoilos, the famous Ὀμηρομάστιξ, accused Homer of solecism in this line for using a plural verb instead of a singular; he must therefore have read δῶσι, which was probably indeed the original form of the 3rd sing. subj., answering to \**dāt*, not a contraction of δῶσι: see *H. G.* § 81, and Mulvany in *C. R.* x. p. 25. Brandreth after P. Knight reads δῶσι Τροίην.

131. περ seems here to have merely its original force of 'very,' rather than of 'though,' which indeed belongs properly to the participle. The meaning is 'Being a very great warrior (the Hom. sense of ἀγαθός), be content with that, and do not attempt to outdo me in cunning too.'

132. νόωι is here instrumental rather than locative; lit. 'by thought' as opposed to brute force. Cf. Soph. *El.* 56 λόγωι κλέπτοντες, and Ξ 217 πάμφαις, ἢ τ' ἐκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονέωντων; and for παρελεύσεται, ν 291 κερδαλέος κ' εἴη καὶ ἐπὶ κλοπος, ὅς σε παρέλθοι, ε 104 παρεξελθεῖν Διὸς νόον. So Theog. 1285 δόλοι παρελεύσεται.

133. Three ways of translating this line have been proposed. (a) 'Wouldest thou, while thou thyself keepest thy

prize, have me for my part sit idle with empty hands?' (b) 'Wouldest thou, in order that thou mayest keep,' etc. (c) 'Dost thou wish that thou shouldest keep thy prize, but that I should sit,' etc. In favour of the construction of ἐθέλειν with ὄφρα instead of the infin. in (c) E 690 is quoted, λεληγμένος ὄφρα τάχιστα ὤσαιτ' Ἀργείους, and so Δ 465; but in neither of these passages is it necessary to join ὄφρα with the participle. Cf. also Z 361 θυμὸς ἐπέσσανται ὄφρα. In II 653 ὄφρα with the opt. seems to be expegetical of εἶναι: but that single passage does not justify our assuming so harsh a construction here, especially as there is nothing in the way of the natural construction αὐτὸς μὲν ἔχειν. Both (a) and (b) give a good sense, (a) referring to the distance of time at which the recompense is to be made (128), (b) to Achilles' refusal to accord the restitution at all. But (b) is preferable, firstly, because ὄφρα when it stands alone is commonly a final particle; in the sense of ἕως it is regularly followed by τόφρα (not always, v. Ψ 47, Δ 346; *H. G.* § 287); and secondly, because for ἔχῃς we want in this sense ἔχεις (which C reads). The αὐτὰρ is not of course logical, but the interposition of an adverbative particle to accent the contrast between the two persons is a perfectly natural anacoluthon. A very similar instance is Γ 290 εἰ δ' ἂν . . αὐτὰρ ἐγώ. κέλεαι is paratactic = *seeing that thou biddest me*. Ar. athetized the two lines on subjective and insufficient grounds.

136. It seems natural to take ὅπως ἄντ. ἔσται in the sense 'be sure that the recompense is adequate'; but this construction, though found in Herod. and Attic, is not Homeric; and the clause ἄρσαντες κατὰ θυμόν should come



εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώωσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι  
 ἢ τεὸν ἢ Αἴαντος ἰὼν γέρας, ἢ Ὀδυσῆος  
 ἄξω ἐλὼν· ὁ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται, ὅν κεν ἴκωμαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἢ τοι μὲν ταῦτα μεταφρασόμεσθα καὶ αὖτις, 110  
 νῦν δ' ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν εἰς ἄλα διαν,  
 ἐν δ' ἐρέτας ἐπιτηδὲς ἀγείρομεν, ἐς δ' ἐκατόμβην  
 θείομεν, ἂν δ' αὐτὴν Χρῦσηΐδα καλλιπάρηιον  
 βήσομεν· εἰς δέ τις ἀρχὸς ἀνὴρ βουληφόρος ἔστω,  
 ἢ Αἴας ἢ Ἰδομενεὺς ἢ διὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς 145  
 ἢ ἐσὺ, Πηλεΐδῃ, πάντων ἐκπαγλότατ' ἀνδρῶν,  
 ὄφρ' ἡμῖν ἐκάεργον ἱλάσσαι ἱερὰ ῥέξας."  
 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 "ὦ μοι, ἀναιδείῃν ἐπιειμένε, κερδαλεόφρον,  
 πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν πείθεται Ἀχαιῶν 150  
 ἢ ὁδὸν ἐλθέμεναι ἢ ἀνδράσιν ἴφι μάχεσθαι;  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἔνεκ' ἤλυθον αἰχμητῶν  
 δεῦρο μαχησόμενος, ἐπεὶ οὐ τί μοι αἵτιοί εἰσιν·"

137. δώσουσιν G Par. h (k *supr.*). 139 ἀθ. Ar. 140. αὖθις CD. 142.  
 ἐν δ' ἐρέτας Ar.: ἐς δ' ἐρέτας Ω (εἰς Vr. b). Cf. 309. 143 ἀθ. Zen. || αὐτῇ  
 L. 147. ἡμῖν Herod. AT<sup>3</sup>U. 149. κερδαλεόφρων Q Vr. c. 150. πείθοιτο S.  
 151. ἐλεόμεναί τ' S.

in the apodosis rather than the protasis. We may take ἀλλ' (135), in connexion with what precedes, as 'Very well, if they will give me a prize, such that the recompense is fair (I will do so).' Bayfield ingeniously suggests that ἄρσαντες κατὰ θυμὸν is itself the apodosis, the verb διδόντων being supplied from the protasis, *let them give it to meet my wish*. The idiom by which a verb common to two clauses is expressed in one only is not rare in later Greek (Kühner ii. p. 1079); but clearness requires that the two clauses should be distinctly separated, by particles or otherwise, which is not the case here. Nor does the idiom recur in H. with the doubtful exception of I 46 (q.v.). But there is no doubt that this gives the best sense. δώσουσι (135) echoes Achilles' δώσουσι (123). Note that there is no appreciable difference between εἰ with fut. ind. and εἰ κε with aor. subj.

137. There is some doubt as to the punctuation here, some putting a colon after ἔλωμαι, but this makes the repetition of the participles ἰὼν . . . ἐλὼν very awkward. That given in the text is

unobjectionable. 139 was rejected by Ar. as superfluous and εὐήθες. This athetesis is accepted by those who would banish κε with the fut. ind. from the text of Homer; but the grounds given by Ar. are not convincing, and the omission of the line would damage the effect.

140. μεταφρασόμεσθα, i.e. we will postpone the consideration of this for the present.

144. ἀρχός is predicate: *let one, a member of the council, be in command*. For those who had the right to be summoned to the royal βουλὴ see B 404.

146. ἐκπαγλός is not entirely a word of blame, cf. Σ 170. It is perhaps for ἐκ-παγ-λος (root πακ-), meaning 'vehement,' 'violent.'

149. ἐπιειμένε: cf. ι 214 μεγάλην ἐπιειμένον ἀλκήν, γ 205 δύναμιν περιθεῖναι, *to clothe as with armour*. κερδαλεόφρον, *greedy*, or perhaps *crafty*; cf. Z 153 Σίσυφος, ὃ κέρδιςτος γένητ' ἀνδρῶν.

150. πείθεται: a subjunctive expressing submission, *how is any one to obey?* Cf. H. G. § 277.

151. ὁδόν, whether military or diplomatic. ἴφι: v. Γ 375.



οὐ γάρ πώ ποτ' ἐμὰς βούς ἤλασαν οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους,  
οὐδέ ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ ἐριβώλακι βωτιανείρῃ 155  
καρπὸν ἐδηλήσαντ', ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξύ,  
οὔρεά τε σκίοεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήμεσσα·  
ἀλλὰ σοί, ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδές, ἅμ' ἐσπόμεθ', ὄφρα σὺ χαίρης,  
τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάωι σοί τε, κυνώπα,  
πρὸς Τρώων· τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέπηι οὐδ' ἀλεγίζεις· 160  
καὶ δὴ μοι γέρας αὐτὸς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι ἀπειλεις,  
ὦι ἐπὶ πολλὰ μόγησα, δόσαν δέ μοι νῆες Ἀχαιῶν.  
οὐ μὲν σοί ποτε ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, ὅππότε' Ἀχαιοὶ  
Τρώων ἐκπέρσωσ' ἐν ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον·  
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλείον πολυαῖκος πολέμοιο 165  
χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπουσ', ἀτὰρ ἦν ποτε δασμὸς ἵκηται,  
σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε  
ἔρχομ' ἔχων ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπεὶ κε κάμω πολεμίζων.  
νῦν δ' εἶμι Φθίηνδ', ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερόν ἐστιν

157. σκίοῶντα Ar. 158. χαίρεις Q. 159. ἀρνύμενος Zen. 160 ἄθ.  
Zen. || ἀλεγίζης Vr. a. 162. πολλὰ μόγησα Ar.: πόλλ' ἐμόγησα Ω. 163.  
ὅππότε': οὐδ' ὅτ' Zen. 165. πλείον: πλείστον Vr. b. 166. αὐτὰρ T.  
168. ἐπεὶ κε κάμω Ar. Herod.: ἐπὶν κεκάμω (or ἐπὶν κε κάμω) Ω: ἐπεὶ  
κεκάμω Et. Gud. 169. νῦν εἶμι U. || Φθίηνδ' Ar. Zen. Ω: a variant Φθίην  
is implied, and attributed to Zen. in Schol. P: Φθίηνδε ἐπεὶ Draco de Metr. ||  
φέρτερον: ὥϊον Plato Hipp. Min. 370 c.

156. Bekker and others write με-  
σηγύ(ς), on the insufficient ground that  
μεταξύ does not recur in H.

157. σκίοεντα is very expressive of  
the importance of shade in a sunburnt  
land. The variant σκίοῶντα, which in  
spite of the authority of Ar. is in-  
defensible, is explained by Fick as due  
to a primitive ΣΚΙΟΝΤΑ, which could  
be interpreted either as σκιοῦντα = σκίοεντα  
or σκίοῶντα = σκίοῶντα.

158. χαίρης, subj., because the pur-  
pose expressed by ἐσπόμεθα is still pre-  
sent, hence also the present participle  
ἀρνύμενοι follows. τιμὴν, recompense.  
The heroic point of honour is not ab-  
stract; it requires to be realized in  
the shape of ransom or material recom-  
pense. The present ἀρνύμενοι implies  
'trying to win.'

163. ὅππότε is here *whenever*, and  
Τρώων πτολίεθρον = *a town of the Tro-  
jan land*, see note on 129. Homer never  
uses Τρ. πτολίεθρον of Troy, but Τρώων  
πόλις or Ἰλίου πτολίεθρον. Indeed the  
expression οὐ ποτε ἔχω cannot possibly

mean οὐχ ἔξω, and 166 ff. obviously refer  
to repeated experience in the past.

166. ἦν: read εἰ, the contraction of  
εἰ ἂν not being Homeric, and ἂν itself  
doubtful. H. G. p. 329 (where, how-  
ever, the restriction of εἰ ἂν, εἰ κεν to  
particular statements is at least dis-  
putable).

167. ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε, a proverbial  
expression; § 208 δόσις ὀλίγη τε φίλη  
τε: 'Touchstone's 'a poor virgin, an  
ill-favoured thing, but mine own.'  
φίλος here indeed is little removed  
from its apparently original sense 'own.'

168. The vulg. ἐπὶν κεκάμω is con-  
demned by the non-Homeric contraction  
from ἐπεὶ ἂν. ἐπεὶ κε κάμω can equally  
be read ἐπεὶ κεκάμω, though it is curious  
that there should be no trace of the  
redupl. form except in passages equally  
ambiguous (H 5, P 658). The choice  
is not easy; see H. G. § 296. The  
rhythm perhaps favours κεκάμω, but  
cf. B 475, Φ 483, 575 (?), Ψ 76, Ω 423,  
θ 554, ο 277, ρ 111, σ 150 (van L. Ench.  
p. 20).

οἴκαδ' ἵμεν σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὐδέ σ' οἶω  
ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἔων ἄφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν.” 170

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
“ φεῦγε μάλ', εἴ τοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται, οὐδέ σ' ἐγὼ γε  
λίσσομαι εἵνεκ' ἐμεῖο μένειν· παρ' ἐμοί γε καὶ ἄλλοι,  
οἳ κέ με τιμήσουσι, μάλιστα δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς. 175

ἔχθιστος δέ μοί ἐσσι διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων·  
αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη πόλεμοί τε μάχαι τε.  
εἰ μάλα καρτερός ἐσσι, θεός που σοὶ τό γ' ἔδωκεν.  
οἴκαδ' ἰὼν σὺν νηυσὶ τε σῆις καὶ σοῖς ἐτάροισι  
Μυρμιδόνεσσιν ἄνασσε, σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω 180  
οὐδ' ὄθομαι κοτέοντος· ἀπειλήσω δέ τοι ὧδε·  
ὥς ἔμ' ἀφαιρεῖται Χρυσήϊδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
τὴν μὲν ἐγὼ σὺν νηϊ τ' ἐμῇ καὶ ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισι  
πέμψω, ἐγὼ δέ κ' ἄγω Βρισηίδα καλλιπάρηιον

171. ἄφενον Q Bar. Mor. Mosc. 1<sup>2</sup>. 173. ἦτοι D (Schol. B): εἴ τι Q. ||  
ἐπέσσυται: γρ. ἐέλδεται Schol. T. 175. οἳ γε Lips. Bar. || τιμήσωσι R Schol. T.  
176. διοτρεφῶν J. 177 ἀθ. Ar. || γάρ σοι H. 178. τότε δῶκεν S. 179.  
αἷς Vat.

170. *σ'*, i.e. *σοι*: this elision does not recur (except possibly Φ 122), but is sufficiently supported by *μ'* for *μοι*, which is found several times. Van Leeuwen (*Ench.* pp. 68 ff.) has shown good reason for thinking that it was originally commoner, but has been expelled as against the rules of later prosody. The sense is, 'I have no mind to draw wealth for you,' like a slave set to draw water from a well for his master. The fut. *ἀφύξει* beside aor. *ἤφνισα* is abnormal; it occurs only here, and perhaps should be *ἀφύσσειν*, or *ἀφύσειν* (*ἀφύσσα*, β 349).

173. *μάλα*, ironical, 'run away by all means'; cf. 85.

175. *ὅς κε* with fut. indic. seems equivalent, wherever it occurs, to *ὅσπερ*, Att. *ὅστις* (*H. G.* § 266), and describes a class, 'men who will honour me.' Those who are engaged in the task of expelling from H. all instances of *κε* with fut. indic. (an attempt which I regard as wholly mistaken) would do well to write here *οἳ τε* (not *οἳ γε* with van L.) rather than *τιμήσωσι*. For other instances of this use of *ὅς κε* see B 229, I 155, K 282, Φ 587, X 70, Ψ 675, ε 36, π 438. See note on X 66.

177 was athetized by Ar. here, as wrongly interpolated from E 891; *πόλεμοι*

and *μάχαι* are no rebuke to a hero in the field.

179. *νηυσὶ τε εἰς*, a case in which it is impossible to restore the long form of the dat. plur. in -σι without some violence (*νηῆ τε σῇ* Nauck, *σῇσι* *l'edé* van L.). But it is in these monosyllables that the short form seems first to have arisen.

182. The thought with which the sentence starts is, 'As Apollo takes Chryseis from me, so will I take Briseis from you.' But the second clause is broken up into two, correlated by *μέν* and *δέ*. A very similar sentence with a double antithesis will be found in Θ 268-72. (It might appear simpler, though losing the emphasis in *ἐμέ*, to take *ὥς* = *since*. But this causal use is found in Homer only when *ὥς* follows the principal verb of the sentence, and is thus equivalent to *ὅτι οὕτως*.) *κε* in 184 indicates that *ἄγω* is contingent upon *πέμψω*, virtually meaning 'and then I will bring.' *H. G.* § 275 a.

184. The origin of the name *Βρισηΐς* (or rather of *Βρισηΐς*) is uncertain. Fick writes *Βρησηΐς*, referring it to Bresa, a town in Lesbos, where there was also a Chryse, holding that in the oldest legends both ladies were captured in a raid on Lesbos; see I 129, 660. To Homer, however, Briseis comes from Lynnessos, not far from Thebe (T 291-300); see on 37.

αὐτὸς ἰὼν κλισίηνδε, τὸ σὸν γέρας, ὄφρ' ἐν εἰδήϊς 185  
ὅσσον φέρτερός εἰμι σέθεν, στυγέη δὲ καὶ ἄλλος  
ἶσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι καὶ ὁμοιωθήμεναι ἄντην."

ὥς φάτο· Πηλεΐωνι δ' ἄχος γένετ', ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ  
στήθεσσι λασίοισι διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν,  
ἦ ὃ γε φάσγανον ὀξὺ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ 190  
τοὺς μὲν ἀναστήσειεν, ὃ δ' Ἀτρεΐδην ἐναρίζοι,  
ἦε χόλον παύσειεν ἐρητύσειέ τε θυμόν.  
ἕως ὃ ταυτ' ὄρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,  
ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος, ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη  
οὐρανόθεν· πρὸ γὰρ ἦκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη, 195  
ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῶι φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε.  
στή δ' ὀπιθεν, ξανθῆς δὲ κόμης ἔλε Πηλεΐωνα,  
οἶω φαινομένη, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ τις ὀράτο.  
θάμβησεν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς, μετὰ δ' ἐτράπετ', αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω  
Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην· δεινὴ δέ οἱ ὅσσε φάανθεν. 200  
καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

186. **CTYΓΕΕΙ** JPR: **CTYΓΕΟΙ** Bar.  
**ἐναρίζοι** H<sup>2</sup>JPRST: **ἐναρίσει** G Vr a.  
193. ὄρμαινε D. 195-6 ἀθ. Ar.  
τινὲς (Zen.?) An., Par. c *supr.*

189. **μερμήριζεν** GHL Cant. 191.  
192 ἀθ. Ar. (see note on 188 below).  
197. **ΞΑΝΘΗΝ ΔΕ ΚΟΜΗΝ . . ΠΗΛΕΪΩΝΟΣ**  
198. ὄρητο U: ὄρητο Zen. C. Cf. 56.

185. τὸ **CON** may be an Attic corruption: **τεόν** P. Knight (see 207, Z 407, 490, II 40, Σ 457). But the article has a certain emphasis, 'that γέρας of thine.'

187. **ICON** is an adverb, *ισαγορησαί μοι* (schol.), not an adj., as it would then rather be *isos*. Cf. ο 377 *ἀντία δεσποίνης φάσθαι*.

188. **EN** is here still an adverb, *within*, 'his heart in his shaggy breast.' **ΛΑΣΙΟΙ**, according to the Schol. A, because they cover the heart, *ἐν ἧ ἐστὶ τὸ πυρῶδες καὶ θερμόν καὶ μαυικόν τῆς ψυχῆς . . ἡ θέρμη γὰρ αἰτία τῆς ἐκφύσεως τῶν τριχῶν*. So Hentze quotes Galen, *de Temp.* *εἰ τις ἱκανῶς εἴη δασὺς τὰ στέρνα, θυμικὸν ἀποφαίνονται*.

189. **ΔΙΔΑΝΔΙΧΑ ΜΕΡΜΗΡΙΞΕΝ**: see note on Θ 167, (ὃ ὀβελός) *ὅτι δύο ἐμερμήνησεν οὐκ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις, ὅπερ ἐκλαβὼν τις προσέθηκεν "ἦε χόλον παύσειεν," and on 192, ὅτι ἐκλύεται τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς (the picture of passion is weakened) διὸ ἀθετεῖται—Ariston. These remarks are perfectly right; διάνδιχα μερμήριξεν means 'he had "half a mind," and does not*

require two alternatives expressed; and 192 entirely spoils the picture.

191. **ὃ ΔΕ** as often repeats the subject of the first clause; the contrast is with *τοὺς μὲν*.

193. **ΕΩΣ** scanned as a trochee represents of course an original *ἦος* (*eios* acc. to the rule of our mss.), clearly by an error in transcription of an old Attic (H)EOΣ. This is the only scansion of the word in *Il.* except in P 727; the alternative form *είως* is equally *ἦος* (but *τέως* is — in T 189, Ω 658). In *Od.* the scansions — — or — (synizesis) are commoner. See van L. *Ench.* pp. 550 f.

195-6 were rejected here by Ar. as wrongly anticipated from 208-9 (which Zen. athetized); it is not for the poet but for the goddess to give this information.

197. **CTA**, *came up*; this is the usual sense of the aor. *ἔστην*.

200. **ΟΙ** may refer to Athene—*her* eyes gleamed terrible; or to Achilles—*terrible* shone *her* eyes on *him*. Cf. T 17, which is in favour of the former view.

“τίπτ’ αὐτ’, αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς τέκος, εἰλήλουθας ;  
 ἦ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃς Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαο ;  
 ἀλλ’ ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τελέεσθαι οἶω.  
 ἦς ὑπεροπλήισι τάχ’ ἄν ποτε θυμὸν δλέσσει.” 205  
 τὸν δ’ αὖτε προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
 “ἦλθον ἐγὼ παύσουσα τεὸν μένος, αἶ κε πίθῃαι,  
 οὐρανόθεν· πρὸ δέ μ’ ἦκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,  
 ἄμφω ὁμῶς θυμῶι φιλέουσά τε κηδομένη τε.  
 ἀλλ’ ἄγε λῆγ’ ἔριδος, μηδὲ ξίφος ἔλκεο χειρί· 210  
 ἀλλ’ ἦ τοι ἔπεσιν μὲν ὀνειδίσουν ὥς ἔσεται περ.  
 ὦδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται·  
 καί ποτέ τοι τρὶς τόσσα παρέσσεται ἀγλαὰ δῶρα  
 ὕβριος εἵνεκα τῆσδε· σὺ δ’ ἴσχειο, πείθεο δ’ ἡμῖν.”

202. αὐτ’ : αὐ PS Mose. 2.

203. ἴδῃς Zen. GJR Par. c f : ἴδῃ Ar. Ω.

204. τελέεσθαι Ar. Par. f : τετελέεσθαι Ω : τετελεσμένον ἔσται Zen. 205.

ὀλέεσθαι (A?) CD(R?) STU Harl. b<sup>1</sup>. 207. τεὸν Harl. c d, Par. d e h, Eust. :

τὸ δὲ Zen. 208-9 ἀθ. Zen. 212. τετελέεσθαι οἶω Zen. 213. τοι : κοί H.

202. αὐτε, *again*, an expression of impatience, implying ‘one vexation after another.’ Cf. 540.

203. The vulgate ἴδῃ for ἴδῃς might be accepted if written ἴδῃ(αι), but the contracted form is late. Ar. preferred it, though in this verb there appears to be no distinction whatever in sense between the active and middle voices. (Cf. particularly ἴδον . . . ἴδωμαι, l. 262.) In the subj. the latter is commoner, except in the 1st pers. pl., where ἰδόμεθα is not found. See also Γ 163, Δ 205, N 449, O 32. The hiatus after ἵνα and the neglected *F* of *ἴδῃς* suggest that ἵβριν is wrong, especially as the word is almost purely Odyssean, recurring in *Il.* only in 214 (ὑβρίζοντες Δ 695, ὑβριστήισι N 633, both very late passages).

205. τάχα, *soon*, never ‘perhaps’ in Homer; but the word has little force. For ἄν with subj. as a solemn threat see *H. G.* § 275 b. For the scansion of ὑπεροπλήισι (*ī* in thesis) cf. *τρῆγκόσι* Δ 697 and note on Δ 678. This seems to be a late licence. The various difficulties in this short speech, and the disrespectful tone, strongly contrasting with 216-8, suggest that 201-5 may be a later addition.

206. γλαυκῶπις, either ‘bright-eyed’ or ‘blue-(grey)-eyed.’ See Paus. i. 14. 6 of the statue in the temple of Hephaistos,

τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὁρῶν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς γλαυκοὺς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, Λιβύων τὸν μῦθον ὄντα εὕρισκον. τοῦτοις γὰρ ἐστὶν εἰρημένον Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Λίμνης Τριτωνίδος θυγατέρα εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γλαυκοὺς εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Cicero (*Nat. Deor.* i. 30, 83) says that Neptune’s eyes were sky-blue, which is in favour of blue rather than grey as the colour of Athene’s eyes. See Frazer’s note ad loc. As with other colour-words, we have considerable latitude of explanation. The simple γλαυκός is used in *H.* only once, of the sea (II 34), with γλαυκῶν T 172, which can have no distinct reference to colour. As the owl is Athene’s bird, some would translate ‘owl-eyed,’ and explain by an owl-totem identified with the goddess. But any such sense must have completely disappeared by Homeric times. See on 39.

211. ὥς ἔσεται περ is the object of ὀνειδίσουν, *cast in his teeth how it will be*, what will follow, as Achilles proceeds to do. Cf. φ 212 σφῶν δ’ ὥς ἔσεται περ ἀληθείην καταλέξω, and so τ 312, γ 255; and for the construction of ὀνειδίζειν, B 255 ὀνειδίζειν ὅτι . . . διδοῖσιν : cf. I 24, σ 380. ὀνειδίζειν occurs without an expressed object only in *H.* 95 (where, however, see note).

213. παρέσεται, *shall be laid before thee*. τρὶς τόσσα : cf. Ω 686.



- τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 “*χρὴ μὲν σφωῖτερόν γε, θεά, ἔπος εἰρύσσασθαι,* 216  
*καὶ μάλα περ θυμῷ κεχολωμένον· ὥς γὰρ ἄμεινον·*  
*ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθεται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυνον αὐτοῦ.”*
- ἦ καὶ ἐπ' ἀργυρέῃ κώπῃ σκέθε χεῖρα βαρεῖαν,  
 ἂψ δ' ἐς κουλεὸν ὥσε μέγα ξίφος, οὐδ' ἀπίθησε 220  
 μύθῳ Ἀθηναίης· ἣ δ' Οὐλυμπόνδε βεβήκει  
 δώματ' ἐς αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους.
- Πηλεΐδης δ' ἐξαυτίς ἀταρτηροῖς ἐπέεσσιν  
 Ἀτρεΐδην προσέειπε, καὶ οὐ πῶ λῆγε χόλοιο·  
 “*οἶνοβαρές, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο,* 225  
*οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον ἅμα λαῶι θωρηχθῆναι*  
*οὔτε λόχονδ' ἶναι σὺν ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν*

216. *ΜΕΝ* : με G. 219–20. ὥς εἰπὼν πάλιν ὥσε μέγα ξίφος, οὐδ' ἀπίθων  
 Zen. 222 *δύναιτο ἀθετεῖσθαι* Schol. BL (Ar. ?). 223. *ἐξαυτίς* C. 225–33  
 ab. Zen.

216. *σφωῖτερον*, because Athene speaks for Here as well as for herself. *εἰρύσασθαι*, to observe, from (σ)ρῦ, (σ)ερῦ = Lat. *serv-are*. It is now generally recognised that this is the root, and that the verb has nothing to do with *φέρω* = *drav*, though the forms are very similar, and in the numerous cases where the verb is used of the dead and wounded *drav* *away* or *saved* from the enemy either root gives an equally good sense. The chief forms of the verb are (1) non-thematic pres. ῥύσθαι, ῥύατ', ῥύσκειν; (2) thematic ῥύομαι (ῡ and ῥ): (3) aor. ἐρρύσατο, ῥύσασθαι, fut. ῥύσομαι (from σρῡ): (4) aor. εἰρυσάμην (ἐ-σέρυ-), ἐρύσ(σ)ασθαι, etc., fut. ἐρύσσεται, ἐρέσσειν; (5) perf. εἰρύμαι, etc. (= *se-sru-mai*). This leaves *εἰρύσσασθαι* here and elsewhere, *εἰρύσσονται* Σ 276, *εἰρνώμεθα*, to be explained as due to the analogy of *εἰρύμαι* regarded as a present. The varying quantity of the *v* naturally arises from the mutual influence of the forms (σ)ρῡ and (σ)ερῡ. (So Schulze *Qu. Ep.* 325–9; cf. also van L. *Ench.* p. 406.) None of these forms require, and few admit, a *F*, which is rarely absent where the verb means to *drav* (ι 194 = κ 444 is apparently a mistaken adaptation of ξ 260 = ρ 429). The active forms are all from *φέρυ-*, to *drav*. The ambiguous forms are chiefly those of the 1 aor. middle, and the perf. and plpf.

218. The τ' is called a 'gnomic' τε.

It may, however, be for *τοι* (cf. 170); or possibly we should read *ὅς τε* for *ὅς κε*, in which case the repeated *τε* will simply mark the correlation of the two clauses, as often in gnomic lines; v. on 81, and *H. G.* § 332. The *αὐτοῦ* at the end, however, seems so weak as to raise a more serious doubt as to the authenticity of the line, which is in itself rather flat, and precisely of the sort which would be likely to be interpolated in the age of Hesiod or the 'seven sages' (Döderlein conj. *αὐ τοῦ*).

219. *σχεῖς* must be taken here as aor., not imperf. (see note on N 163), as *ἦ καὶ* always introduces an action coincident with the words: *he stayed his hand*.

221. *βεβήκει*: 'the pf. *βέβηκα* expresses the attitude of walking, the step or stride; hence *βεβήκει*, "was in act to go," comes to mean "started to go" (not "had gone").'—Monro.

223. *ἀταρτηροῖς*, a word of doubtful origin; Hesych. *ἀταρτᾶται· λυπεῖ, βλάπτει*. Cf. β 243 *Μέντορ ἀταρτηρέ*.

225. For the dog as the type of shamelessness cf. 159, and the curious compar. *κύντερος*. *οἶνοβαρές*: cf. ι 374 *οἶνοβαρείων*, γ 139 *οἶνω βεβαρηώς*, τ 122.

226. Observe the distinction between *πόλεμος*, open battle in which the whole host (λαός) is engaged, and *λόχος*, the heroic 'forlorn hope,' reserved for the *élite* (ἀριστῆες). As a test of courage the *λόχος* is vividly described in N 275–86.



τέτληκας θυμῶι· τὸ δέ τοι κῆρ εἶδεται εἶναι.  
 ἦ πολὺν λῳΐόν ἐστι κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν  
 δῶρ' ἀποαιρεῖσθαι, ὅς τις σέθεν ἀντίον εἴπηι· 230  
 δημοβόρος βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ οὐτιδανοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις·  
 ἦ γὰρ ἄν, Ἀτρεΐδῃ, νῦν ὕστατα λωβήσαιο.  
 ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι·  
 ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον· τὸ μὲν οὐ ποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους 235  
 φύσει, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτα τομῆν ἐν ὄρεσσι λέλαιπεν,  
 οὐδ' ἀναθλησεί· περὶ γάρ ῥά ἐ χαλκὸς ἔλεψε  
 φύλλά τε καὶ φλοιόν· νῦν αὖτέ μιν νῖες Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἐν παλάμῃς φορέουσι δικασπόλοι οἳ τε θέμιστας  
 πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται· ὁ δέ τοι μέγας ἔσσεται ὄρκος·  
 ἦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλῆος ποθὴ ἴξεται νῖας Ἀχαιῶν 240  
 σύμπαντας· τότε δ' οὐ τι δυνήσεται ἀχνύμενός περ  
 χραισμεῖν, εἴτ' ἂν πολλοὶ ὑφ' Ἑκτορος ἀνδροφόνου

230. δῶρα ἀφαιρεῖσθαι G. || εἴποι R (and S *supr.*). 235. φύει P. 236.  
 ἀπασελήσῃ Q : ἀπασαλήσει S (*supr.* n over ei). || ἔρεψε(ν) LS. 238. παλάμῃς  
 Harl. c d, Par. b f j, Et. Mag. : παλάμαις Ω. 239. ὄρκος ἐσεῖται G. 240. εἴ  
 ποτ' S. 241. σύμπαντας Q. || τότε Ar. A : τοῖς Ω (Par. k has τοῖς *in ras.*). |  
 δυνήσῃ PR Vr. a<sup>1</sup>, Mosc. 1 2.

228. κῆρ: cf. Γ 454 ἴσον γάρ σφιν πᾶσιν  
 ἀπήχθετο κηρὶ μελαίνῃ.

230. ἀποαιρεῖσθαι: so 275, but ἀφαι-  
 ρεῖται, 182, etc. There is no plausible  
 explanation of these occasional signs of  
 an evanescent initial consonant, and the  
 contraction is suspicious. (Brandreth  
 conj. ἀπαίρεσθαι, but there is no  
 similar use of the word in Greek, cf.  
 Φ 536.)

231. δημοβόρος, devourer of the com-  
 mon stock. For δῆμος in this sense com-  
 pare B 547, A 704, Σ 301. For the  
 exclamatory nom. H. G. § 163. οὐτι-  
 δανοῖσι, men of naught; cf. 293-4, which  
 explain the γάρ, 'else,' in the next line.  
 For the form compare ἠπιδανός by ἠπιος.  
 For λωβήσαιο we should rather have  
 expected the aor. indic.; cf. on Δ 223,  
 E 311.

234. The σκῆπτρον does not belong to  
 Achilles, but is that which is handed by  
 the herald to the speaker as a sign that  
 he is 'in possession of the house.' See  
 K 321, Σ 505, Ψ 568, β 37. So in the  
 Ellice Islands in the Pacific Ocean the  
 natives 'preserved an old worm-eaten  
 staff, which in their assemblies the orator  
 held in his hand as the sign of having the  
 right to speak' (Tylor *Anthropology* p.

374). Virgil imitates the passage in *Aen.*  
 xii. 206-11. He may have read κόμην for  
 τομῆν, *posuūtque comas et brachia ferro.*

235. πρῶτα, at the first, i.e. once  
 for all, just as in T 9; cf. A 6, Z 489,  
 γ 183, 320 (with M. & R.'s note). So  
*ubi primum*, 'as soon as ever.'

238. δικασπόλος, *qui jus colit*, see on  
 63; the σ, however, is strange, as com-  
 pounds are very rarely formed directly  
 from the acc. See, however, H. G.  
 §§ 124 f. Brugmann, *Gr.* i. 172, compares  
 μογοστόκος for μογος-τοκος. θέμιστας  
 εἰρύαται, *guard* (216) *the traditions*, which  
 are deposited as a sacred mystery in the  
 keeping of the kings. So in old Iceland  
 and Ireland law was a tradition preserved  
 entirely by the special knowledge of a  
 few men; the plur. θέμιστες is used  
 exactly in the sense of our 'precedents.'  
 See note on I 99.

239. πρὸς Διός, like *de par le Roi*, by  
 commission of Zeus. Cf. ξ 57 πρὸς γὰρ  
 Διὸς εἰσι ξεῖνοι, and I 99. Or we may  
 take it with θέμιστας, laws given by  
 Zeus. ὄρκος is here used in the primi-  
 tive sense of the object sworn by.

242. ὑπό, because πίπτωσι is in sense  
 a passive, as P 428; so also with φείγω,  
 πάσχω, etc.

θνήσκοντες πίπτωσι· σὺ δ' ἔνδοθι θυμὸν ἀμύξεις  
χωόμενος, ὃ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισας."

ὧς φάτο Πηλεΐδης, ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ 245  
χρυσείοις ἥλοισι πεπαρμένον, ἔξετο δ' αὐτός·

Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐμήνιε. τοῖσι δὲ Νέστωρ  
ἡδυεπὴς ἀνόρουσε, λιγὺς Πυλίων ἀγορητής,  
τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή. 250

τῶι δ' ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων  
ἐφθίαθ', οἳ οἳ πρόσθεν ἅμα τράφεν ἡδὲ γέγοντο  
ἐν Πύλῳ ἡγαθέη, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἀνασθεν.

ὃ σφιν ἐν φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·  
"ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιΐδα γαίαν ἰκάνει· 255  
ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πριάμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες,

ἄλλοι τε Τρῶες μέγα κεν κεχαροῖατο θυμῷ,  
εἰ σφῶν τάδε πάντα πυθόιατο μαρναμένοιιν,  
οἳ περὶ μὲν βουλὴν Δαναῶν, περὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάχεσθαι.

245. ΠΗΛΕΪΔΗΣ: χωόμενος Athen. xi. 488. 247. ΔΕ: δ' ὁ J. 249.  
ΓΛΩΤΤΗΣ CP. || ΓΛΥΚΙΩ Zen. 251. Αἶ οἱ Zen. 253. Ὁ Ar. Ω: ὅς H<sup>2</sup>PQ.  
254. ἀχαΐδα JP: ἀχαΐάδα C. 255. ΓΗΘΉCΗ (C *supr.*) P(R *supr.*): ΓΗΘΉCΑΙ Q(H  
*supr.*). 258. ΒΟΥΛΗΝ Ar. Α (*supr.* ^ i, T.W.A.) C<sup>1</sup>Q Par. d: ΒΟΥΛΑΙ Ω (C  
*supr.*). || ΜΑΧΕCΕCΑΙ: ΜΑΧΗΤΑΙ Et. Mag.

244. Ὡ τ', sc. ὃ τε = ὅτι τε. On the difficult question of the elision of ὅτι see *H. G.* § 269 ad fin.

246. The 'golden nails' here seem to be a mere ornament; in the case of the sword in A 29 they doubtless fasten the blade to the handle. See Helbig *H. E.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 377, 333 f.

249. The καὶ is very unusual as introducing a purely expegetic sentence—in this case merely an expansion of what has already been said. Compare, however, T 165 with note.

250. Nestor is represented as having lived through more than two generations, and still being a king in the third; i.e. between his 70th and 100th years, if with the Greeks we count three *γενεαὶ* to a century. In γ 245 he is said to have *reigned over* three generations, which seems to be an instance of the growth of the legendary into the miraculous. *μερόπων*, an epithet of which the real sense was in all probability forgotten in Homeric days, as it is used only in purely stereotyped connexion with *ἄνθρωποι* (exc. B 285, q.v.). We can only say with confidence that it does

not mean 'articulate,' *μερίζοντες τὴν ὅπα*, as in so ancient a word the *F* of *Fóψ* would not be neglected. The other derivations which have been proposed are quite problematical.

251. ΤΡΑΦΕΝ ἡδὲ ΓΕΓΟΝΤΟ: for the ὕστερον πρότερον cf. μ 134 θρέψασα τεκοῦσά τε μήτηρ, and elsewhere. *ἐφείατο* is probably plpf., but it might be aor. ΤΡΑΦΕΝ: see on B 661.

252. ἨΓΑΘΕΟΣ, an epithet, like *ζάθεος*, applied only to places; no doubt both mean 'divine,' as they are only applied to localities connected with particular gods. We should perhaps read *ἡγάθεος* (from *ἄγαν*), the first syllable being lengthened metrically: see App. D. ἡγ. is used of Pytho (θ 80), Lemnos (B 722), and *Νυσσίῳ* (Z 133). Some take it to be another form of *ἀγαθός*, which is, however, never applied to localities.

257. For the construction *πυθέσθαι τινος* for *περὶ τινος* (lit. 'if they were to hear all this about you fighting') cf. λ 505 Πηλῆος ἀμύμονος· οὐτι πέπυσμαι, O 224, etc.; so λ 174 εἰπεῖν τινος, Δ 357 ὥς γινώχωμένοι: cf. *H. G.* § 151 d.

258. Construe *περίεστε μὲν βουλὴν Δα-*

ἀλλὰ πίθεσθ'· ἄμφω δὲ νεωτέρω ἔστων ἐμεῖο.  
 ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοισιν ἡέ περ ὑμῖν 260  
 ἀνδράσιν ὠμίλησα, καὶ οὐ ποτέ μ' οἷ γ' ἀθέριζον.  
 οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι,  
 οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν  
 Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον  
 [Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι]. 265  
 κάρτιστοι δὴ κείνοι ἐπιχθονίων τράφεν ἀνδρῶν·  
 κάρτιστοι μὲν ἔσαν καὶ καρτίστοις ἐμάχοντο,  
 φηρσὶν ὀρεσκῶιοισι, καὶ ἐκπάγλως ἀπόλεσαν.  
 καὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἐγὼ μεθομίλεον ἐκ Πύλου ἐλθών,  
 τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης· καλέσαντο γὰρ αὐτοί· 270

259. ἐμοῖο S Vr. b. 260. ἐγὼν P. || ὑμῖν Zen. CGPU (*supr.* η) : ἡμῖν  
 Ar. Ω. 265 om. Ω : *habent* H<sup>m</sup>J (νόθος ὁ στίχος οὗτος) RT<sup>m</sup> Harl. a, Vr. a,  
 Mosc. 2 (*man. rec.*), Par. j. 268. θήρσιν PQ<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup> Lips. Vr. b. || ὀρεσκῶεσσι G. ||  
 ἐκπαγλως T. 269. ἐγὼν P.

ναῶν, περίεστε δὲ μάχεσθαι : cf. τ 326  
 περίεμιν γυναικῶν. For the co-ordination  
 of substantive and infin., O 642 ἀμείνων  
 παντοίας ἀρετάς, ἡμῖν πόδας ἡδὲ μάχεσθαι.

260. ὑμῖν, so Zenod. ; Ar. read ἡμῖν,  
 thus saving Nestor's politeness at the  
 cost of his point. Ar. objected to Zen.'s  
 reading ἐφύβριστος ὁ λόγος : in other  
 words, he wished to import into heroic  
 language the conventional mock-modesty  
 of the Alexandrian Court. The whole  
 meaning of Nestor's speech is that he  
 himself is the peer of better men than  
 those he is advising (v. Cobet *M. C.*  
 p. 229).

262. Cf. ζ 201 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ  
 διερός βροτὸς οὐδὲ γέννηται. The sub-  
 junctive being a more archaic form of  
 the fut. perhaps suggests a solemn and  
 prophetic tone.

263. οἷον Πειρίθοον : accus. by attrac-  
 tion to the case of τοίους, for οἷος ἦν  
 Πειρίθοος. The names are those of the  
 chiefs of the Lapithai.

265. This line, which is quoted by  
 Pausanias x. 29. 10, is found also in the  
 pseudo-Hesiodian 'Shield of Herakles,'  
 182. Theseus is mentioned again only  
 in λ 322, 631, both doubtful passages ;  
 the latter indeed is expressly said by  
 Hereas of Megara (*ap. Plutarch, Thes. xx.*)  
 to be an interpolation of Peisistratos to  
 please the Athenians. It is, however, a  
 question if the same may not be equally  
 said of the whole reference to the

Lapithai ; it is doubtful if there ever was  
 a Peirithoos in any but Attic legend.

268. The fight of the Centaurs and  
 Lapithai is mentioned at some length in  
 φ 295-304, and is alluded to in B 743,  
 where the word φῆρες is again used. It  
 is commonly said to be an Aeolic  
 form for θῆρες, 'wild men' ; but for  
 this there is only the authority of  
 grammarians, and both H. and Pindar  
 seem to use it as a tribal name. The  
 identification with θῆρ may well be a  
 later fancy (Meister *Dial. i.* 119).  
 There is no allusion in H. to the  
 mixed bodies of the later legend, and it  
 is possible that he conceived them as  
 purely human beings (note, however,  
 the opposition to ἀνδρες in φ 303) ; the  
 myth may very likely refer to ancient  
 struggles with a primitive race of  
 autochthones. The present passage  
 seems to imply the existence of a  
 prae-Homeric epic dealing with the  
 story. The last half of the compound  
 ὀρεσκῶιοι is possibly connected with  
 κοῖ-τος (κείμεναι), and means 'couching  
 in the mountains' ; or else with κῶς  
 or κῶς = a cave (Hesych.) ; cf. ι 155  
 αἶγας ὀρεσκῶιους. In that case we should  
 read ὀρεσκῶιος for -κόF-ιος. ὀρέσκωος  
 occurs in Aisch. *Sept.* 532.

270. ἀπίης is generally derived from  
 ἀπό as = *distant* ; but there is hardly  
 a Greek analogy for such a formation.  
 It is used by Aisch., Soph., and others,

καὶ μαχόμεν κατ' ἔμ' αὐτὸν ἐγώ· κείνοισι δ' ἂν οὐ τις  
 τῶν, οἷ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν ἐπιχθόνιοι, μαχέοιτο.  
 καὶ μὲν μεν βουλέων ξύνιεν πείθοντό τε μύθωι.  
 ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε καὶ ὕμμες, ἐπεὶ πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον.  
 μήτε σὺ τόνδ' ἀγαθὸς περ ἔων ἀποαίρεο κούρην, 275  
 ἀλλ' ἔα, ὥς οἱ πρῶτα δόσαν γέρας νῆες Ἀχαιῶν·  
 μήτε σύ, Πηλεΐδῃ, θέλ' ἐριζέμεναι βασιλῇ  
 ἀντιβίην, ἐπεὶ οὐ ποθ' ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς  
 σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς, ὧι τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν.  
 εἰ δὲ σὺ καρτερός ἐσσι, θεὰ δέ σε γείνατο μήτηρ, 280  
 ἀλλ' ὅδε φέρτερός ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσιν ἀνάσσει.  
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σὺ δὲ παῦε τεὸν μένος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ γε  
 λίσσομ' Ἀχιλλῇι μεθέμεν χόλον, ὃς μέγα πᾶσιν

271. ἔμ' αὐτὸν Ar.: ἐμωυτὸν Zen. 272. μαχέοιντο DH<sup>2</sup>U<sup>2</sup>. 273. ξύνιεν  
 Ar. Δ[H] Par. e<sup>1</sup>(?) f<sup>1</sup>(?): ξύνιον Ω (ξυνήϊον P). 275. τόν γ' Eton.: τὸν R.  
 277. πηλεΐδ' ἦσελ' AQ(R?)U Lips. Eton. 281. ὃ γε GL.

as a name of Peloponnesos (ἀπία γῆ), and may be the same here in spite of the difference of quantity. For a suggested etymology see Curtius *Et.* p. 469.

271. κατ' ἔμ' αὐτόν, 'for my own hand,' as we say; as a champion acting independently. Cf. in a slightly different sense B 366 κατὰ σφέας μαχέονται.

272. βροτοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι together form the predicate. μαχέοιτο, like μαχέονται 344, is a highly doubtful form; the stem μαχε(s) is implied in μαχέ(σ)ομαι, but nowhere else appears in the pres. The best emendation is Platt's μαχέσαιοτο, *would have fought* (J. P. xxiii. 211); this use of the opt. to express past time (H. G. § 300 c) appears to belong properly to the aor. (A similar case is γ 171, where many mss. give μαχέσθαι for μαχέσασθαι.) See note on E 311.

275. ἀποαίρεο: for this syncopated form (for -ρέο) cf. H. G. § 5 (and Fritzsche in Curt. *Stud.* vi. 128); so Ω 202, β 202, etc. ἀπαίρεο Brandreth. See note on 230.

277. Aristarchus read Πηλεΐδῃθελ', or, as we should write it, Πηλεΐδῃ ἐθέλ', on the ground that ἐθέλειν is the only Homeric form. But it is better to admit the possibility of a single appearance of a form so common in later Greek than to have recourse to an unparalleled crasis, rendered the harsher by the slight pause after Πηλεΐδῃ. (See H. G. § 378.)

278. οὐχ ὁμοίως = 'very different' (from common men); *litotes*, cf. E 441;

*non simili poena*, Aen. i. 136. It has been objected, with force, to this line and the next that they are a pointless generality here, as Achilles is just as much a σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς as Agamemnon; the real ground for his yielding is given by 281. For the form ἔμμορε see H. G. § 23 (2).

280. The antithesis of καρτερός and φέρτερος ('in greater place') is the same as in 178, 186. The similarity of the terminations has its effect, though they are of course different in origin and meaning as well as accent.

282-4. The connexion of thought in these three lines is not very clear, and has given rise to suspicions of interpolation, which do not seem justifiable. The reiterated entreaty, the almost pathetic appeal to personal influence, is entirely in accordance with Nestor's character, human nature, and the necessities of the situation, which is not one where we need demand strict logical consistency. Nestor, after appealing equally to both, ends with an especial prayer to Agamemnon, who is obviously the offending party. αὐτὰρ ἐγώ γε, 'Nay, it is I, Nestor, who ask it.' There is no antithesis with σὺ δέ, which is merely the common use of the pronoun after a vocative; αὐτὰρ is not adversative except in so far as it marks the transition to a new line of remonstrance.

283. Ἀχιλλῇι may be taken with χόλον (*thine anger with Achilles*), or



ἔρκος Ἀχαιοῖσιν πέλεται πολέμοιο κακοῖο."

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων· 285

"ναὶ δὴ ταυτὰ γε πάντα, γέρον, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.

ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ἐθέλει περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

πάντων μὲν κρατεῖν ἐθέλει, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν,

πᾶσι δὲ σημαίνειν, ἃ τιν' οὐ πείσεσθαι οὔω.

εἰ δέ μιν αἰχμητὴν ἔθεσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες, 290

τοῦνεκά οἱ προθέουσιν ὀνείδεα μυθήσασθαι ;"

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑποβλήδην ἡμείβετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς·

"ἦ γάρ κεν δειλὸς τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καλεοίμην,

εἰ δὴ σοὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὑπείξομαι, ὅττι κεν εἵπηις·

286. ἔειπας PQRSU Mosc. 1 2.  
πείσεσθαι Mosc. 1.

287. πάντων περιέμμεναι Eust.  
293. κε Q. || δειλός (om. τε) PQ.

289.

better, on account of the order of the words, with μεθέμεν as a sort of dat. commodi, *relax in favour of Achilles*. Cf. φ 377 μέθιεν χαλεποῖο χόλοιο Τηλεμάχῳ. μέγα is perhaps an adverb, such as continually precedes πάντες: cf. 78 μέγα πάντων Ἀργείων κρατεῖ, and ἐβ πάντα, μάλα πάντα, ἅμα πάντα, often.

287-9. The tautological repetitions of these three lines are very suitable to unreasoning fury; they have to do duty for arguments.

289. **CHUÁINEIN** with dat. = *to give orders*, as B 805. **ΤΙΝΑ**, *one*, a general expression in form, though Agamemnon is of course thinking of himself. Nägelsbach compares Soph. *Ant.* 751 ἥδ' οὖν θανέϊται καὶ θανοῦσ' ὀλεῖ τινά (sc. ἐμέ).

291. **προθέουσιν**—(ἡ διπλῇ) ὅτι συνήθως ἐαυτῷ προθέουσι τὰ ὀνείδη, i.e. the plural verb with the neuter plural is in accordance with the poet's practice. This shows that Ar. took ὀνείδεα as nom., but we are not told how he explained the line. Ameis (followed by Monro) takes the words to mean 'do his revilings therefore dash forward (like spearmen themselves, cf. the phrase πολὺν προθέεσκε X 459) for him to speak them?' Monro compares, for the 'half-personified' ὀνείδεα, Herod. vii. 160 ὀνείδεα κατιόντα ἀνθρώπων φιλέει ἐπανάγειν τὸν θυμὸν (though the other passage which he quotes from i. 212, κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα, seems to weaken the relevancy of this, as shewing that the metaphor is material, not personal); and for the use of προθέω, ω 319 ἀνὰ ῥίνας . .

δριμύ μένος προὔτυψε (where again μένος is rather a physical conception than a personification, cf. μένος πνέοντες). The extreme harshness of this metaphor has led most recent editors to regard ὀνείδεα as the object, and προθέουσι as another form for προτιθέουσιν, 'do they set before him (i.e. allow him) revilings for him to utter?' This certainly gives a better sense, but no satisfactory analogy for the form of the verb has been given (there is a doubtful ἀνέθει in an Ionic inscription, *C. I.* 1195; see Curtius *Verb.* i. 213). Bekker suggests προθέωσι as aor. subj. The mood might be explained as one of expectation: 'are we to look for them to suggest words of insult?' But the form with the short stem-vowel is entirely unexampled, and I see no choice but to regard the passage as hopelessly corrupted.

292. **ὑποβλήδην**, *interrupting*; ὑποβαλὼν τὸν ἴδιον λόγον Schol. B. Cf. ὑββάλλειν T 80, and for the form παραβλήδην Δ 6. Observe that Achilles begins without the usual formula of address.

294. **ὑπείξομαι**: future rather than aor. subj., cf. 61. There is a slight change of attitude, as so often happens, after the opt. καλεοίμην: what Achilles in 293 conceives only as a supposition he here vividly realizes as an admitted fact (this is of course the same, however we take ὑπείξομαι). **ὑπείξομαι** should be ὑποφείξομαι, and various conjectures have been proposed to restore the full form, but none seem satisfactory (ὑπίσχομαι Brandreth).



ἄλλοισιν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐπιτέλλεο, μὴ γὰρ ἐμοί γε 295  
 σήμαιν'. οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γ' ἔτι σοι πείσεσθαι οἶω.  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σήμισι·  
 χερσὶ μὲν οὗ τοι ἐγὼ γε μαχήσομαι εἵνεκα κούρης  
 οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ, ἐπεὶ μ' ἀφέλεσθέ γε δόντες·  
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων, ἃ μοι ἔστι θοῇ παρὰ νηὶ μελαινῇ, 300  
 τῶν οὐκ ἂν τι φέροις ἀνελὼν ἀέκοντος ἐμεῖο.  
 εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν πείρησαι, ἵνα γνῶωσι καὶ οἷδε·  
 αἰψά τοι αἶμα κελαινὸν ἐρώησει περὶ δουρί."  
 ὥς τῷ γ' ἀντιβίοισι μαχεσσαμένῳ ἐπέεσσιν  
 ἀνστήτην, λῦσαν δ' ἀγορὴν παρὰ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν. 305  
 Πηλεΐδης μὲν ἐπὶ κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἕϊσας

296 ἀθ. Ar. (ὁ λογιγῖνος περισσὸν φησι τοῦτον τὸν στίχον Jm). || ἔγωγε τί QR  
 Vr. a, Mosc. 2. || πείσεσθαι H Mosc. 1. 298. οὔτι GHPRSU. || μαχήσομαι  
 Ar. Aph. Antimachos, Mass. Argol. Sinop. ACDJT Vat. Vr. a, Mosc. 1 2: μαχέ-  
 σομαι GHPQRSU. || οὔνεκα J. 299 om. Q. || ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἐθέλεις ἀφέλεσθαι Zen.  
 301. φέρης L<sup>1</sup>U Par. f<sup>1</sup> (?) h. || ἂν ἐλὼν AT Bar. || ἐμοῖο PQS. 304.  
 μαχεσσαμένῳ Ω: μαχχαμένῳ Ar.

295. (ἡ διπλῇ) ὅτι κοινὸν τὸ ἐπιτέλλεο  
 καὶ ὁ γὰρ περισσός. οὕτως δὲ γίνεται  
 περισσὸς ὁ ἐξῆς· διὸ ἀθετεῖται, Ariston.  
 (emended by Cobet); i.e. Ar. obelized  
 296 on the ground that σήμαινε had  
 been added in order to supply a verb  
 which was wrongly supposed to be re-  
 quired by the second clause of 295.  
 This is a fertile source of interpolation  
 of whole lines; e.g. Ω 558, Φ 570.

298. χερσὶ μὲν, as though he meant  
 to continue, 'but by abstention from  
 war I will.' But in 300 the course of  
 thought is changed, and τῶν ἄλλων is  
 made the antithesis to κούρης. The mss.,  
 as often, vary between μαχήσομαι and  
 μαχέσσομαι. But the weight of tradi-  
 tion, confirmed by the mss. of Herodotos,  
 is strongly in favour of (Ionic) fut.  
 μαχήσομαι, aor. μαχέσ(σ)ασθαι. See  
 Schulze *Q. E.* p. 450, *H. G.* § 63. Ar.  
 preferred -ης- for both tenses, but this  
 takes no account of the short form  
 μαχέσασθαι.

299. ἀφέλεσθέ γε δόντες: Achilles re-  
 cognizes that the γέρας is a free gift, not  
 a matter of right, like the share of the  
 spoil.

302. In εἰ δ' ἄρε the εἰ is clearly inter-  
 jectional, as in I 46 εἰ δὲ . . . φευγόντων.  
 Lange calls it an 'adhibitive' particle,  
 by which the speaker appropriates, as  
 by the 'prohibitive' μή he puts away, a

thought, supposition, or, as here, com-  
 mand. Nikanor, followed by van L.,  
 however, separates the εἰ here from εἰ, ἴψ,  
 writing εἰ' (εἴα) for εἰ δ'; cf. Lat. *eia age*.  
*H. G.* § 320. For the δ' see on 340.

303. ἐρώησει only in this line (=π  
 441) means *flow*. The connexion of this  
 with the usual sense, *to hang back*, and  
 of both with the subst. ἐρώή, is very  
 obscure.

306. ἕϊσας, a form found only in the  
 fem. with cases of νηῦς, ἀσπίς, δαίς: in *Od.*  
 only with φρένας, and once besides B 765.  
 In the last passage it clearly means *ισας*,  
 and with νηῦς and ἀσπίς this gives a  
 good sense, 'even,' i.e. *trim* of the  
 ship, *well-balanced* of the shield. (To  
 take πάντοσ' ἕϊση as 'equal in all direc-  
 tions,' i.e. *circular*, is intolerably mathe-  
 matical and prosaic. That the ponderous  
 Mykenean shield should be 'well-  
 balanced on every side' was a matter  
 of life and death to the wearer.) With  
 δαίς it cannot mean strictly, if we push  
 the word, *equally* divided (see on H  
 320), but a banquet where some receive  
 a larger portion in virtue of their dignity  
 may yet be 'fair.' Still this account  
 of the word has not satisfied all com-  
 mentators; anciently it was often ex-  
 plained to mean 'good' (εἶσον· ἀγαθόν,  
 Hesych.); recently it has been pro-  
 posed to refer it to root *FLK*, 'seemly'

ἦε σὺν τε Μενoitιάδῃ καὶ οἷς ἐτάροισιν,  
 Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἄρα νῆα θοὴν ἄλαδε προέρυσσεν,  
 ἐν δ' ἐρέτας ἔκρινεν ἐείκοσιν, ἐς δ' ἐκατόμβην  
 βῆσε θεῶι, ἀνὰ δὲ Χρυσήϊδα καλλιπάρῃον 310  
 εἶσεν ἄγων· ἐν δ' ἀρχὸς ἔβη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ὑγρὰ κέλευθα,  
 λαοὺς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἀπολυμαίνεσθαι ἄνωγεν.  
 οἱ δ' ἀπελυμαίνοντο καὶ εἰς ἄλα λύματ' ἔβαλλον,  
 ἔρδον δ' Ἀπόλλωνι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας 315  
 ταύρων ἡδ' αἰγῶν παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτιο·  
 κνίσῃ δ' οὐρανὸν ἵκεν ἐλισσομένη περὶ καπνῶι.  
 ὥς οἱ μὲν τὰ πένοντο κατὰ στρατόν· οὐδ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
 λῆγ' ἔριδος, τὴν πρῶτον ἐπηπείλησ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε Ταλθύβιον τε καὶ Εὐρυβάτην προσέειπε, 320  
 τῷ οἱ ἔσαν κήρυκε καὶ ὀτρηνῶ θεράποντε·  
 “ἔρχεσθον κλισίην Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλλῆος·  
 χειρὸς ἐλόντ' ἀγέμεν Βρισηΐδα καλλιπάρῃον·  
 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώησιν, ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι  
 ἐλθὼν σὺν πλεόνεσσι· τό οἱ καὶ ῥίγιον ἔσται.” 325  
 ὥς εἰπὼν προΐει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.

309. ἔν δ' ἐρέτας Ar. Par. k: ἐς δ' Ω. 311. ἄν δ' GP Harl. a, Vr. A: ἀνὰ  
 δ' S. 312. ἀπέπλεον Vr. a<sup>1</sup>. 314. ἀπολυμαίνοντο GH. || λύματα βάλλον  
 Ar. U. 317. κνίσῃ ATU: κνίσῃ Ω. || ἦκεν DHQR. 324. δώωσιν GH  
 (supr. η). 326. κρατερὸς L.

(the form *εἰσος* is found in Doric), or *Fiδ*, 'conspicuous' (?). All this seems needless.

307. The story of Troy is regarded as familiar, even apart from the *Iliad*; for Patroklos, like Agamemnon in l. 7, is first introduced by his patronymic alone.

313. *ἄνωγε* is in form an imperf. from *ἀνώγειν*, which is a secondary pres. from the perf. *ἄνωγα*. In use, however, it is an aor. and is so found in the famous Cypriote inser. from Idalion (Collitz no. 60), *Ἡδαιέφες ἄνωγον Ὀνάσιλον κτλ.* A sigmatic aor. occurs in O 295, κ 531, *Scut. Her.* 479 (*ἀνώξαι*). See van L. *Ench.* p. 468.

314. Perhaps the Greeks had abstained from ablution during the plague in sign of mourning, and now typically threw off their sin, the restitution having been made. *εἰς ἄλα*, because *θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τὰνθρώπων κακά* (Eur. *I. T.* 1193). *λύματα*, *defilement*, as in Ξ 170 (*Ἥρη*)

*ἀπὸ χροδὸς ἱμερόντος λύματα πάντα κάθηρεν*. Thus it is meant that they washed in the sea, not that they washed on land and threw the defiled water into the sea. Cf. *καθάρματα* in Aisch. *Cho.* 98. The Neapolitans used to practise an annual lustration in the sea down to 1580 A.D., doubtless a survival from Greek times.

317. *περὶ καπνῶι*: for *περὶ* meaning *inside* cf. X 95, of a snake, *ἐλισσόμενος περὶ χειρὶ*, and II 157 *περὶ φρεσὶν ἄσπετος ἀλκή*. So *περὶ δέματι, φόβωι*, etc., lit. *compassed by fear*, Pind. *P.* v. 58, Aisch. *Pers.* 696, *Hymn. Cer.* 430, etc. Cf. Δ 46.

320. Both these names are legendary names of heralds generally; for the hereditary heralds of Sparta were called *Talthybiadae*, and *Eurybates* is the herald also of Odysseus, B 184.

325. *ρίγιον*: a comparative (cf. *ρίγιστα* E 873) formed directly from the substantive *ρίγος*, cf. *κύντερος, ἐχθίων, κύδιστος, κέρδιον*.

τὼ δ' ἀέκοντε βάτην παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο,  
 Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθην.  
 τὸν δ' εὗρον παρά τε κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
 ἤμενον· οὐδ' ἄρα τῷ γε ἰδὼν γήθησεν Ἀχιλλεύς. 330  
 τὼ μὲν ταρβήσαντε καὶ αἰδομένῳ βασιλῇ  
 στήτην, οὐδέ τί μιν προσεφώνεον οὐδ' ἐρέοντο·  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἔγνω ἡσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε·  
 “χαίρετε, κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν·  
 ἄσπον ἵτ'· οὐ τί μοι ὕμμες ἐπαίτιοι, ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων, 335  
 ὁ σφῶϊ προΐει Βρισηΐδος εἵνεκα κούρης.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεις, ἔξαγε κούρην  
 καὶ σφῶϊν δὸς ἄγειν. τὼ δ' αὐτὼ μάρτυροι ἔσταν  
 πρὸς τε θεῶν μακάρων πρὸς τε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 καὶ πρὸς τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος, εἴ ποτε δ' αὖτε 340  
 χρεῖῳ ἐμείο γένηται ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἀμύναι  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἦ γὰρ ὃ γ' ὀλοιῇσι φρεσὶ θύει,  
 οὐδέ τι οἶδε νοῆσαι ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω,

328. δ' *om.* P. 332. οὐδέ τι Ar. Ω: οὐδέ τε *ap.* Did. || προσεφώνουν S.  
 333. δς T. 335. ὑπαίτιοι H<sup>2</sup>QS Laud. 336. ὁ Ar. [A]CR[S]T Lips. Mosc. 1<sup>1</sup>:  
 δς Ω. || σφῶϊν Zen. (*A supr.*) Harl. c d, Par. a<sup>1</sup> h j, Mosc. 1: σφῶς King's. 337.  
 πατρόκλεις Mor.: πατρόκλῆς U<sup>1</sup>. 338. σφῶϊ U. || μάρτυρες G: μάρτυρε C.  
 340. ἀπηνέος: Σέλευκος ἐν τῇ πολυστίχῳ γρ. ἀναιδέος Did. 341. ἐμοῖο  
 PQS Vr. b. || ἀμύνειν C (γρ. ἀμῦναι *man. rec.*). 342. ὀλοιᾱ(ι)ci AT:  
 ὀλοᾱ(ι)ci(ν) Ω. 343. τι: τοι J *supr.*: οὐδ' ἔτι D.

331. *ταρβήσαντε*: the aor. seems to mean 'struck with alarm' at his look (δεινὸς ἀνὴρ· τάχα κεν καὶ ἀναιτίον αἰτιώωτο, Patroklos says, A 654); while the pres. αἰδομένῳ implies their permanent respect. For the juxtaposition of the two ideas compare the favourite δεινὸς αἰδοῖός τε.

334. Διὸς ἄγγελοι: cf. Θ 517 κήρυκες διφιλοῖ. The herald has no connexion with Hermes till post-Homeric times.

336. For the difference between σφῶϊ and σφῶϊν (338) see on l. 8.

339. *πρὸς*, before the face of; the phrase occurs occasionally in later Greek, e.g. Xen. *Anab.* i. 6, 6 βουλευόμενος ὁ τι δικάζον ἔστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων. Hence the use in oaths and entreaties, πρὸς πατρός γονάξομαι, etc. It seems to be derived from the purely local sense, as in πρὸς ἁλός, 'in the direction of the sea,' πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύσται 239, q.v.; cf. Z 456.

340. τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος, *him the king untoward*. The order of the words shews that τοῦ is not the article. ἀπηνής, lit. *with averted face* (cf. Skt. *āna* = mouth, face; *πρηνής*, ὑπήνη = that which is under the mouth), of one who turns away from the suppliant; opposed to *προσηνής*. It seems best to follow the unanimous ms. tradition in writing δ' αὖτε, though the δ' must represent δῆ. But the vowel so often coalesces with another that it is necessary to assume that δῆ had a weak form δέ (cf. *μέν* by *μήν*), the spelling δῆ being retained to distinguish it from the adversative particle when the vowel was not elided (cf. van L. *Ench.* p. 587, and *H. G.* § 350, where it is noted that the δ' in *εἰ δ' ἄγε* is the same). αὖτε, *hereafter*, as E 232, H 30, etc.

343. 'To look before and after' is, as in *Hamlet*, the prerogative of reason, which argues from the past to the future.

ὅπως οἱ παρὰ νηυσὶ σόοι μαχέονται Ἀχαιοί.

ὥς φάτο, Πάτροκλος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπέθεθ' ἑταίρῳ, 345

ἐκ δ' ἄγαγε κλισίης Βρισηΐδα καλλιπάρηιον,

δῶκε δ' ἄγειν. τῷ δ' αὖτις ἴτην παρὰ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,

ἥ δ' ἀέκουσ' ἅμα τοῖσι γυνὴ κίεν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς

δακρύσας ἐτάρων ἄφαρ ἔζετο νόσφι λιασθεὶς

θὺν' ἔφ' ἁλὸς πολιῆς, ὁρόων ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον. 350

πολλὰ δὲ μητρὶ φίλῃη ἠρήσατο χεῖρας ὀρεγνύς.

“μῆτερ, ἐπεὶ μ' ἔτεκές γε μινυθᾶδιόν περ ἔοντα,

τιμὴν πέρ μοι ὄφελλεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐγγυαλίζαι

Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης· νῦν δ' οὐδέ με τυτθὸν ἔτισεν.

ἦ γάρ μ' Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων 355

ἠτίμησεν· ἐλὼν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας, αὐτὸς ἀπούρας.”

ὥς φάτο δάκρυ χέων, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ

ἡμένη ἐν βένθεσσιν ἁλὸς παρὰ πατρὶ γέροντι.

345. ἐπιπέθετ' L.	346. ἄγε PT.	347. αὖθις C.	350. ἐπὶ οἶνοπα :
ἐπ' ἀπείρονα Ar.	351. ἠράσκατο G.	ὀρεγνύς : ἀναπτάς Zen. (? χεῖρ' ἀνα-	
πιπνάς Cobet) : τινὲς ἀνασχών Schol. T.		352. γε : τε S.	353. τιμὴν μέν
Vr. a.	355. γὰρ (om. α') H.		

344. ὅπως : here an adv. of manner, 'how his men can fight,' clearly shewing the transition to the final use. **μαχέονται** is quadruply wrong : (1) the hiatus is intolerable ; (2) -οῖντο for -οῖατο is not Homeric ; (3) μαχε- is not the pres. stem (see on 272) ; (4) the opt. is the wrong mood (*M. and T.* § 322). Barnes's conj. **μαχέοιαι** removes only the first two difficulties. Porson conj. **μαχέονται**, Thiersch **μαχέονται** (fut. indic., B 366) ; the latter is best, cf. *H. G.* § 326 (3).

350. **ἐπὶ οἶνοπα** : so MSS. ; Ar. **ἐπ' ἀπείρονα**, perhaps on the ground that **οἶνοπα** is inconsistent with **πολιῆς**. But, if the epithets are to be pressed, it might be urged that there is very vivid truth in the contrast of the 'purple deep' with the greenish grey of the shallow water near the shore, which is almost always the meaning of **ἁλς**. Φ 59 is almost the only exception. Ameis thinks that the 'infinite' sea intensifies the feeling of despair and desolation—a German rather than a Greek idea.

352. There seems to be a mixture of two trains of thought in this speech. It opens as though **μιν. περ ἔοντα** were a parenthetical complaint, 'Mother—for you did give me life, of however

short a span.' But this apparently subordinate clause is then made one part of the emphatic antithesis of the entire sentence, 'since my life is short, it should at least be glorious.' The sentence, like the 'two-sided' similes (see on M 151), buds out into new relations while it is being uttered. It is possible, but more prosaic, to leave **μιν. περ ἔοντα** out of sight altogether as a mere parenthesis, and take **ἔτεκές** as involving the claim, the divinity of his mother being understood : 'since you, a goddess, bore me, the gods should have dealt better by me.'

353. **ὄφελλεν** = ὤφειλε, not to be confused with the quite distinct **ὀφέλλω** = *augeo*. See note on Z 350.

356. **αὐτός**, by his own arbitrary will, not in the name of justice. **ἀπούρας** = **ἀπό-Φρα-s**, root **Φερ**, short form **Φρα** (= **Φρ**) ; the long form is found in **ἀπό-Φερσε**, etc., Z 348, Φ 283, 329 (van L. *Ench.* p. 379, *H. G.* § 13).

358. The **πατὴρ γέρων** or **ἄλιος γέρων** is known to later mythology as Nereus, but is never named in Homer. (In δ Proteus also is called **ἄλιος γέρων**.) The nymphs are named **Νηρηίδες** only in a passage of doubtful authenticity, Σ 38, 52.



καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνέδν πολίης ἀλὸς ἡύτ' ὀμίχλη,  
καί ῥα πάροιθ' αὐτοῖο καθέζετο δάκρυ χέοντος, 360  
χειρί τέ μιν κατέρεξεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
“τέκνον, τί κλαίεις; τί δέ σε φρένας ἵκετο πένθος;  
ἐξαύδα, μὴ κεῖθε νόωι, ἵνα εἵδομεν ἄμφω.”  
τὴν δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
“οἶσθα· τί ἦ τοι ταῦτ' εἰδυῖνι πάντ' ἀγορεύω; 365  
ὠιχόμεθ' ἐς Θήβην, ἱερὴν πόλιν Ἡετίωνος,  
τὴν δὲ διεπράθομέν τε καὶ ἡγομεν ἐνθάδε πάντα.  
καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ δάσσαντο μετὰ σφίσιν υἱες Ἀχαιῶν,  
ἐκ δ' ἔλιν Ἀτρεΐδῃ Χρυσήϊδα καλλιπάρηιον.  
Χρύσης δ' αὖθ' ἱερεὺς ἐκατηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος 370  
ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων  
λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα φέρων τ' ἀπερεῖσιν ἄποινα,  
στέμματα ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος

359. ἡύθ' ὀμίχλη Vr. a<sup>2</sup> b. 362. σε: σου Q. 365. ἀγορεύω QT  
Eton. Vat. Lips. 366-92. ἀλλότριοι οἱ ἐπιφερόμενοι στίχοι εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ An.  
366. ἱερὰν R. 370. αὖθ': αὖ A (supr. ε' T.W.A.) Vat.

361. κατέρεξε, *stroked*, so E 424 *καρρέζονσα*. This can hardly be connected with the ordinary sense of (F)ρέζω: Autenrieth refers it to root *reg* of ὀρέγ-ω.

365. ταῦτ' εἰδυῖνι, i.e. ταῦτα *Fiδυνί*. This, the only correct form of the fem. part., has been preserved by some of the MSS. in the phrase *ιδυῖνσι πραπίδεσσι* (608, Σ 380, 482, T 12), but is elsewhere restored by conjecture only. Cf. I 128.

366-92 were condemned by Ar. as superfluous, and contradictory of 365. The real objection is, of course, that they are not required, at least from 368, for the sake of the hearer. But the frequent verbal repetition of messages shews what the Epic poet and his hearers liked. For Θήβη see notes on 37, B 690, Z 397. Why Chryseis was taken here instead of in her own home we are not told.

*ἱερός*, *holy*, because a city is an institution to which men submit without asking why; it is a bond imposed by a higher power, and is hence dedicated to a deity. So *ἱερὸν τέλος* K 56, of a dignity. 'The impersonal and inanimate, when it exercises power, is divine . . . Sea, river, and night are divine as well as *ἱερὸν* . . . The fish that breathes in water where men die

is *ἱερός* . . . Human power and soul, ascribed to an indefinite godhead, are the *ἱερὸν μένος*, kings are *διογενεῖς*. The official, as his insignia denote, is dedicated; he belongs not to himself but to his office, the impersonal divine which we call *duty*' (W.-M. H. U. p. 106). But it must be admitted that this is not satisfactory as regards the fish; it is tempting to seek, with Frazer, a less subtle explanation in a 'taboo' or religious scruple against the eating of fish, which agrees with the well-known fact that Homeric heroes do not eat fish except as a last resource (see 'Taboo' in *Encycl. Brit.*). Some would recur to the supposed primitive sense of *ἱερός*, *strong* (Skt. *ishīras*); but in Greek any such meaning, if it ever existed, must have long died out, for all the derivative forms (cf. *ἱερεύω*) are entirely restricted to the sense *sacred*. Those who are not satisfied with this explanation will find ample discussion from other points of view in Schulze *Q. E.* 207 ff., Mulvany *J. P.* xxv. 131 ff.

367. ἡγομεν is properly used of *living* things; here, in spite of the neuter *πάντα*, Achilles is thinking mainly of the captives.

372-79 are *verbatim* from 12-25.



χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ, καὶ λίσσεται πάντας Ἀχαιοῦς,  
 Ἀτρεΐδα δὲ μάλιστα δύνω, κοσμήτορε λαῶν. 375  
 ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπενφήμησαν Ἀχαιοὶ  
 αἰδεῖσθαι θ' ἱερῇα καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα·  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἦνδανε θυμῷ,  
 ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε.  
 χωόμενος δ' ὁ γέρων πάλιν ὤιχετο· τοῖο δ' Ἀπόλλων 380  
 εὖξαμένου ἤκουσεν, ἐπεὶ μάλα οἱ φίλος ἦεν,  
 ἦκε δ' ἐπ' Ἀργείοισι κακὸν βέλος· οἱ δέ νυ λαοὶ  
 θνήσκον ἐπασσύτεροι, τὰ δ' ἐπώιχετο κῆλα θεοῖο  
 πάντῃ ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν. ἄμμι δὲ μάντις  
 εὖ εἰδὼς ἀγόρευε θεοπροπίας ἑκάτοιο. 385  
 αὐτίκ' ἐγὼ πρῶτος κελόμην θεὸν ἰλάσκεσθαι·  
 Ἀτρεΐωνα δ' ἔπειτα χόλος λάβεν, αἶψα δ' ἀναστὰς  
 ἠπείλησεν μῦθον, ὃ δὴ τετελεσμένος ἐστί.  
 τὴν μὲν γὰρ σὺν νηϊ θοῇ ἐλίκωπες Ἀχαιοὶ  
 εἰς Χρύσην πέμπουσιν, ἄγουσι δὲ δῶρα ἄνακτι· 390  
 τὴν δὲ νέον κλισίηθεν ἔβαν κήρυκες ἄγοντες  
 κούρην Βρισηΐδος, τὴν μοι δόσαν νῆες Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἀλλὰ σύ, εἰ δύνασαι γε, περίσχεο παιδὸς ἐοῖο·  
 ἐλθοῦς' Οὐλυμπόνδε Δία λίσαι, εἴ ποτε δή τι  
 ἦ ἔπει ὦνσας κραδίην Διὸς ἦε καὶ ἔργωι. 395  
 πολλάκι γάρ σεο πατρὸς ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἄκουσα  
 εὐχομένης, ὅτ' ἔφησθα κελαينهφείῃ Κρονίωνι

374. ΛΙΣΣΕΤΟ Ar. AT Lips. : ἐλίσσετο Ω.

Q repeats lines 17–21.) 377. Θ' om. G.

and Cretan acc. to Seleukos ap. Did.

388. ὃ δὴ καὶ DR. || τετελεσμένον H.

Zen. HL Cant. Vr. b, Harl. c d, Par. a d<sup>1</sup> (ἐἶος in ras.) e (in ras.?) f j k (γρ. ἐἶος),

and γρ. JPR Par. e : ἐἶος (ἐἶος) Ar. Ω.

ἀθ. Zen.

375. ἀτρεΐδῃ H. || (After this line

381. μάλαι : ῥά νυ in the 'Cyprian

383. ἐπασσύτερον Q (glossed πυκνό-

393. κύ : κύ γε P. || ἐοῖο

396. ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν U. 396–406

383. ἐπασσύτεροι : usually derived from ἄγχι; cf. ἀσσοτέρω, p 572, τ 506. The ν is called Aeolic. But Brugmann refers it to ἐπ-αν-σ(ε)ύ(ω), separating it from ἀσσον. The sense is much the same, close upon or hurrying up.

385. ἐκάτοιο, a short and almost familiar form (Kosenname) for ἐκατηβόλος. Fick has shewn that this method of shortening is one which has very largely prevailed in the formation of Greek proper names.

388. The rhythm—a single word of

two spondees filling the two first feet—is almost unique in Homer, and some suspicion attaches to ν ἐφ. added to make position. μῦθον ἐπηπείλησεν Nauck, cf. ν 127.

393. ἐοῖο, thy : see App. A.

396. σεο must go with ἀκουσα. πατρός = my father's (Peleus'). Zenod. athetized 396–406, probably on the ground that it was superfluous for Achilles to tell his mother what she had done. But here of course the enlightenment of the reader is sufficient justification.

οἷη ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν αἰεκέα λουγὸν ἀμύναι,  
 ὅππότε μιν ξυνδῆσαι Ὀλύμπιοι ἤθελον ἄλλοι,  
 "Ἡρη τ' ἡδὲ Ποσειδάων καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη. 400  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν γ' ἐλθοῦσα, θεά, ὑπελύσαο δεσμῶν,  
 ὧχ' ἐκατόγχειρον καλέσας' ἐς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,  
 ὃν Βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες  
 Αἰγαίων· ὁ γὰρ αὖτε βίηι οὗ πατρὸς ἀμείνων·  
 ὅς ῥα παρὰ Κρονίῳνι καθέζετο κύδει γαίῳν. 405  
 τὸν καὶ ὑπέδδειςαν μάκαρες θεοὶ οὐδέ τ' ἔδησαν.  
 τῶν νῦν μιν μνήσασα παρέξεο καὶ λαβὲ γούνων,

400. Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη: Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων Zen. 401. τὸν (om. γ') D. 402. ἐκατόγχειρα Q: ἐκατόνχειρον DP. 403. Βριάρεων Mosc. 3. || θεοὶ γ' ἀνέρες S. || ἄνδρες: ἄλλοι Q. 404. βίηι: βίην Ar.: Ζηρόδοτος γράφει ὁ γὰρ αὖτε βίηι πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν τῶν (MS. φέρτατος ἀπάντων, corr. Bentley) ὅποσοι ναίους' ὑπὸ Τάρταρον εὐρώοντα An. 405. καίετο Vr. b. 407. μιν: μοι Q (so Dion. Hal. *Ant.* p. 106). || νῦν μιν μνήσασα G.

400. As the Scholiast remarks, these three divinities were the allies of the Greeks, which would be a strong argument for Thetis' prayer for help to the Trojans. For Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη Zenod. read Φοῖβος Ἀπολλών, which, as Ariston. remarks, ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ πιθανόν, spoils the effectiveness of the appeal.

403. The other instances in Homer of double names in the language of men and gods are B 813 τὴν ἢ τοὶ ἄνδρες Βαρίαν κυκλήσκουσι, ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης, Ξ 290 ὄρνιθι, ἦν τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι χαλκίδα κυκλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ κύμινδιν, Γ 74 ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ Σκάμανδρον. Cf. κ 305 μῶλυ δέ μιν καλέουσι θεοί, μ 61 Πλαγκτὰς δὴ τοι τὰς γε θεοὶ μάκαρες καλέουσιν. The natural supposition would be that the 'divine' words are archaic survivals, perhaps from an older race. It is sometimes said that the divine name has usually a clearer meaning than the human, and that the Greeks therefore regarded their own tongue as divine, and others as the languages of mere men. But this is only the case with the χαλκίς and κύμινδιν, and possibly Ξάνθος and Σκάμανδρος, which, however, look like different renderings of the same foreign word. μῶλυ is not a Greek form, nor is the theory borne out by isolated instances elsewhere, e.g. Diog. Laert. i. 119 ἔλεγεν (ὁ Φερεκύδης) ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τὴν τράπεζαν εὐωρὸν καλοῦσιν. Again the Pelasgian Hermes was called

"Ιμβρος: compare with this the statement of Steph. Byzant., 'Ερμοῦ, ὃν "Ιμβρον λέγουσι μάκαρες. Both Βριάρεως and Αἰγαίων may be equally referred to Greek roots (βρι of βριαρός, βριθύς, and αἰγίς, cf. Αἰγαίων πέλαγος). The father of Briareus was, according to the legend, Poseidon, who himself was sometimes called Αἰγαίων or Αἰγαῖος.—The legend is one of a number referring to revolts against the Olympian gods, as of the Titans, Prometheus, etc. αὖτε, again: as Poseidon, in union with the other gods, was stronger than Zeus, so his son again was stronger than he. To avoid the synizesis in Βριάρεων van L. suggests Βριάρη, the gen. of which, Βριάρηος, is quoted from Ibykos.

405. γαίῳν occurs only in this phrase, E 906 of Ares, Θ 51 and Λ 81 of Zeus. The line in E was rejected by Ar. on the ground that Ares could hardly be said to 'rejoice in his glory' immediately after his ignominious defeat by a mortal. But Hentze suggests that κύδος may refer rather to the outward splendour of a divinity (cf. κυδαίνω E 448), so that the phrase means 'brilliant with splendour.'

406. οὐδέ τ' ἔδησαν: read οὐδέ F' ἔδησαν. The loss of F' = ε can be traced in many places—nowhere more clearly than in Ω 154, q.v. The fact was first discovered by Brandreth, and has been systematically investigated by van Leeuwen. See *H. G.* § 391.

αἶ κέν πως ἐθέλησιν ἐπὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀρήξαι,  
 τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πρύμνας τε καὶ ἄμφ' ἄλα ἔλσαι Ἀχαιοὺς  
 κτεινομένους, ἵνα πάντες ἐπαύρωνται βασιλῆος, 410  
 γνῶι δὲ καὶ Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 ἦν ἄτην, ὃ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισε."  
 τὸν δ' ἡμίβητ' ἔπειτα Θέτις κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα·  
 "ὦ μοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκούσα;  
 αἶθ' ὄφελες παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀδάκρυτος καὶ ἀπήμων 415  
 ἦσθαι, ἐπεὶ νύ τοι αἶσα μίνυθ' ἄπερ, οὐ τι μάλα δὴν·  
 νῦν δ' ἅμα τ' ὠκύμορος καὶ οἰζυρὸς περὶ πάντων  
 ἔπλεο· τῷ σε κακῇ αἴσῃ τέκον ἐν μεγάροισι.  
 τοῦτο δέ τοι ἐρέουσα ἔπος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ  
 εἰμ' αὐτὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον, αἶ κε πίθῃται. 420  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν νηυσὶ παρήμενος ὠκυπόροισι  
 μῆνι' Ἀχαιοῖσιν, πολέμου δ' ἀποπαύεο πάμπαν·  
 Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐς Ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπῆας  
 χθιζὸς ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο·

409. ἔλσαι G. 414. ΤΕΚΟΥΣΑ: παθοῦσα Schol. Δ 31. 417. ὠκύμορός τε καὶ  
 Q. 419. ΔΕ ΤΟΙ: Δ' ἔπι P. 420. ΠΙΘΑΙ Q. 421. Νῦν: cὺν T. 423.  
 ἔς: ἐπ' C. || τινὲς γρ. μετὰ μέμνονος (μέμνονας Δ) αἰθιοπῆας Schol. AT.  
 424. ΚΑΤΑ Ar. Aph. Antim. Mass. Sinop. Cypria al., Par. c<sup>2</sup>: μετὰ Ω. || ἔποντο:  
 ἔπονται ar. Did. (not Ar., v. Ludw. ad loc.): ἀνέστησαν Par. c.

409. ἄμφ' ἄλα, round the bay, where the ships were drawn up. κατὰ, as Φ 225 Τρῶας ἔλσαι κατὰ ἄστυ, 'in the region of' the sterns, which were drawn up towards the land.

410. ἐπαύρωνται, ironical, 'that they may have profit of their king.' Cf. N 733 ἐπαυρίσκονται.

412. The Homeric idea of ἄτη is best explained by Agamemnon himself in T 85-136. Dawes would restore the form ἄ(F)άτη to Homer throughout (cf. Pind. ἀνάτη), but this is impossible in T 88, Ω 28; and the contracted forms of the verb ἄσατο T 95, ἄσε λ 61 (late passages all) are opposed to it. ὃ τ' = ὅτι τε, see note on 244 and H. G. § 269 (3).

414. αἰνά, adv., *cursed in my child-bearing*, the same idea as κακῇ αἴσῃ in 418.

416. The omission of the substantive verb with an adverb is perhaps unique. For the use of adverbs with εἰμι see Z 131 δὴν ἦν, H 424 διαγνῶναι χαλεπῶς ἦν, I 551 Κουρήτεσσι κακῶς ἦν, and cf. Δ 466 μίνυθ' αἶ οἱ γένεθ' ὄρη.

418. κακῇ αἴσῃ must have the same sense as αἶσα above, and therefore mean *to an evil fate*; cf. X 477 ἱὴ ἄρα γεινός-

μεθ' αἴσῃ, H 218 προκαλέσσατο χάριμι, and perhaps II 203 χόλῳ ἄρα σ' ἔτρεφε μήτηρ. αἶσα is one of the Homeric words which the Cyprian inscriptions have shewn us yet alive in the primitive sense of *measure*: τῷ Διὸς τῷ Φοῖβῳ αἶσα ἔτι γ' χόες (Collitz no. 73). Cf. also Hegesandros ar. Athen. viii. 365 δ' Ἀργεῖοι . . καλέουσι . . τὴν μερίδα αἶσαν. τῷ, not τῶι, is the reading of A in all passages where it means *therefore*; and with this grammatical tradition agrees. It seems to be a genuine relic of the old ablative; compare πῶ with πῶς, and perhaps οὔτῳ with οὔτως. (M. L. Earle in C. R. xi. 243 would read τῶς here, so *ill-starred did I bear thee*. This seems very probable; there is no place for an inferential particle here.)

423. For the theories which have been founded on the absence of the gods here as compared with 222 see the Introduction. For the journey of the gods to the Aethiopians compare α 22-26, where Poseidon alone is entertained by them. They dwell on the extreme limits of the world, by the stream of Ocean.

424. κατὰ Ar., μετὰ MSS. κατὰ

δωδεκάτη δέ τοι αὖτις ἐλεύσεται Οὐλυμπόνδε, 425  
καὶ τότ' ἔπειτά τοι εἶμι Διὸς ποτὶ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ,  
καί μιν γουνάσομαι, καί μιν πείσεσθαι δῶω."

ὧς ἄρα φωνήσας' ἀπεβήσето, τὸν δ' ἔλιπ' αὐτοῦ  
χωόμενον κατὰ θυμὸν ἐυζώνοιο γυναικός, 430  
τὴν ῥα βίηι ἀέκοντος ἀπηύρων. αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἐς Χρύσην ἵκανε ν ἄγων ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην.

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ λιμένος πολυβενθέος ἐντὸς ἵκοντο,  
ἰστία μὲν στείλαντο, θέσαν δ' ἐν νηὶ μελαίνῃ,  
ἰστὸν δ' ἰστοδόκῃ πέλασαν προτόνοισιν ὑφέντες 435  
καρπαλίμως, τὴν δ' εἰς ὄρμον προέρεσαν ἐρετμοῖς.

ἐκ δ' εὐνὰς ἔβαλον, κατὰ δὲ πρυμνήσι' ἔδσαν·  
ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης,  
ἐκ δ' ἐκατόμβην βῆσαν ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι·  
ἐκ δὲ Χρυσῆϊ νηὸς βῆ ποντοπόροιο.

τὴν μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ βωμὸν ἄγων πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεὺς 440  
πατρὶ φίλῳ ἐν χερσὶ τίθει, καί μιν προσέειπεν·

"ὦ Χρῦση, πρό μ' ἔπεμψεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων  
παῖδά τε σοὶ ἀγέμεν Φοῖβωι θ' ἱερὴν ἐκατόμβην

425. αὖτις C. 428. ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὧς εἰποῦς J. || ἀπεβήσατο DGH<sup>4</sup>JPQU.  
429. χωόμενος L. 432. ἐντὸς: ἐγγὺς Ar. 434. ὑφέντες Zen. Ω: ἀφέντες  
Ar. 435. προέρεσαν Ar. Argol. Sinop. Sosigenes: προέρυς(ς)αν Ω. 443.  
σοὶ: σὴν J<sup>2</sup>Q.

means 'in the matter of a banquet,' cf. *H. G.* § 212 (3); μετὰ would be 'to look for' a banquet, which is a somewhat undignified expression as used of a god. The variant *ἔπονται* for *ἔποντο*, mentioned by Did., is an attempt to get over the contradiction of the line with the presence of the gods in the camp: 'they are following (going to follow) him (to-day?).' But *ἔπεσθαι* in Greek always means 'to accompany,' or some immediately related notion. It never means 'to follow' at an interval.

426. δῶ is generally explained as = δῶμ, an old *m*-stem, cf. *ἐνδον* = ἐν δομ. Brugmann, *Gr.* § 223 ad fin., mentions the suggestion that it is originally = our *to*, Germ. *zu*, a heavier form of the enclitic -δε, and got the meaning 'house' only from its accidental resemblance to δῶμα in the common phrase *ἡμέτερον δῶ* = *ἡμέτερον δε*.

430. On the question of the genuineness of this episode (to 489) see Introduction. Βίηι ἀέκοντος seems to be a

pleonastic expression, 'in spite of him unwilling.' We cannot construe ἀέκοντος with ἀπηύρων, as verbs of robbing take a double acc.

432. For ἐντὸς Ar. read ἐγγύς, but this is not necessary, as ὄρμον in 435 is the mooring-place inside the harbour, and is not identical with λιμὴν, as he probably considered.

433. στείλαντο: the mid. may mean 'furled their sails,' but in this sense it occurs only here. στείλάν τε has been conjectured by Wakefield.

434. The ἰστοδόκη was a crutch, a forked piece of wood at the stern of the ship, into which the mast was lowered by slackening the forestays. See diagram and Excursus in M. and R. pp. 541-3.

436. The εὐναί are heavy stones with hawsers thrown out to moor the bows of the ship, while the stern is secured by the stern ropes (πρυμνήσια) to moorings on shore, probably to a stone with a hole set up for the purpose (τρητὸς λίθος ν 77).



ρέξαι ὑπὲρ Δαναῶν, ὅφρ' ἱλασόμεσθα ἄνακτα,  
ὅς νῦν Ἀργείοισι πολύστονα κήδε' ἐφήκεν." 445

ὥς εἰπὼν ἐν χερσὶ τίθει, ὁ δὲ δέξατο χαίρων  
παῖδα φίλην. τοὶ δ' ὦκα θεῶι κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην  
ἐξείης ἔστησαν ἐϋδμητον περὶ βωμόν,  
χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο.  
τοῖσιν δὲ Χρύσης μεγάλ' εὐχετο χείρας ἀνασχών· 450  
"κλυθὶ μεν, ἀργυρότοξ', ὅς Χρύσῃν ἀμφιβέβηκας  
Κίλλάν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιό τε ἱφί ἀνάσσεις·  
ἤδη μὲν ποτ' ἐμεῦ πάρος ἔκλυες εὐξαμένιοι,  
τίμησας μὲν ἐμέ, μέγα δ' ἱψαο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν·  
ἦδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν μοι τόδ' ἐπικρήνον ἐέλδωρ· 455  
ἤδη νῦν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα λοιγὸν ἄμυνον."

ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' εὗξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο,  
αὐέρυσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν,

444 ἀθ. Ar. ἱλασόμεσθα ACHR al.: ἱλασσόμεσθ' P (*supr.* ο) Vr. b A: ἱλασόμεσθ' Vr. a: ἱλασσόμεσθ' S: ἱλασσόμεσθα G: ἱλασόμεσθ' Lips.: ἱλασόμεσθα D: ἱλασόμεσθ' U: ἱλασσόμεσθα Q: ἱλασόμεσθ' T'. 445. Νῦν ἐπ' ἄργ. Q. || Κήδε': πῆματ' J. 446-7. ὥς εἰπὼν (εἶπεν Wolf) τοὶ δ' ὦκα θεῶι ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην Zen. 447. τοῖ: οἱ Ambr. || κλειτὴν Ω: ἱερὴν Ar. 449. ἀνέλοντο: προβάλοντο Eust. 451. μεν: μοι *cp.* Did. 453. εἰ δὴ μὲν Q: ἢ μὲν δὴ Schol. Σ 75 (ἢ μὲν δὴ seems to be Bekker's conj. from II 236). 458. προβάλοντο: ἀνέλοντο R. 459. αὐέρυσαν AG: ἀνέρυσαν Eust. and γρ. J: αὐ ἔρυσαν Ω. | ἔδειραν Q.

449. **χερνίψαντο**, a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in Homer, unique in form among Greek compounds. The pres. *χερνίπτομαι* occurs frequently in Attic, e.g. Aristoph. *Pax* 961. **οὐλοχύτας**, barley grains; so οὐλαί γ 441, the Attic ὀλαί. They appear to have been merely bruised—a relic, such as often appears in ritual, of a forgotten time before grinding was invented. The usual course seems to have been to cast them into the fire, but occasionally they were thrown on the victim's head. 458 below would suit either. **ἀνέλοντο**, 'took up in their hands from the basket.' Compare the whole description of the sacrifice in γ 430-63, and in Aristoph. *Pax* 948 sqq.

454. **τίμησας**, an 'explicative' asyndeton, merely expanding the sense of ἔκλυες. Bekker would read *τιμήσας*, which however is not necessary. **ἵψαο**, *didst smite*, Lat. *ic-cre*; cf. *ἱπούμενος*, *crushed down*, Aisch. *P. V.* 365. So *ἵψεται* B 193.

459. **αὐέρυσαν**, for ἀF-*Ἐρύσαν* by assimilation from ἀν-*Ἐρ*, 'they *drew back*, lifted up (the head)' (Att. ἀναρρῶ) partly perhaps for convenience of cutting the throat, partly in sign of dedication to the heavenly gods. (Compare ἀνασχόμενος ξ 425, ἀνελόντες γ 453.) So victims to Chthonian powers were killed into a pit, οὕτω γὰρ θύουσι τοῖς χθονίοις, τοῖς δὲ οὐρανίοις ἄνω ἀναστρέφοντες τὸν τράχηλον σφάζουσιν (schol. Ar. Rhod. I 587): Κυμῶν δὲ ἔθος, αἰτούντων τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν κάτω ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω αὐτοὺς ἔλκειν (Schol. B here). Cf. also Cecil Smith's paper on 'Nike sacrificing a Bull,' *J. H. S.* vii. 275 sqq. (See Schulze's excellent discussion, *Qu. Ep.* 56-60.) In Pindar *O.* xiii. 80 ἀναρήνι is explained by the Schol. σφάζει, θύει. Most mss. give αὐ ἔρυσαν, which cannot be right, as αὐ never = κατόπισθε; in Θ 324-5 the repetition of αὐ would be intolerable.



μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατὰ τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν 460  
 δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν.  
 καίε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃσι ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ' αἰθοπα οἶνον  
 λείβε· νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρ' ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχχ' ἐπάσαντο,  
 μίστυλλον τ' ἄρα τᾶλλα καὶ ἄμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν, 465  
 ὥπτησάν τε περιφραδέως, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα,  
 δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἰσης.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 κοῦροι μὲν κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο, 470  
 νώμησαν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσιν,

462. *σχίζαις* G. 463. After this add 463<sup>b</sup> *σπλάγχχνα δ' ἄρ' ἀμπεύραντες*  
*ὑπεύρεχον* (ὑπερείχον J) *ἡφαίστιο* (= B 426) JLQRT<sup>m</sup> Harl. b, Par. d f<sup>m</sup>. 464.  
*μῆρε κᾶν* Ar. (? see Ludw. *ad loc.*) || *σπλάγχχνα πάσαντο* Ar. 465. *ἔπειρον*  
 SU. 468. οὐδέ τε P: οὐκέτι Eust.: οὐδ' ἔτι Vat. Mor. Bar. 470. *κρατῆρας*  
 QR: *καρτῆρας* J. || *ἐστέψαντο* J. 471. *ἐπαρχόμενοι* Cram. *Erim.* 107. 27.

460. *μηρούς*, the thigh bones with the flesh adhering. These are covered with a layer of fat doubled over them, and pieces of flesh from other parts of the body are laid upon them (*ὠμοθετεῖν*, from *ὠμός*, cf. § 427) in order to symbolise an offering of the whole animal. *μῆρα* in 464 seems to be identical with *μηρούς*, but, like the commoner *μηρία*, is only used in the sacrificial sense; so B 427, γ 179, μ 364, ν 26.

461. *δίπτυχα*, acc. singular, 'making it (the fat) into a fold.'

462-3. Cf. γ 459, where the lines are certainly more appropriate, as the *νέοι* there are Nestor's sons, who help him with the sacrifice. Here the idea of *young* men is not in place. The *πεμπώβολα* must have been five-pronged forks stuck into the meat to hold it over the fire. Eustathios says that the use of five prongs for the purpose was peculiar to Kyne in Aiolis, the other Greeks using only three. (Engelmann has shewn, *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.* vi. 173, that the forks figured in Helbig, *H. E.*<sup>2</sup> 354-5, are kitchen utensils used for fishing *boiled* meat from the caldron, cf. 1 Sam. ii. 13, and could not have been used for Homeric sacrifices, which are always roast.)

464. For *μῆρ' ἐκᾶν* there is a curious old variant, said to have been approved by Ar., *μῆρε κᾶν*, where *μῆρε* is supposed

to be a dual = *μηρώ*. The 'tasting' of the entrails at this stage seems to have been symbolical, unless it means simply that they were more rapidly cooked than the other parts, and thus formed a 'first course.'

465. *ἀμφί*, an adverb; they pierced them with spits on *both sides*, i.e. so as to make the spit project on both sides.

468. For *εἰς* see on 306.

470. *ἐπεστέψαντο*, filled to the brim; cf. *ἐπιστεφέας οἶνοιο* Θ 232, β 431. It was a misinterpretation which led to Virgil's *socii cratera coronant*, and the actual crowning of the goblet with flowers.

471. *ἐπαρχεσθαι* denotes the libation of a few drops taken by a ladle from the mixing bowl, *κρητήρ*, and poured into the drinking cups (*δεπάεσσιν* being a locative dat.). *ἀρχεσθαι* is particularly used of ritual acts of all sorts, and *ἐπί* implies 'going round' the guests. They first poured out these drops to the gods and then had their cups filled to drink. (See Buttmann *Lexil.* p. 169, and M. and R. on γ 340.) The difficulty here is that the libation is mentioned when the drinking is ended (*πόσιος* 469), contrary to the rule. The whole passage from 451 to 486 entirely consists of lines or phrases appearing elsewhere, except 456, 472, 474, 478;

οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο,  
καλὸν αἰδούντες παιήονα, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,  
μέλποντες ἐκάεργον· ὁ δὲ φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων.  
ἦμος δ' ἥελιος κατέδυν καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθε, 475  
δὴ τότε κοιμήσαντο παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός.  
ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' ἀνάγοντο μετὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν·  
τοῖσιν δ' ἴκμενον οὖρον ἴει ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.  
οἱ δ' ἰστὸν στήσαντ' ἀνά θ' ἰστία λευκὰ πέτασαν· 480  
ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρήσεν μέσον ἰστίον, ἀμφὶ δὲ κύμα  
στείρῃ πορφύρεον μεγάλ' ἴαχε νηὸς ἰούσης·  
ἣ δ' ἔθειεν κατὰ κύμα διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθον.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἴκοντο κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν,  
νῆα μὲν οἳ γε μέλαιναν ἐπ' ἠπείροιο ἔρυσσαν 485  
ὑψοῦ ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις, ὑπὸ δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν,  
αὐτοὶ δ' ἐσκίδναντο κατὰ κλισίας τε νέας τε.  
αὐτὰρ ὁ μῆνιε νηυσὶ παρήμενος ὠκυπόροισι

474 ἀθ. Ar. 481. ἘΝ Δ' : ἔνε' J. 484. ΚΑΤΑ Ar. Ω : μετὰ ADGT  
Harl. a, Cant. Vr. A Lips. Mosc. 1 Vat. Bar. 486 om. T<sup>b</sup>. || ψαμάθοιο JPQRT<sup>m</sup>,  
Mor. Cant. Lips. Vr. a b : ψαμάθου G Vr. c, Mosc. 3. || ἔρματα H<sup>2</sup>Q. 488-  
92 ἦν. ἠθέτηκεν, τὸν δὲ οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον (491) οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν.

and it seems to be betrayed by this oversight as an unskilfully made cento—unless, with Düntzer, it be preferred to reject 469-74 altogether. Ar. athetized 474 partly because he did not allow the meaning *sing* to μέλπειν (see on N 637), partly on account of the tautology; and the two participles, with κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν interposed evidently by an adaptation of X 391, are certainly awkward.

472. ΠΑΝΗΜΕΡΙΟΙ must = 'all the rest of the day' in which the assembly and voyage to Chryse have already happened. For this use compare παννυχίη β 434 (with 388), πᾶν ἡμᾶρ Σ 453.

473. ΠΑΙΗΟΝΑ, a hymn of rejoicing, not necessarily to Apollo, see X 391. τὸ καλὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλῶς, Ariston., rightly.

474. ΕΚΑΕΡΓΟΝ, here apparently *Averruncus*, the 'keeper afar' of pestilence; the opposite and complementary function to that of Ἐκησβόλος, and fitly mentioned now that his anger is appeased.

477. ἨΡΙΓΕΝΕΙΑ, *early-born*; ἥρι = ἡερ-ι from *aiuser-i*, whence also ἀριστον, the early meal.

479. ἸΚΜΕΝΟΝ, a word of unknown origin, found four times in *Od.* but only

here in *Il.* Whatever the derivation it must mean 'favourable.'

480. ΣΤΗΣΑΝΤΟ, like στείλαντο 433. Here we could equally read στήσαν τ'.

481. ΠΡΗΣΕΝ : the word means to *zuff*, *spirt out*, *blow*, and is used (1), as here, of air; (2) of fire=*burn*, *πυρὶ* or *πυρός* being generally added in Homer; (3) of fluids, e.g. II 350 (αἷμα) . . . ἀνὰ στόμα πρῆσε χανών. Only the sigmatic forms are found in H., with the exception of ἐνέπρηθον I 589.

482. ΣΤΕΙΡΗ, *the stem*; the *solid* beam which had to take the shock when the vessel was beached. ΠΟΡΦΥΡΕΟΝ, a word which seems to be properly used, as here, of the dark colour of disturbed waves; cf. notes on 103, E 83, Ξ 16 (πορφύρειν), II 391.

483. ΔΙΑΠΡΗΣΣΟΥΣΑ here, with the addition of κέλευθον, shows the transition from the primary meaning 'to pass over' (root *πρα* of *περά-ω* etc.) to that of 'accomplishing.'

486. ἘΡΜΑΤΑ, *shores*, either large stones or beams of wood, set so as to keep the ship upright. The line seems to come from *Hymn. Ap.* 507. Cf. B 154, Δ 117.

διογενὴς Πηλῆος υἱός, πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς.  
οὔτε ποτ' εἰς ἀγορὴν πωλῆσκετο κυδιάνειραν 490  
οὔτε ποτ' ἐς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ φθινύθεσκε φίλον κῆρ  
αὖθι μένων, ποθέεσκε δ' αὐτὴν τε πτόλεμόν τε.  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐκ τοῖο δυωδεκάτῃ γένετ' ἡώς,  
καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἴσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔόντες  
πάντες ἅμα, Ζεὺς δ' ἦρχε. Θέτις δ' οὐ λήθετ' ἐφετμέων 496  
παιδὸς ἐοῦ, ἀλλ' ἥ γ' ἀνεδύσετο κύμα θαλάσσης,  
ἡερίῃ δ' ἀνέβη μέγαν οὐρανὸν Οὐλύμπόν τε.  
εὔρεν δ' εὐρύοπα Κρονίδην ἄτερ ἡμενον ἄλλων  
ἄκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο.  
καὶ ῥα πάροιθ' αὐτοῖο καθέζετο καὶ λάβε γούνων 500  
σκαίῃ, δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' ἀνθερώωνος ἐλοῦσα  
λίσσομένη προσέειπε Δία Κρονίωνα ἄνακτα·

489. ΠΗΛΗΣ Harl. a, Mosc. 1: πηλέος [AL]H<sup>1</sup>J: πηλέως Ω. 490. Οὔτέ ποτ': οὐδέπω P<sup>1</sup>: οὐδέ ποτ' LP<sup>2</sup>. || ἐς Q. 491. εἰς HJRÜ. || πόλεμόν γ' Draco de Metr. 492. αὐτὴν καὶ P. || πτόλεμόν [ACS]: πόλεμόν Ω. 493. This line has the obelos in A, but no Schol. to explain it; possibly Ar. athetized (Ludw. *ad loc.*). 495. ἐφετμάων H. 496. ἐοῖο Q. || ἀνεδύσετο Ar. Mosc. 1 (A *supr.*): ἀνεδύ(ς)ατο Ω. 497. οὐλύμπόνδε J (*supr.* τε) PQ. 501. δ' ἄρ': δὲ Eust.: δ' αὖ L.

489. υἱός as an iambus, see P 575. In the older Attic inscriptions υῖος and υἱός are used indifferently; in the later υῖος is the regular form, the ι becoming semivocalic and then falling out; G. Meyer *Gr.* § 130. The synizesis of Πηλέως or Πηλέος is not Homeric.

490. κυδιάνειραν, elsewhere an epithet of μάχη only; cf. I 441 ἀγορέων ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπείες τελέθουσιν. These assemblies and battles must be taken as falling within the twelve days after the quarrel.

491. φίλον in this and similar phrases simply = *his own*, ἑόν: see on 167.

493. ἐκ τοῖο, sc. from the interview with Thetis. This vague reference becomes far more intelligible if we omit 430-89.

496. The acc. κύμα is strange, cf. 359, ε 337, where we find the gen. which we should expect. ῥίμφα and κοῦφα have been conjectured.

497. ἡερίῃ either = ἡύτ' ὁμίχλῃ (359), or better 'in the early morning,' from ἥρι, see 477. This is clearly the meaning in ι 52. Cf. also 557, Γ 7.

498. It has been debated from old

times whether εὐρύοπα is from *Fóψ* voice, or from root ὀπ to see. The former would of course express the far-reaching voice of the thunder. In favour of this it may be said that the compounds of ὀπ make -ωπα, not -οπα, cf. ἐλικῶπις, εὐώπιδα, etc.; and there can be no doubt of the derivation from *Fóψ* in Pindar's Κρονίδαν βαρυνόπαν στεροπᾶν πρύτανιν, P. vi. 24. The word is generally a nom. On the analogy of βαρυνόπαν we ought perhaps to read εὐρυνόπαν for the accus. Otherwise we must assume a second nom. \*εὐρυνόψ.

500. αὐτοῖο: cf. αὐτοῦ in 47. For the suppliant's attitude cf. Θ 371 γούνατ' ἔκυσσε καὶ ἔλλαβε χειρὶ γενείου: in K 454 the touching of the chin only is mentioned. This act perhaps symbolises the last resource of the disarmed and fallen warrior, who can only clasp his enemy's legs to hamper him, and turn aside his face so that he cannot see to aim the final blow, until he has at least heard the prayer for mercy.

501. On the analogy of Θ 371 ἔλλαβε χειρὶ γενείου it would seem that ὑπό is here an adverb, 'taking him by the chin beneath.'

“Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴ ποτε δὴ σε μετ’ ἀθανάτοισιν ὄνησα  
ἣ ἔπει ἢ ἔργωι, τόδε μοι κρήνον ἐέλωρ·

τίμησόν μοι νίον, ὃς ὠκυμωτάτος ἄλλων 505

ἔπλετ’· ἀτάρ μιν νῦν γε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων

ἠτίμησεν· ἐλὼν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας, αὐτὸς ἀπούρας.

ἀλλὰ σὺ πέρ μιν τίσον, Ὀλύμπιε μητίετα Ζεῦ·

τόφρα δ’ ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι τίθει κράτος, ὄφρ’ ἂν Ἀχαιοὶ  
νιδὼν ἐμὸν τίσωσιν ὀφέλλωσιν τέ ἐ τιμῇ.” 510

ὥς φάτο· τὴν δ’ οὐ τι προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς,

ἀλλ’ ἀκέων δὴν ἦστο. Θέτις δ’ ὡς ἠψατο γούνων,

ὥς ἔχετ’ ἐμπεφυυῖα, καὶ εἵρετο δεύτερον αὐτῖς·

“νημερτὲς μὲν δὴ μοι ὑπόσχεο καὶ κατάνευσον,

ἣ ἀπόειπ’, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι ἔπι δέος, ὄφρ’ ἐν εἰδῶ 515

ὅσσον ἐγὼ μετὰ πᾶσιν ἀτιμοτάτη θεὸς εἰμι.”

τὴν δὲ μέγ’ ὀχθήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·

“ἦ δὴ λoίγια ἔργ’, ὃ τέ μ’ ἐχθοδοπήσαι ἐφήσεις

Ἡρῇ, ὅτ’ ἂν μ’ ἐρέθισιν ὀνειδείους ἐπέεσσιν.

ἣ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶς μ’ αἰεὶ ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι 520

505. **μοι** : μου HP.

510. **τιμῇ** DJQ (*supr.* A) Vr. b, A.

512. ἀχέων

Vr. a. 513. ἤρετο HPRU<sup>1</sup> : ὁ δ’ Ἰζίων εἶρε τὸ (ἔγρετο, Schol. Lips.). || αὐοις

G Ambr. 515. οὔτι O<sup>1</sup>DGP. || ἔπι : ἐστὶ PU<sup>2</sup>. || εἰδῆς Suid. i. 2. 519. Ἡρη

Ar. (? see Ludw. *ad loc.*). || ὀνειδείους DH<sup>1</sup>JPQT<sup>1</sup> (a constantly recurring variation).

505. The **μοι** long in *thesi* can hardly be right. Nauck conj. νῖεα μοι τίμησον, Menrad τίμησόν σύ μοι νίον, Platt τίμησον δὴ μ’(οι) νιδόν. For ἄλλων after the superlative cf. Z 295, Ψ 532, ε 105, Soph. *Ant.* 100 κάλλιστον τῶν προτέρων φάος (with Jebb’s note), 1212 δυστυχεστάτην κέλευθον ἔρπω τῶν παρελθουσῶν ὀδῶν, and numerous others. The gen. means ‘doomed to swiftest death as compared with all others’; it is ablative, and ‘expresses the point from which the higher (here the highest) degree of a quality is separated,’ *H. G.* § 152.

506. ἔπλετο, ‘he was made before . . but now in addition.’

510. ὀφέλλωσι τιμῇ, generally translated *augueant cum honore*, ‘exalt him with honour’; but Hentze suggests that τιμῇ is rather the *fine* paid; so that the words mean ‘make him rich with recompense.’ This is a thoroughly Homeric idea, see note on 158. ὀφέλλειν is not elsewhere used with a personal object.

512. ὥς . . ὥς, ‘as she had embraced him, so she clung to him.’ Theo-

kritos’ ὡς ἴδον, ὡς ἐμάνην, Virgil’s *Ut vidit ut perii*, seem to rest on a misunderstanding. See, however, note on Ξ 294.

513. ἐμπεφυυῖα, a hyperbolic expression for ‘clinging close,’ as in ἐν δ’ ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ, and so περιφύσα τ 416, προσφύς μ 433.

515. δέος, no reason to fear (any superior court of appeal). Cf. M 246 σοὶ δ’ οὐ δέος ἔστ’ ἀπολέσθαι, and θ 563.

518. λoίγια ἔργα, an exclamation, ‘sad work,’ as we say; it is hardly necessary to supply ἔσται if we read ὅ τε with Bekker; ὅτε gives a rather weaker sense. See *H. G.* § 269 ad fin. οἶω λoίγ’ ἐσεσθαι occurs in Φ 533, Ψ 310. ἐχθοδοπήσαι : ἀπαξ εἰρημένον, but ἐχθοδοπός occurs in Attic, and seems to be related to ἐχθος as ἀλλοδαπός to ἄλλος. Ar. is said to have put a stop after ἐφήσεις, and read “Ἡρη for “Ἡρη (but Ludwich doubts this). In any case such an order of the words would not be Homeric.

520. καὶ αὐτῶς, even as it is; compare the use of καὶ ἄλλως, ‘even at the best of times.’



νεικεῖ, καὶ τέ μέ φησι μάχη Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγειν.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν αὖτις ἀπόστιχε, μή τι νοήσῃ  
 "Ἡρῃ· ἐμοὶ δέ κε ταῦτα μελήσεται, ὄφρα τελέσω.  
 εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι κεφαλῇ κατανεύσομαι, ὄφρα πεποιθήης·  
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξ ἐμέθεν γε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι μέγιστον  
 τέκμωρ· οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον οὐδ' ἀπατηλὸν  
 οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον, ὅτι κεν κεφαλῇ κατανεύσω."

525

ἢ καὶ κυανέησις ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν νεῦσε Κρονίων·  
 ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαίται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος  
 κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν "Ολύμπου.

530

τῷ γ' ὥς βουλευέσσαντε διέτμαγεν· ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα  
 εἰς ἄλλα ἄλτο βαθεῖαν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος "Ολύμπου,

522. αὖτις CGQ. || ΜΗ ΤΙ αἱ ἀριστάρχον καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι σχεδὸν ἅπασαι διορθώσεις  
 Did.: μὴ σε Ω. 524. τοι: τῇ Vr. a, Eust. || ἐπινεύσομαι ar. Did. and Athen.  
 ii. 66. || πεπεθείς Q: πεπεθείς L (supr. oi). 526. τέκμωρ H (supr. ω) R (τέκμωρ  
 R<sup>m</sup>). 527. ὅτι κεν: ὅπερ ἔν Stob. Fl. xi. 6. 528. κυανέοισιν CH (supr. η)  
 JPR. 529. ἐπερρώοντο Eust. || ἄνακτι Harl. a. 530. κρητὸς Zen. 531.  
 διέτμαγεν Ar. Ω: διέτμαγον GPQR (U<sup>2</sup> supr.) Lips. Vr. a<sup>1</sup>, A Mosc. I<sup>2</sup> 3<sup>1</sup>.

525. ἐμέθεν γε: Zeus perhaps means  
 that he alone is not required to swear;  
 even Hera has to take an oath (Ξ 271,  
 O 36).

526. τέκμωρ: see note on H 30. ἐμὸν,  
 anything of mine (or possibly any τέκμωρ  
 of mine). This use is, however, very  
 strange; ἐμοὶ would seem more natural.  
 παλινάγρετον, from ἀγρέω, which is said  
 to be the Aiolie form of αἰρέω. But it  
 occurs in Aisch. Ag. (lyric), Archilochos  
 and Theognis, as well as in Sappho and  
 Aiolie inscriptions. (The identity of  
 the two words is very doubtful. Smyth's  
 attempt to prove it, A.J.P. vii. 382, takes  
 no account of ἄγρα.) For the use of  
 'take back' = *revoke* compare Δ 357 πάλιν  
 δ' ὅ γε λάξτο μῦθον.

528. ἐπι-νεύσε go together in the  
 sense of κατανεύω above (Did. mentions  
 indeed a variant ἐπινεύσομαι in 524).  
 κυανέοισιν can mean only 'dark'; cf.  
 Ω 94 κάλυμμα . . . κνάνεον, τοῦ δ' οὐ τι  
 μελάντερον ἔπλετο ἔσθος. These lines are  
 said by Strabo to have inspired Pheidias  
 with the conception of his famous statue  
 of Zeus at Olympia.

530. ἐλέλιξεν: Dawes explained the  
 verb as a mere blunder for ἐφέλιξεν, and  
 it appears that in almost every case in  
 H. sense requires and metre permits  
 some form of *Fe*λίσσω. The three ex-

ceptions are this line, Θ 199, X 448,  
 where the sense needed is *shook*, which can  
 hardly be got out of *Fe*λίσσειν. It seems  
 necessary, therefore, to postulate for these  
 cases, and for ἐλελίχθων (Pind. P. ii. 4,  
 vi. 50, Soph. Ant. 153) a verb ἐλελίζεω =  
*shake*. ἀστεροπῶν ἐλελίζεις Pind. N. ix.  
 19, ἔγχος . . . σείρμενον ἐλέλικτο N 558  
 are ambiguous, as the two verbs come  
 near together in the sense 'brandish.'

532. The hiatus at the end of the first  
 foot without a pause is harsh, though  
 not unexampled (see on B 87). Darbishire  
 (Rell. Phil. p. 51) would read *Ἐλτο*,  
*swooped*, deriving it from root *uel* of  
 ἀλέις, *vol-v-o* etc. From the meaning  
 'to gather one's self together' he deduces  
 that of *swooping*, through phrases like  
 οἴμῃσε ἀλέις, and *swooped* is more natural  
 than 'leapt like a hawk' in ἱρηξ ὥς  
 ἄλτο Σ 616. Still it is rather violent  
 to say that Thetis 'gathered herself  
 together into the sea.' Moreover, the  
 only other case where the digamma  
 would be useful is H 15, where ἐπιάλμενος  
 certainly means *jumping*, not *swooping*.  
 All other forms of the word (not of  
 course including ἐάλην, etc.) are neutral or  
 reject the digamma, even in some places  
 where we should equally like to say  
*swooped*. Tradition varies as to the  
 accent and breathing of the word; the

Ζεὺς δὲ ἐὼν πρὸς δῶμα. θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἀνέστησαν  
 ἐξ ἐδέων, σφοῦ πατρός ἐναντίον· οὐδέ τις ἔτλη  
 μείναι ἐπερχόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀντίοι ἔσαν ἅπαντες· 535  
 ὥς ὁ μὲν ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνῳ· οὐδέ μιν Ἥρη  
 ἡγνοίησεν ἰδοῦσ' ὅτι οἱ συμφράσσατο βουλὰς  
 ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις, θυγάτηρ Ἀλίοιο γέροντος.  
 αὐτίκα κερτομίοισι Δία Κρονίῳνα προσηύδα·  
 " τίς δ' αὖ τοι, δολομήτα, θεῶν συμφράσσατο βουλὰς; 540  
 αἰεὶ τοι φίλον ἐστὶν ἐμεῦ ἀπονόσφιν ἐόντα  
 κρυπτάδια φρονέοντα δικαζέμεν· οὐδέ τί πώ μοι  
 πρόφρων τέτληκας εἰπεῖν ἔπος, ὅττι νοήσης."  
 τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·  
 "Ἥρη, μὴ δὴ πάντας ἐμούς ἐπιέλπεο μύθους 545  
 εἰδήσειν· χαλεποὶ τοι ἔσονται ἀλόχῳ περ εἴουσι.  
 ἀλλ' ὃν μὲν κ' ἐπιεικὲς ἀκουέμεν, οὐ τις ἔπειτα  
 οὔτε θεῶν πρότερος τόν γ' εἴσεται οὔτ' ἀνθρώπων·  
 ὃν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἐθέλωμι νοῆσαι,  
 μή τι σὺ ταῦτα ἕκαστα διείρεο μηδὲ μετάλλα." 550

533. ἀνέστησαν : ἐποντο Eust. 534. ἐδρέων GHPR<sup>2</sup> and τινὲς Schol. AT.  
 535. ἀντίον T : ἐναντίον R. || ἔσαν : ἄμεινον ἦλθον γράφειν Schol. BT. 536.  
 ἐνθ' ἐκαθέζετ' H. 539. κερτομῖν(ι) J P. 540. συμφράσσετο H. After this  
 P repeats 538. 541. τοι : τι J : σοι Eust. || ἐμοῦ G. 543. νοήσις  
 [AD]JQRTU : νοήσεις Ω. 546. χαλεποὶ γὰρ Q. 549. δέ κ' : δ' ἂν Eust. ||  
 ἐγὼ Q. || ἐθέλωμι Q (supr. οι) : ἐθέλοισι Ω. 550. μή τε cū L Vr. b. ||  
 διήρεο D. || μήτε μετάλλα P.

regular form would of course be ἄλτο, but the best ancient authorities decide for the anomalous ἄλτο.

533. The hiatus in the middle of the first foot is inexcusable, and the zeugma is harsh, though it is not impossible to supply 'went' from 'leapt' or 'swooped.' The simplest correction is Brandreth's Ζεὺς δ' ἔε ὢν or ἔ' ἐὼν (reconjectured forty years later by Fick and again by Agar).

540. For τίς δ' αὖ Bekker and others read τίς δὴ αὖ. See on 340. The change is the less necessary as questions often begin with an unelided δέ, e.g. O 244, 247. On the other hand, the position of the word seems to shew that δ' stands for δὴ in H 24 τίπτε σὺ δ' αὖ. αὖ expresses vexation, like αὐτε 202.

541. It is impossible to say whether ἀπὸ νόσφιν or ἀπονόσφιν is best; the authority of grammarians is in favour of the first (cf. B 233), taking ἀπό with

ἐόντα. For the participle in the acc., though τοι has preceded, cf. H. G. § 240; ἐόντι would give the meaning 'when you are apart from me you like to decide.'

542. δικαζέμεν, to give decisions, as O 431. κρυπτάδια goes with φρονέοντα.

543. πρόφρων, of free will, ultro. It is always used as a predicate, never as an epithet. ἔπος, a matter, as when used with τελέσσαι 108.

547. For κ' Wakefield conj. σ', which makes the sentence clearer, and is adopted by van L. The omission of the subj. ἔη is rare, cf. E 481. ἔπειτα, as though εἴ τινα had preceded instead of the equivalent ὅν.

549. ἐθέλωμι now has ms. authority; it has been hitherto adopted only on Hermann's conj., but was possibly read by Ar.; cf. Didymos on O 23 ἐθέλοισι, Ἀρίσταρχος ἐθέλωμι. The 1st pers. in -ωμι for -ω is an analogical formation, after -ησι beside -ηι. In the mss. it has

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη·  
 “αἰνότατε Κρονίδη, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες;  
 καὶ λίην σε πάρος γ' οὔτ' εἶρομαι οὔτε μεταλλῶ,  
 ἀλλὰ μάλ' εὐκηλος τὰ φράζειαι ἄσσ' ἐθέλησθα·  
 νῦν δ' αἰνῶς δέλδοικα κατὰ φρένα, μή σε παρείπημι 555  
 ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις, θυγάτηρ ἁλίοιο γέροντος·  
 ἡερίη γὰρ σοί γε παρέζετο καὶ λάβε γούνων·  
 τῇ σ' οἶω κατανεῦσαι ἐτήτυμον, ὥς Ἀχιλλῆα  
 τιμήσεις, ὀλέσεις δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.”  
 τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς· 560  
 “δαιμονίη, αἰεὶ μὲν οὔεαι, οὐδέ σε λήθω,  
 πρῆξαι δ' ἔμπης οὐ τι δυνήσεται, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ θυμοῦ  
 μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ ἔσεται· τὸ δέ τοι καὶ ρίγιον ἔσται.  
 εἰ δ' οὕτω τοῦτ' ἐστίν, ἐμοὶ μέλλει φίλον εἶναι.

552. ἔειπας PS. 553. λίαν H. || γ' om. U. || πάρος τ' Mor. Bar. || ἔρομαι D. || οὔτε Ar. Aph. Rhī. Ω: οὐδὲ ap. Did. 554. ἄσς': γρ. ἄ κ' J. || ὅτι ἐθέλησθαι Dion. Sid. 559. τιμήσεις D<sup>1</sup>LQ<sup>1</sup>: ὀλέσεις D<sup>1</sup>Q (?): τιμήσεις . . ὀλέσεις Ω. || πολέας: πολέας Zen. (πολύς? see on B 4). || παρὰ νηυσὶν R. 560. γρ. τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχρέσας A. 563. τοι: τι P, om. Q.

been almost entirely superseded by the familiar opt. in -οιμι. Both here and in Θ 23 the opt. is, however, defensible.

553. καὶ λίην, *most assuredly*; Θ 358, etc. For πάρος with pres. cf. Δ 264, θ 36 etc.

555. On the analogy of ε 300 δέιδω μὴ δὴ πάντα θεὰ νημερτέα εἶπεν and the regular Attic use we should have expected here the past tense of the indic., to express a fear that something has already happened. This use of μὴ with indic., however, seems to be a comparatively late development, and there is no other case in H. Fear indeed naturally refers to something future; when we say 'I fear that a thing has happened,' we mean 'I fear that it will prove to have happened.' Thus it is natural to use the aor. subj. as in K 98, 538, Σ 8; see particularly X 455-6-7 δέιδω μὴ δὴ . . διῆται, καὶ δὴ μιν καταπαύσῃ (see *M. and T.* § 93, 307-8). The neglected *F* of παρὰφειπμι has led to Bentley's παρέλθῃ and other conjectures. Brandreth suggests μὴ σε παραιφῇ, μὴ παρὰφειπμι, μὴ σ' ἄρα (or σέ γε) πείσῃ.

559. The fut. indic. here gives the simplest sense, ὥς (lit. 'how') expressing the content of the promise. The subj. however is defensible, and is classed

by Goodwin with λίσσομαι ὅπως (γ 19, θ 344), 'promising to act taking the same constr. as *entreating to act*' (*M. and T.* § 359, cf. *H. G.* § 285 [2]).

561. δαιμόνιος seems to mean properly one who is under the influence of a δαίμων or unfavourable divine intelligence; that is, one whose actions are either unaccountable or ill-omened. Hence it sometimes means 'fool' (δαιμόνιοι, μάλινεσθε, σ 406), B 200, I 40, N 448, 810, δ 774; or indicates severe remonstrance, B 190, I' 399, Δ 31, Z 326, 521, σ 15, τ 71, and here (this shade of meaning is hardly translatable; we say colloquially 'I am indeed surprised at you' or 'what possesses you'); or tender remonstrance, Z 407, 486, κ 472, ψ 166, 174, 264; in Ω 194, ξ 443, it perhaps expresses pity, 'ill-starred.' (This is Nägelsbach's explanation, *H. T.* p. 73.) οὔεαι, 'you are always fancying, supposing,' an allusion to οἶω in 558.

562. ἀπὸ θυμοῦ, *far away from my good will*; cf. ἐκ θυμοῦ πείσῃν Ψ 595, ἀποθύμα Ξ 261. For ἀπό = *far from* cf. Θ 213, I 353, 437.

564. τοῦτο, sc. that of which you accuse me. μέλλει, *you may be sure it is my good pleasure*; cf. the same phrase in B 116; so Ω 46, δ 377, σ 19.

ἀλλ' ἀκούσα κάθησο, ἐμῶι δ' ἐπιπείθεο μῦθωι, 565  
 μὴ νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμωσιν ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰς' ἐν Ὀλύμπωι,  
 ἄσπον ἰόνθ', ὅτε κέν τοι ἀάπτους χεῖρας ἐφείω."  
 ὧς ἔφατ', ἔδδεισεν δὲ βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,  
 καὶ ῥ' ἀκούσα καθήστο, ἐπιγνάμψασα φίλον κῆρ. 570  
 ὥχθησαν δ' ἀνὰ δῶμα Διὸς θεοὶ Οὐρανίωνες·  
 τοῖσιν δ' Ἥφαιστος κλυτοτέχνης ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν,  
 μητρὶ φίλῃ ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρων, λευκωλένῳ Ἥρῃ·  
 "ἦ δὴ λοίγια ἔργα τὰδ' ἔσσεται οὐδ' ἔτ' ἀνεκτά,  
 εἰ δὴ σφῶ' ἔνεκα θνητῶν ἐριδαίνετον ὦδε,  
 ἐν δὲ θεοῖσι κολωῶν ἐλαύνετον· οὐδέ τι δαιτὸς 575  
 ἐσθλῆς ἔσσεται ἦδος, ἐπεὶ τὰ χερεῖονα νικᾷ.  
 μητρὶ δ' ἐγὼ παράφῃμι, καὶ αὐτῇ περ νοεούσῃ,  
 πατρὶ φίλῳ ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρειν Δίί, ὅφρα μὴ αὐτε  
 νεικείησι πατήρ, σὺν δ' ἡμῖν δαῖτα τaráξῃ.  
 εἴ περ γάρ κ' ἐθέλησιν Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητῆς 580  
 ἐξ ἐδέων στυφελίξαι· ὁ γὰρ πολὺν φέρτατός ἐστιν.

566. εἰς' ἐν: εἰςιν G. 567. ἰόνθ' A: ἰόντε Zen. (ἐκ πλήρους) Eust. ||  
 ἀάπτους Ar. Ω: ἀέπτους Aph. (see Ludw.). 569. ἀέκουσα U<sup>1</sup> Vr. b. || ἐπι-  
 γνάψασα DPS Laud. 570. ὥχθησαν JT Eton. Lips. 572. λευκωλένῳ  
 Ἥρῃ: ἀμεινον γράφειν τετιμμένη Ἥτορ Schol. T. 573. γρ. ἦδ᾽ ἐπὶ μέλλοντος  
 J<sup>m</sup>, so Eust. Et. Mag. al. 578. αὐτῇ R. 581. ἐδρέων G(R *supr.*) Cant.;  
 cp. 534. || φέρτερος Cramer *An. Par.* iii. 109.

567. ἄσπον ἰόνθ', ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει  
 ἄσπον ἰόντε. οὐκ ἔστι δέ, ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ  
 ἰόντος. συγγεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ δυνάμει—Ariston.  
 That is, Zenodotus took ἰόνθ' to be for  
 ἰόντε in the sense of ἰόντες, agreeing with  
 θεοί. His theory was that the dual and  
 plural were interchangeable—a theory  
 which has been held also by some modern  
 philologists, and receives some support  
 from several passages in Homer; see E  
 487, Θ 74. Aristarchos opposed this view,  
 and took ἰόνθ' here for ἰόντα (sc. ἐμέ, acc.  
 after χραίσμωσιν): ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰόντος meaning  
 that we should have expected a gen.  
 absolute, 'when I come near,' as the  
 construction χραῖσμεν τινὶ τινα, 'to  
 ward one person off another,' is not  
 found elsewhere, though we have χραι-  
 σμεῖν τινὶ τι (e.g. H 144), which is perhaps  
 sufficient analogy. Bentley conj. ἄσπον  
 ἰών, while Düntzer would eject the line  
 altogether. ἀάπτους: Aristoph. ἀέπτους,  
 which is perhaps to be preferred; it  
 will stand for ἀ-σεπ-τους, from ἔπω,

'not to be dealt with or handled,' i.e.  
 irresistible. ἄσπον ἰέναι=attack, cf. O 105.

572. ἐπὶ ἦρα φέρων, doing kind  
 service to his mother; a very ancient  
 phrase, appearing in the Vedic *vāram*  
*bhar*, lit. to bring the wishes. Ar. read  
 ἐπὶ ἦρα as a neut. pl., καὶ ἐπεκράτησεν ἡ  
 Ἀριστάρχου, καίτοι λόγον οὐκ ἔχουσα.  
 Schol. A. For Ξ 132 ἦρα φέροντες with-  
 out ἐπὶ is decisive against him; cf. also  
 φέρειν χάριν in the same sense, I 613,  
 etc. ἦρα is an acc. singular, root *var*,  
 to choose, desire.

575. κολωῖόν, *din*; cf. B 212 κολωῖαν:  
 conn. with κολοῖός, 'the noisy' jackdaw.  
 So κολουᾶν· θορυβεῖν Hesych.

576. τὰ χερεῖονα: cf. 107 τὰ κακά  
 for the use of the article.

577. παράφῃμι, to advise; else only in  
 aor. (mid.) to prevail upon.

579. σὺν of course goes with τaráξῃ,  
 not with ἡμῖν.

581. It is not necessary to supply any  
 apodosis after εἴ πέρ κ' ἐθέλησι: it is a



ἀλλὰ σὺ τόν γ' ἐπέεσσι καθάπτεσθαι μαλακοῖσιν·  
αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' Ἰλαος Ὀλύμπιος ἔσσεται ἡμῖν."

ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ ἀναΐξας δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον  
μητρὶ φίλῃ ἐν χειρὶ τίθει, καὶ μιν προσέειπε·  
"τέτλαθι, μήτηρ ἐμή, καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ,  
μή σε φίλῃν περ εἴουσιν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδῶμαι  
θεινομένην· τότε δ' οὐ τι δυνήσομαι ἀχνύμενός περ  
χραιομεῖν· ἀργαλέος γὰρ Ὀλύμπιος ἀντιφέρεσθαι.  
ἦδη γάρ με καὶ ἄλλοτ' ἀλεξέμεναι μεμαῶτα  
ῥίψε ποδὸς τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίῳ.  
πάν δ' ἡμαρ φερόμην, ἅμα δ' ἡελίῳ καταδύντι  
κάππεσον ἐν Λήμνῳ, ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι θυμὸς ἐνῆεν·  
εὐθα με Σίντιες ἄνδρες ἄφαρ κομίσαντο πεσόντα."

ὥς φάτο, μείδησεν δὲ θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,  
μειδήσασα δὲ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο χεὶρὶ κύπελλον.

585. χειρὶ Ar. Aph. Sosig. Mass. [S]: χερσὶ Ω.  
Did. || δὲ τι HP Eton. Mosc. 3.

594. σίντιοι G.

593. τινὲς ἐς Λήμνον

supposition made interjectionally, 'only suppose he should will to drive us away!' Bentley's *συμφελεῖαι*, to supply the apodosis, is far weaker. Cf. Φ 567, φ 261. Brandreth writes *συμφελεῖαι*. ὁ γ' ἄρ.

582. καθάπτεσθαι is used here in a neutral sense, to address; and so β 39, κ 70; but it more generally means to attack, revile. Cf. γ 345.

583. Ἰλαος elsewhere has ἄ (I 639, T 178), but ᾠ (or rather η: Ἰληος is found in Ionic inser.) is according to the analogy of words which have -εως in Attic.

584. ἀμφικύπελλον, double-handled. This interpretation, due to Aristarchos, is decisively supported by Helbig *H. E.* pp. 358-71. He derives it from \*κυπέλη, conn. with κῶπη, handle, as an Aeolic form (cf. Latin *capulus*); hence an adj. κυπελ-ιος = κύπελλος. The explanation of Aristotle, followed by Buttmann and others, that it meant 'a double cup,' i.e. a quasi-cylindrical cup divided in the middle by a horizontal partition, so that each end would serve either as a foot or a cup, he shows to be quite untenable. The two-handled type is the commonest of all forms of drinking-cup from the earliest times—Hissarlik and Mykenai—till the latest.

590. ἀλεξέμεναι, to keep him off, apparently in defence of Hera; the allusion seems to be the same as in O 18-24.

For another different legend of the fall of Hephaistos from heaven see Σ 395.

591. Cf. O 23 ῥίπτασκον τεταγὼν ἀπὸ βηλοῦ: τε-ταγ-ῶν is connected with Lat. *ta(n)g-o*.

593. Lemnos was sacred to Hephaistos on account of what was called the 'Lemnian Fire' on Mount Mosychlos. This is commonly taken to mean that Mosychlos was a volcano. But the present state of the island forbids the assumption of volcanic agency, and the fire was probably only a jet of natural gas, such as may have existed for a time and then disappeared. (See de Launay in *Rev. Arch.* for 1895, pp. 304-25. For the references to the Lemnian Fire see Jebb on *Soph. Phil.* 800, and pp. 242-5. The supposed disappearance of the 'volcano' Mosychlos is geologically untenable.) The Σίντιες are named as inhabitants of the island by Hellanikos *fr.* 112, while Thuk. ii. 98, 1 speaks of the Σίντοι as a tribe on the coast of Thrace. What their connexion may have been with the 'Pelasgian' inhabitants of Lemnos expelled by Miltiades about 500 B.C., or with the authors of the (Etruscan?) inscription recently discovered on the island, we naturally cannot say.

596. παιδός, from her son; χειρὶ, with her hand (not 'at her son's hand'; the dat. is used after ἐδέξασθαι, O 87, etc.,

αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖς ἄλλοισι θεοῖς ἐνδέξια πᾶσιν  
οἶνοχόει γλυκὺν νέκταρ, ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων.  
ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνώρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν,  
ὥς ἴδον Ἥφαιστον διὰ δώματα ποιπνύοντα. 600  
ὥς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἡμαρ ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα  
δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἰσης,  
οὐ μὲν φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ἣν ἔχ' Ἀπόλλων,  
Μουσάων θ', αἱ ἄειδον ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπῃ καλῇ.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατέδυν λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο, 605  
οἱ μὲν κακκέιοντες ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος,  
ἦχι ἐκάστωι δῶμα περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυήεις  
Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν ἰδυίησι πραπίδεσσι,  
Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς ὃν λέχος ἦι Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητῆς,  
ἐνθα πάρος κοιμᾷθ', ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἰκάνοι· 610  
ἐνθα καθεῖδ' ἀναβάς, παρὰ δὲ χρυσόθρονος Ἥρη.

598. οἶνοχόει Ar. Aph. Zen. Antim. Argol. Mass. King's: ἐωνοχόει Q:  
ὠ(ι)νοχόει Ω. || κρατῆρος G. 600. ποιπνύσαντα αἱ πᾶσαι (Ar.? see Ludw.).  
602. οὐδ' ἔτι D: οὐδέ τε G. 603. μὲν: μὴν A<sup>2</sup> Mosc. 3. 606. οἱ μὲν  
δὴ κείοντες οὕτω πᾶσαι Did. || ἕκαστος: νέεσθαι Q. 608. ποίησεν ἰδυίησι  
Ar. AL Ambr.: ποίησεν εἰδυίησι P Eust.: ποίησ' εἰδυίη(ι)σι Ω (and γρ. Δ). 609.  
ὄν: ὅ (οὔ Sch. T) Zen. Par. e<sup>1</sup> (N add. e<sup>2</sup>). 610. ἰκάνει Q Vr. a. 611. ἐνεῖ  
ἐκάσθευδ' Zen.

but only of persons, being a strict *dat. ethicus*). For the gen. cf. Ξ 203 δεξάμενοι Πείλεις, I 632, Δ 124, and particularly Ω 305 κύπελλον ἐδέξατο ἥς ἀλόχοιο.

597. ἐνδέξια, a much disputed word; see note on M 239. Of course it implies the 'lucky' direction, whatever that was.

598. οἶνοχόει is applied to *nectar* by a slight generalisation such as is common in all languages; so T 221 ἔπποι βουκολέοντο, *naves aedificare*, etc. (cf. the sailor's 'in Cape Town the tops of the houses are all copper-bottomed with lead').

599. Bentley's γέλως for γέλως is no doubt right here, and similar forms should be restored in other passages, and so with ἔπος. The only cases found are dat. γέλωι σ 100, acc. γέλω or γέλων (read γέλων) σ 350, υ 8, 346. For ἔρωσ see note on Γ 442. From this passage comes the phrase 'Homeric laughter.'

603. The absence of a conjunction is curious; cf. οὐδέ μὲν in 154. Brandreth

conj. οὐδέ τε, adding 'ms. unus οὐδέ γε habet' (?).

604. Cf. ω 60 μοῦσαι δ' ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπῃ καλῇ, where, however, the mention of nine muses is one of many proofs of the later origin of ω. For ἀμειβόμεναι cf. Virgil's *amant alterna Camenae*, Ec. iii. 59.

607. ἀμφιγυήεις, a disputed word, generally explained 'ambidextrous,' or *utrinque validis artibus instructus*, which overlooks the fact that there is nothing in the word to express *validis*. Probably the word really means 'with a crooked limb on each side' = κυλλοποδίων, from a noun \*γῆ = crook (cf. γῆς in Lexx.). This comes to the same as the old der. from γινώς, 'lame of both feet.' Cf. also ἀμφίγυνος N 147, etc.

611. καθεῖδω occurs only here in *Il*. See note on B 2. 609-11 look very much like a rhapsodist's tag for the purpose of winding up A in recitation. Note the rare neglect of F in (F)όν in 609 (ἐς Fόν Brandreth, ἐπ' ἐFόν Bekker). B 1 follows 608 quite naturally.

## INTRODUCTION

THE second book falls naturally into two parts so markedly distinct that most mss. of the *Iliad* divide the Catalogue from the rest by a fresh rubric. Some, as will be seen, omit it; but the fact has no critical significance. It is due merely to the wish to reduce the cost of copying by leaving out matter which most purchasers would regard as unreadable. This is clearly shewn by the fact that all mss. retain the prologue 484–93, which can never have been composed apart from the Catalogue. Leaving the Catalogue then for the present, we turn to the first part.

In the first book we found a marked unity of conception and development, marred at most by a somewhat superficial contradiction in a secondary point. With this book the case is very different; hardly any portion of the *Iliad* has caused such trouble to the defenders of the unity of composition. The opening lines are simple enough; with a discrepancy even more unimportant than that already noticed, the sending of the Dream carries on the story of the first book. In order to fulfil his promise to Thetis, Zeus proceeds, as a preliminary to the defeat of the Greeks, to bring them into the field against the Trojans. Elated by the dream, as we are led to suppose, Agamemnon summons the army—to lead them into battle? Nothing of the sort; he calls them to assembly, and proposes that they shall return to Greece! The only preparation for this astounding step is a most meagre and puzzling account of a council before which he lays his dream, and his decision to ‘tempt’ the army ἡ θέμις ἐστί, whatever that may mean. The proposal is a disastrous failure; the temptation is taken in earnest as it well might be. We suppose, however, that the chieftains being forewarned will at once do as they have been bidden, and step forward to stop the incipient rout. Again, nothing of the sort. The council is altogether forgotten, and nothing is done till Athene by a special interposition arouses Odysseus to intervene. By her aid he brings all back to their places, and the assembly is resumed in a speech from Thersites. This speech makes no allusion whatever to the extraordinary events which have just taken place, but turns only on the conduct of Agamemnon a fortnight before in taking Briseis from Achilles, as though this were a matter hardly over, and the cause of all the difficulty. When Thersites has been silenced, the question of retirement is once more discussed, but in terms which seem to imply that the proposal has not come from Agamemnon at all, but from his antagonist Thersites. Finally, Agamemnon sums up the debate in

brave words which are chiefly remarkable for the fact that they do not shew the least consciousness, much less contain any explanation, of the diametrically opposite tone which the king of men had employed when last on his feet.

How, then, are we to explain this wonderful medley of inconsistent and self-contradictory motives? The conclusion seems inevitable that we have a fusion of two quite different continuations of the first book. The Dream is the continuation of the promise of Zeus to Thetis. It is followed by the description of the arming of the host for battle, by the triumphant career of Agamemnon, and the sudden peripeteia in A. Read in order B 1-50, 443-83, and then go on with A 56 ff., and you have a narrative masterly in conception and smooth in execution.

But there must have been an alternative continuation of the story from the point where Agamemnon and Achilles parted in anger in A. In this version the immediate consequence of the quarrel of the chiefs was, naturally enough, an assembly called to consider the altered state of affairs. On the meeting of the army Thersites, before any one else can speak, rises and attacks Agamemnon for his lustful greed in terms strictly appropriate to the occasion; 87-99 were immediately followed by 212-42. It is Thersites who proposes flight, and breaks up the assembly; 242 was originally followed by 142-210 (143 and 193-4 we shall presently account for). By divine suggestion Odysseus stays the rout, and when the assembly is again collected replies to Thersites; 244-399 follow 210 with the change of a word or two, e.g. *Θερσίτηι δὲ μάλ' ὄκα παρίστατο κτλ.* We have now got a consistent scene in the assembly. There is no longer anything surprising in the tone which Agamemnon adopts in 370-93, and the famous words of Odysseus in 203-5 gain a fresh significance. As the book stands, there has been no *πολεμοκρανίη* at all, the army has but obeyed the commander-in-chief. But if Thersites has taken the word out of his mouth and made the proposal which the host adopts, then indeed it is time to say that 'one must be king.'

So far, then, we have found two continuations of the tale of the quarrel, consistent in themselves, but irreconcilable with one another. But as the *Iliad* crystallized, and had to be reduced into one official form for public recitation, it became needful either to sacrifice one of the versions, or to weld them together perforce. Happily for us, the latter course was adopted. The 'diaskeuast' hit upon the ingenious device of the 'temptation.' Nothing short of such an extreme device could have served him. He set to work by borrowing the speech of Agamemnon in I 17-28 (= B 110-8, 139-141), where the situation was somewhat similar; he expanded it by adding 119-38, which are a clever suggestion that the proposal was not in earnest, because the natural conclusion from the numerical superiority of the Greeks is that they should fight it out. With this expanded speech he made Agamemnon open the assembly, transferring that of Thersites to its present place, immediately preceding the reply of Odysseus. He introduced further the preparatory idea of the temptation in the council, while shewing us, in the anxious repetition of the superfluous and suppression of the essential, the straits to which he was reduced. It was hopeless to attempt to make the idea of the temptation probable; he took the best course in suggesting it in the fewest possible words, and trusting to the excellence of the material he was welding



to cover the gaping imperfection of the joints. His work might just pass muster with hearers who had been trained to acquiesce in the inequalities of a growing Epos. We who read must shut our eyes now and then, to open them again as soon as the ring of the true metal calls our attention to the splendid narrative and characterization which are at the bottom of the expansion of the *Menis* into the *Iliad*.

This hypothesis, which is largely founded on Erhardt's analysis, is but one out of many which have been suggested in order to bring order into the present chaos. It is violent; but no gentle measures will suffice. Whether it be approximately right or wholly wrong, the important thing to notice is that the present state of the book can hardly be explained as the result of natural growth and gradual interpolation of a 'Volksepos.' We seem to have before us the work of an arranger, working with a definite literary aim on the fusion of most intractable materials. We shall in some of the later books come on similar phenomena, though in a less aggravated form. In these phenomena lies the strongest internal evidence for such a deliberate official arrangement as that commonly ascribed to Peisistratos. Further indications of an Attic influence at work upon the book will be found in the notes.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Β

ὄνειρος. διάπειρα.

ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἵπποκορυσταὶ  
εὖδον παννύχιοι, Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχεν ἦδυμος ὕπνος,  
ἀλλ' ὅ γε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα, ὥς Ἀχιλλῆα  
τιμῆσιν, ὀλέσῃ δὲ πολέας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

1. ἄλλοι: Zen. ὦλλοι. 2. ἔχεν ἦδυμος γρ. J, τινές Eust.: ἔχε νήδυμος Ar.

Ω. 3. ὅ γε: ὅδε C. 4. <sup>ει</sup>τιμῆσιν Nikanor Ω: <sup>ει</sup>τιμῆσιν AT. || ὀλέσῃ Ω:  
ὀλέσῃ T (τιμῆσιν<sup>ει</sup> εὐκτικὸν τὸ δὲ ὀλέσῃ ὑποτακτικόν Schol. AT). || πολέας: πολὺς  
Zen. (MS. πολὺς). Cf. A 559.

2. There is a slight inconsistency between this line and A 611, which it has been proposed to avoid by taking ἔχε to mean 'did not *keep* hold' all night long; i.e. Zeus awoke after going to sleep. But ἔχε implies only the presence of sleep (cf. Ψ 815), and this pregnant sense cannot be read into it in the absence of fuller expression. After all 'sleep' and 'pass the night' are interchangeable expressions in A 611, cf. the use of *ταῦεν* (note on I 325). It is better either to assume that A 609-11 are of the nature of a movable tag (see the note there), or to admit such a small inconsistency as would hardly be noticed at a point which forms a natural break in the narrative. K 1-4 follows I 713 in precisely the same manner, but the contradiction there is insignificant (see note), and in any case proves nothing, in view of the doubts as to the position of K in the original poem. For ἦδυμος mss. give νήδυμος, a word which has never been satisfactorily explained, and no doubt arose, as Buttmann saw, from the adhesion of the ν which, in seven cases out of the twelve where it occurs, ends the preceding word; a phenomenon which may be paralleled in English, e.g. *a nickname* for *an ekename*, *uncle* from *mine uncle* (Fr. *tuente* from

*ta ante*), *a newt* for *an ewt* (other instances in Skeat's *Dictionary* under N, and Wordsworth *J. P.* v. 95. So in mod. Greek ὁ νάνδρας from τὸν ἄνδρα). ἦδυμος itself was in use as a poetical word in much later times; the scholia quote Simonides and Antimachos as employing it, and Hesiod, Epicharmos, and Alkman are attested by others. It is also in the *Hymns*, *Merc.* 241, 449; xix. 16. MS. evidence for it will be found (for what it is worth) also in δ 793, μ 311. It is used by Ap. Rhod. (ii. 407), and Ἄδυμος occurs as a proper name in an inser. from Phthiotis (Collitz 1470). Ar. read νήδυμος, it may be presumed, because of the hiatus in II 454, μ 366, ν 79; of course he could not know that *ἦδυμος* began with *F*. There is no independent evidence for the form νήδυμος, except *Hymn. Ven.* 172. For the form ἦδυμος by ἦδύς cf. κάλλιμος by καλός, φαίδιμος by φαιδρός (van L. *Ench.* p. 162 n.), and numerous cases of adjectives formed from other adjectives by secondary suffixes without apparent differences of meaning, φαιδιμύεις, θηλυτέρος, etc. etc.

4. It would be easy here to read *τιμῆσει* with the edd., did not this involve ὀλέσαι, with the rare term. -αι (A 255, H 129, 130, M 334, T 81 are the

ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή, 5  
 πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι οὐλον ὄνειρον·  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “βάσκ' ἴθι, οὐλε ὄνειρε, θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ἔλθων ἐς κλισίην Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο 10  
 πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορευέμεν, ὥς ἐπιτέλλω.  
 θωρήξαι ἑ κέλευε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς  
 πανσυδίῃ· νῦν γάρ κεν ἔλοι πόλιν εὐρύαργιαν  
 Τρώων· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες  
 ἀθάνατοι φράζονται· ἐπέγναμψεν γὰρ ἅπαντας 15  
 Ἥρῃ λισσομένη, Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφήπται.”  
 ὥς φάτο, βῆ δ' ἄρ' ὄνειρος, ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε·  
 καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκανε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.  
 βῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν δ' ἐκίχανεν  
 εὐδοντ' ἐν κλισίῃ, περὶ δ' ἀμβρόσιος κέχυνθ' ὕπνος.

6. ἀτρεΐδην ἀγαμέμνονα GS. 9. ἐς: δ' ἐς CGS Laud. Vr. a. 10. ἐπι-  
 τέλλω: ἀγορεύω P. 12. πανσυδίῃ GJLS Harl. a. || ἔλοι Zen. Ω: ἔλῃ G:  
 ἔλοις Ar. (?). 14. ἐπέγναψε(ν) C<sup>1</sup>DPRTU Lips. 15. τρώεσσι . . ἐφήπται:  
 διδομεν δέ οἱ εὐχος ἀρέσσαι Aristot. *Poet.* 25, *Soph. El.* 4 (cf. Φ 297).

only clear cases in *Il.*; see van L. *Ench.* p. 291). On the other hand, the subj. after the historic tense is equally rare in *H.* though so common later (*M. and T.* §§ 318–20, and particularly *H. G.* § 298). A precisely similar question arises in II 646–50, q.v. As between *τιμῆσι*, -ει, -ει', ms. authority is *nil*, but with *ὀλέσαι* and *ὀλέσει* it counts for something. See also A 558–60, which has, of course, had an influence on the present passage, only it seems impossible to say whether it was on the mind of the poet or of later copyists. In spite of its rarity in *H.* the subj. (or fut. ?) is a very natural and vivid way of representing what is passing through the mind of Zeus. The form *πολὺς* here attributed to Zen. is etymologically correct (for *πολύς*, *H. G.* § 100), and is probably preferable in all cases to *πολεῖς* or *πολέας*.

6. οὐλον, *baneful*, as E 461, 717, Φ 536. It is presumably conn. with *ὀλλυμι* (for *ὀλ-νός* ?). Cf. *ὄλλιος* A 62 n. It appears to be only the particular dream which is personified; there is no trace in Homer of a separate Dream-god.

8. To avoid the *hiatus illicitus* we may with Lange and Naber read *οὐλος*

*ὄνειρε*, cf. Δ 189 φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε, *H. G.* § 164 (*θάσσον* conj. Bentley).

13. ἀμφίς, *on two sides*, i.e. divided in counsel; N 345.

15. ἐφήπται, lit. 'are fastened upon the Trojans,' i.e. hang over their heads. So Z 241, H 402, Φ 513. The variant form of the end of the line twice given by Aristotle (see App. Crit.) is noteworthy in its bearing on the significance of ancient quotations, as it is certainly not a lapse of memory. It appears from what he says that critics were offended by the downright lie put into Zeus' mouth by the word *διδομεν*, and that Hippias of Thasos 'solved the problem' by reading *διδόμεν*, infin. for imper., thus leaving the actual falsehood to the dream.

19. ἀμβρόσιος, *fragrant*, as sleep is commonly called *γλυκύς*, besides being *ἡδύς* and *μελίφρων* in the compass of a few lines. So νύξ *ἀμβροσίη*, because it gives men sleep, or perhaps because of the peculiar fragrance of a still warm night. Verrall has shewn that the idea of *fragrance* is *always* suitable to the use of *ἀμβρόσιος*, while there is no clear instance of its meaning *immortal* only. It is probably not a pure Greek word at all, but borrowed from the Semitic *ambar*, *ambergis*, the famous perfume

στη δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς Νηληϊῶι υἱ ἰοικῶς 20  
 Νέστορι, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα γερόντων τί' Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 τῶι μιν εἰσάμενος προσεφώνεεν οὔλος ὄνειρος·  
 “εὔδεις, Ἀτρείος νιὲ δαΐφρονος ἵπποδάμοιο ;  
 οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὔδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα,  
 ὧι λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφεται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε. 25  
 νῦν δ' ἐμέθεν ξύνες ὦκα· Διὸς δέ τοι ἄγγελός εἰμι,  
 ὅς σευ ἄνευθεν ἐὼν μέγα κήδεται ἦδ' ἐλαίρει.  
 θωρήξαι σ' ἐκέλευσε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς  
 πανσυδῆι· νῦν γάρ κεν ἔλοις πόλιν εὐρύανγιναν  
 Τρώων· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες 30  
 ἀθάνατοι φράζονται· ἐπέγναμψεν γὰρ ἅπαντας  
 “Ἥρη λισσομένη, Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφήπται  
 ἐκ Διός. ἀλλὰ σὺ σῆμισιν ἔχε φρεσί, μηδέ σε λήθῃ  
 αἰρείτω, εὖτ' ἂν σε μελίφρων ὕπνος ἀνήγῃ.”  
 ὧς ἄρα φωνήσας ἀπεβήσето, τὸν δὲ λίπ' αὐτοῦ 35  
 τὰ φρονέοντ' ἀνὰ θυμόν, ἃ ῥ' οὐ τελέεσθαι ἔμελλον.  
 φῆ γὰρ ὅ γ' αἰρήσειν Πριάμου πόλιν ἥματι κείνῳι,

22. προσεφώνεεν οὔλος A *supr.* (T.W.A.) Par. d, Mosc. 2 and γρ. J : προσ-  
 εφώνεε θεῖος Ω. 23. ἀτρείως CDGQR Mosc. 1. 25. τ' *om.* L. 27 ἀθ.  
 Ar. 28. σ' ἐκέλευε HT Lips.: σε κέλευε D. 29. πασσυδῆι GJLS. 31.  
 ἐπέγναψε(n) DPRTU Harl. a. 34. ἀνίη P<sup>1</sup> Vr. b, A : ἀνίσει Q. 35. ἀπ-  
 εβήσατο AC<sup>1</sup>T Mosc. 1 2 : ἀπεβήσατο Ω. 36. ἃ (*om.* ῥ') G. || ἔμελλον Ar. G :  
 ἔμελλ(ε) Zen. Ω. 37. πριάμοιο PT.

to which Oriental nations assign mythical miraculous properties, so that ἀμβροσία has taken the place of the old Aryan *Soma*. ἀμβροτος, though in some of its uses it undoubtedly means *immortal*, in others is a synonym of ἀμβρόσιος, the two senses being thus from different sources and only accidentally coincident in sound (θ 365 ἀμβρ. ἔλαιον, ε 347 κρήδεμνον, Π 670 εἶματα, λ 330 νύξ ἀμβροτος, and Ξ 78 νύξ ἀβρότη = νύξ ἀμβρόσιη). That the epithets are chiefly restricted to *divine* objects is clearly the result of popular etymology.

20. Νηληϊῶι υἱί, an unusual expression, with which we may compare Τελαμώνιε παῖ Soph. *Aj.* 134. So also N 67.

21. γερόντων, members of the royal council, without regard to age; see 53. Young men like Diomedes and Achilles belonged to the council.

22. μιν is of course acc. after προσε-

φώνεε. οὔλος is preferable to θεῖος, which in the *Il.* retains the original scansion θεῖος, *θει-* being always in thesis, cf. 41, 56 (Ψ 689 is no exception), but θεῖος ἀοιδός is common in *Od.*

27. This line occurs in Ω 174, and was rejected by Aristarchos here and 64, as the 'pity' seems out of place. *σευ* is gen. after κήδεται, not ἄνευθεν. *σε* is of course to be supplied to ἐλαίρει, from *σεν*.

33. It is not usual for Homeric messengers to exceed the words of their message. In Θ 423-4 a similar addition is suspected for other reasons.

36. ἔμελλον : so Ar. for ἐμελλε. He preferred the plural wherever the choice was possible, relying on passages such as B 135, H 6, 102, and others, where the verb cannot be in the singular. As the tendency of corruption would be towards the more familiar idiom, he is no doubt right.



νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὰ ἥϊδη, ἃ ῥα Ζεὺς μῆδετο ἔργα·  
 θήσειν γὰρ ἔτ' ἔμελλεν ἐπ' ἄλγέα τε στοναχὰς τε  
 Τρωσί τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.  
 ἔγρετο δ' ἐξ ὕπνου, θείῃ δέ μιν ἀμφέχυντ' ὀμφή.  
 ἔξετο δ' ὀρθωθείς, μαλακὸν δ' ἔνδυνε χιτῶνα  
 καλὸν νηγάτεον, περὶ δὲ μέγα βάλλετο φᾶρος·  
 ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὥμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον·  
 εἴλετο δὲ σκῆπτρον πατρώϊον, ἀφθιτον αἰεὶ·  
 σὺν τῷ ἔβη κατὰ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτῶνων.

Ἦως μὲν ῥα θεὰ προσεβήσετο μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον  
 Ζηνὶ φῶως ἐρέουσα καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν·

αὐτὰρ ὁ κηρύκεσσι λιγυφθόγοισι κέλευσε  
 κηρύσσειν ἀγορήνδε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς·  
 οἳ μὲν ἐκήρυσσον, τοὶ δ' ἡγείροντο μάλ' ὦκα.

βουλὴν δὲ πρῶτον μεγαθύμων ἵξε γερόντων

38. τὰ: τὰ ῥ' J (γρ. οὐδὲ τὰ). || ἥϊδη D<sup>1</sup>JQS Mor. || ῥα: ῥ' ὁ Mor. Bar.  
 40. διὰ: γρ. κατὰ J. 43. δὲ: δ' αὖ P Harl. a d, Par. a (p. ras.) k (p. ras.).  
 44. ὑπαὶ GJPQR<sup>1</sup> (altered to ὑπὸ) and ap. Eust. || ὑπεδήσατο Q. || πέδηλα D<sup>1</sup>GQ.  
 48. προσεβήσατο CDHJPQRU: προσεβήσσατο G. 49. φῶως: φάος G. 50.  
 κέλευε(ν) CDGJRST. 53. βουλὴν Zen., αἱ κοιναί, Ω: βουλὴ Ar. Arh. J (γρ.  
 βουλὴν) and γρ. Par. a.

40. διὰ, either *through the whole course* of battles, as we find διὰ νύκτα in a temporal sense; or better *by means of*, like ἦν διὰ μαντοσύνην A 72, διὰ μῆτιν Ἀθήνης K 497, battles being Zeus' instrument for working his will.

41. ἀμφέχυντο, *surrounded him*, i.e. rang in his ears. ὀμφή in Homer is always accompanied either with θείη or θεοῦ, θεῶν.

43. νηγάτεον occurs only here and Ξ 185 in a similar phrase. The exact meaning of the word is doubtful; it is generally derived from νέος and γα- for γ(ε)ν- of γίγνομαι, as meaning 'newly produced'; but it may be questioned whether the root γεν- is ever employed to express the production of manufactured objects, and νη- from νέφο- never coalesces to νη-, least of all in a genuine Homeric word. A derivation now widely accepted is that of Schmalfeld from Skt. *snih*, oiled, and thus *shining*; cf. note on Σ 596. Monro (*J. P.* xi. 61) refers it to a subst. \*νῆγαρ from \*νῆγω, related to νέω to spin, as τμήγω to τέμνω (τεμε). Thus νηγάτεος = *of spun work*.

Goebel derives from νη- priv. and ἀγατᾶσθαι = βλάπτεισθαι (Hesych.) in the sense *integer*, fresh, not worn. Similarly Düntzer refers it to root ἀγ- of ἄγος = pollution, as meaning 'undefiled.' φᾶρος, the luxurious linen robe of royalty, not the common χλαῖνα of wool. Cf. note on Θ 221.

45. ἀργυρόηλον: cf. notes on A 246 and A 29, where the same (?) sword has nails of gold. The discrepancy would hardly deserve mention were it not the occasion for the excellent remark of Ar., τὰ τοιαῦτα κυρίως οὐ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιφορὰν ἐστι ποιητικῆς ἀρεσκείας.

46. ἀφθιτον, as the work of a god (see I. 101) and the symbol of a divine authority.

49. ἐρέουσα, *heralding the approach of light*; so Ψ 226 Ἑωσφόρος εἰσι φῶως ἐρέων ἐπὶ γαίαν.

53. For βουλὴν of Zenod. and mss. Aristarchos read βουλή, taking ἵξε as intransitive, as is usual in Homer (e.g. II. 96 and 792). The transitive use of the present stem appears to recur only in Ω 553. The βουλή was composed of a

Νεστορέμῃ παρὰ νηὶ Πυλοιογενέος βασιλῆος.  
 τοὺς ὃ γε σύγκαλέσας πυκινὴν ἡρτύνετο βουλὴν· 55  
 “κλῦτε, φίλοι· θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος  
 ἄμβροσίνην διὰ νύκτα, μάλιστα δὲ Νέστορι δίωι  
 εἰδός τε μέγεθός τε φυὴν τ’ ἄγχιστα ἐώκει.  
 στῇ δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, καὶ με πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 ‘εὔδεις, Ἀτρέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἵπποδάμοιο; 60  
 οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὔδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα,  
 ὧι λαοὶ τ’ ἐπιτετράφεται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε.  
 νῦν δ’ ἐμέθεν ξύνες ὦκα· Διὸς δέ τοι ἄγγελός εἰμι,  
 ὅς σευ ἀνενθεν ἐὼν μέγα κήδεταί ἡδ’ ἐλεαίρει·  
 θωρήξαι σ’ ἐκέλευσε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς 65  
 πανσυδίῃ· νῦν γάρ κεν ἔλοις πόλιν εὐρύαγυιαν  
 Τρώων· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ’ ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχοντες  
 ἀθάνατοι φράζονται· ἐπέγναμψεν γὰρ ἅπαντας  
 Ἥρη λισσομένη, Τρώεσσι δὲ κήδε’ ἐφήπται  
 ἐκ Διός· ἀλλὰ σὺ σῆσιν ἔχε φρεσίν.’ ὥς ὁ μὲν εἰπὼν 70  
 ὤιχετ’ ἀποπτάμενος, ἐμὲ δὲ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνήκεν.  
 ἀλλ’ ἄγετ’, αἶ κέν πως θωρήξομεν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.  
 πρῶτα δ’ ἐγὼν ἔπεσιν πειρήσομαι, ἣ θέμις ἐστί,

54. **NESTORĒMĒ** (i) GH<sup>4</sup>JRS. || **ΠΥΛΟΙΟΓΕΝΕΟΣ** (Ar. ?) [A]H<sup>2</sup>TU (*in ras.*): **ΠΥΛΗΓΕΝΕΟΣ** Ω.  
 55. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ’ ἦγερεν ὀμηγερέες τ’ ἐγένοντο, τοῖσι δ’ ἀνιστάμενος μετέφη κρείων ἀγαμέμνων Zen. 56. **ΘΕΙΟΣ** Zen. || **ΕΝΥΠΝΙΟΣ** D. 58. [εἰδός] **TE**: τ’ αὐ PR. 60–70 contracted by Zen. into ἡνώγει **CE** πατὴρ ὕψιζυγος αἰθέρι νοσίων τρωαὶ μαχιάσασθαι προτὶ Ἴλιον. ὥς ὁ μὲν εἰπὼν κτλ. 60. ἀτρέως CDQ.  
 62. τ’ om. L. 64 *ab.* Ar. 65. **C** ἐκέλευε HT Lips. (and A<sup>m</sup>, T.W.A.): **CE** ἐκέλευε D. 66. **PANSSUDĒMĒ** GJLS. 68. ἐπέγναψε(ν) DPRTU. 72. ἄγετέ κέν πως Q. 73. ἔγωγ’ S. || **ΠΕΙΡΑΣΟΜΑΙ** H.

small number of the most important chiefs (*γέροντες*) specially summoned; see note on 194.

54. **NESTORĒMĒ** = *Néstoros*, as *Νηληΐωι*, l. 20; for the addition of the gen. cf. *Ποργεῖν κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου* E 741. No reason is given for the meeting at Nestor’s ship, as though it were a matter of course; we should have expected to find Agamemnon’s ship—or hut—the meeting-place of his council.

56 = ξ 495. **ΕΝΥΠΝΙΟΝ**, which does not recur in Homer, is an adverbial neut. of the adj. *ἐνύπνιος* (like *ἦλθον ἐναΐσιμον* Z 519), and is so found in Ar. *Vesp.* 1218 *ἐνύπνιον ἐστιώμεθα*. Compare the Attic use of *ὄναρ*. In later Greek, however, *ἐνύπνιον* was generally used as a sub-

stantive, and accordingly Zenod. read *θεῖον* here.

57. **ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ**—**ἄγχιστα**: rather tautological, though the two words do not perhaps mean exactly the same; *μάλιστα* = to Nestor *more than to any other*, *ἄγχιστα* = *very closely* resembled. But 58 = ξ 152, and has probably been adopted by the interpolator without due care. For **ΦΥΗ** cf. A 115.

60–70. The third repetition of the message is really too much; Zen. had good reason for condensing it into two lines.

73. The idea of tempting the army has been compared with a similar story told of Cortes; a proposal on his part to return was made merely to excite the

καὶ φεύγειν σὺν νηυσὶ πολυκλήϊσι κελεύσω·  
 ὑμεῖς δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἐρῆναι ἐπέεσσιν.” 75  
 ἦ τοι ὁ γ' ὧς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο, τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη  
 Νέστωρ, ὅς ῥα Πύλοιο ἀναξ ἦν ἡμαθόεντος·  
 ὁ σφιν ἐν φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες,  
 εἰ μὲν τις τὸν ὄνειρον Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐνίσπε, 80  
 ψεῦδός κεν φαῖμεν καὶ νοσφιζοίμεθα μᾶλλον·  
 νῦν δ' ἴδεν ὃς μέγ' ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν εὐχεται εἶναι.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγετ', αἶ κέν πως θωρήξομεν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν.”  
 ὧς ἄρα φωνήσας βουλῆς ἐξ ἥρχε νέεσθαι,  
 οἱ δ' ἐπανέστησαν πείθοντό τε ποιμένι λαῶν 85  
 σκηπτούχοι βασιλῆες· ἐπεσσεύοντο δὲ λαοί.  
 ἥνυτε ἔθνεα εἰσι μελισσᾶων ᾠδινάων,

74. κελεύω Et. Mag. 518, 44.	76-83 ἀθ. Ar.	78. ὁ : ὅς GPQ.	82.
ἀχαιῶν : ἐνὶ στρατῶι PQR Par. a f (cf. A 91).	83. ἄγετέ κέν πως Q.		85.
τινὲς πανέστησαν γράφουσι, ἥτοι πάντες ὀρθοὶ ἕστησαν Eust.			

spirits of his followers, and met with complete success. Ἡ θέμις ἐστὶ, as the words stand, can only apply to the verb *πειρήσομαι*, but it is impossible to see how such a temptation can be an 'established' or 'rightful custom.' It is usual to join them with *ἐγών*, 'it is rightful for me as king to do so'; but this gives a hardly better sense, and is against the order. The whole conclusion of the speech can only be explained by supposing that the author is trying to hurry over an impossible task, suggesting the idea of the temptation in words whose exact bearing is to be forgotten as quickly as possible.

75. Το *ἐρῆναι* the scholia supply *ἐμέ* as object; but the words hardly admit of any other object than *Ἀχαιοίς*.

81. *φαῖμέν κεν* is potential, 'we might deem it a delusion.' Homeric usage permits us to translate 'we should have said'; but the phrase 'belongs to the borderland between past and future conclusions,' *M. and T.* § 442. *νοσφιζοίμεθα*, *hold aloof* from the plans founded on it.

82. The idea clearly is that the supreme king has an innate right to communications from heaven on behalf of the people at large. Nestor's silence with respect to Agamemnon's last proposition may perhaps be explained as due to disapproval of a resolution which he sees

it is useless to resist. But the speech is singularly jejune and unlike the usual style of Nestor; l. 82 seems much more in place in Ω 222; and Aristarchos rejected 76-83 entirely, on the ground that it was for Agamemnon and not for Nestor to lead the way out from the council.

87. *ᾠδινάων* (or, as Aristarchos seems, from a scholium of Herodianos on this passage, to have written the word, *ᾠδινάων*), *busy*. The word seems to express originally quick restless motion, and is thus applied to the heart (II 481, τ 516), to sheep (α 92, δ 320), and to flies (B 469); then to vehemence of grief (Ψ 225, ω 317, and often), and to the passionate song of the Sirens (ψ 326). According to the explanation of the ancients, adopted by Buttmann, the primary sense is *dense*; but this gives a much less satisfactory chain of significations. It is then particularly hard to explain the application of the word to the heart; few will be thoroughly satisfied with the supposition that it means 'composed of dense fibres,' while a more probable epithet than 'busy' or 'beating' could not be found.

It may be noticed that both *ἔθνεα εἶσι* (which Bentley emended *ἔθνε' ἱασι*) and *αἱ δὲ τε ἔθνεα* (l. 90 : *αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐνθα* Brandr.) are cases of *hiatus illicitus*; i.e. they occur at points where there is

πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομένων·  
 βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν·  
 αἱ μὲν τ' ἔνθα ἄλῃς πεποτήαται, αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα· 90  
 ὧς τῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων  
 ἡϊόνος προπάροιθε βαθείης ἐστιχόωντο  
 ἱλαδὸν εἰς ἀγορὴν· μετὰ δέ σφισιν ὅσσα δεδήει  
 ὀτρύνουσ' ἰέναι, Διὸς ἄγγελος· οἱ δ' ἀγέροντο.  
 τετρήχει δ' ἀγορῇ, ὑπὸ δὲ στεναχίζετο γαῖα 95  
 λαῶν ἰζόντων, ὄμαδος δ' ἦν. ἐννέα δὲ σφεας  
 κήρυκες βοόωντες ἐρήτυνον, εἴ ποτ' αὐτῆς  
 σχοιάτ', ἀκούσειαν δὲ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων.  
 σπουδῇ δ' ἔξετο λαός, ἐρήτυθεν δὲ καθ' ἔδρας  
 παυσάμενοι κλαγγῆς. ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων 100  
 ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων· τὸ μὲν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων.  
 Ἥφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίῳνι ἄνακτι,  
 αὐτὰρ ἄρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργεῖφόντῃ·

88. αἰεὶ T. || ἀρχομενάων J. 89. βοτρυδὸν τε QR. 95. στεναχίζετο  
 ARU: στοναχίζετο Ω. 96. σφας OG. 98. διοτρεφέων GJ. 99. ἐρήτυον  
 PQR (γρ. ἐρήτυθεν R<sup>m</sup>). || καεῖδρας CDGHJPQRT. 100. κλαγκῆς Q. 103.  
 διακτορι Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. || ἀργεῖφόντῃ Q.

no caesura nor any tendency to a break in the line which might account for them. Of the fifty-three cases of such hiatus in Homer, twenty-three occur at the end of the second foot, and twenty-one in or at the end of the fifth; six are found in the first, two in the third, and only one in the fourth. Of the twenty-one in the fifth foot, all are in the trochaic caesura except this, Λ 678 (=ξ 100), Ν 22, Ξ 285, 358, Σ 4, ε 257, ι 553, κ 68. (See note on Σ 4.) A complete list will be found in Knös *De digammo Homericō* p. 47. The hiatus is legitimate if found (1) in the trochaic caesura of the third foot; (2) in the bucolic diaeresis; (3) at the end of the first foot, though this is much rarer than the other two, and is perhaps only permissible when coinciding with a pause in the sense; van L. *Ench.* pp. 77-78. See also note on 105. (In reckoning cases of hiatus Knös omits genitives in -ao and -oio, which in his opinion do not suffer elision, and words like *περί, τι*, and others, which certainly do not.)

88. **ΝΕΟΝ**, 'in fresh relays,' as Δ 332, H 64.

89. **ΒΟΤΡΥΔΟΝ** naturally reminds us of the settling of a new swarm of bees,

hanging down in a solid mass like a bunch of grapes. But *ἀνθεσιν* rather indicates that no more is meant than the thronging of them upon the flowers in the eager search for honey.

90. **ἄλῃς** is here used in its primary sense, *in throngs*, from *Feλ*, *squeeze* (*Feλεῖν*, ἄ-ολλ-έες, etc.); it is thus almost identical with *ἱλαδόν*, l. 93.

93. **δεδήει**: this metaphor is a favourite one with Homer, especially of battle (cf. *ὧς οἱ μὲν μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο* Σ 1, and the word *daïs*); it is applied even to *οἰμωγή* in υ 353. For the personification of **ὅσσα**, *heaven-sent rumour*, cf. ω 413, and see Buttmann *Lexil.* s.v.

95. **τετρήχει**, plpf. intrans., from *ταράσσω*. The form recurs in H 346.

99. **σπουδῇ**, 'with trouble,' ἄ *peine*, *hardly*. So E 893, Λ 562, ω 119, etc.

103. **διακτόρῳ ἀργεῖφόντῃ**: these names of Hermes are obscure. The former perhaps means 'the runner,' from *διακ-*, a lengthened form of *δι-*, root *δι* *to run*, whence also *διώκ-ω*: cf. *διάκονος*. *Ἀργεῖφόντης* is traditionally explained *slayer of Argos*; but the legend implied is evidently later than H. and may have arisen from the name itself. Even in ancient times an



Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκεν Πέλοπι πληξίππωι,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοψ δῶκ' Ἀτρείῃ ποιμένι λαῶν. 105  
 Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι,  
 πολλῇσι νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεῖ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν.  
 τῶι ὃ γ' ἐρεισάμενος ἔπε' Ἀργείοισι μετηύδα·  
 "ὦ φίλοι ἦρωες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄρηος, 110  
 Ζεὺς με μέγας Κρονίδης ἄτῃ ἐνέδησε βαρεΐνι,  
 σχέτλιος, ὃς πρὶν μὲν μοι ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν  
 Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντ' εὐτείχεον ἀπονέεσθαι,  
 νῦν δὲ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλευσατο, καί με κελεύει 115  
 δυσκλέα Ἄργος ἰκέσθαι, ἐπεὶ πολὺν ὤλεσα λαόν.  
 οὕτω που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενέει φίλον εἶναι,  
 ὃς δὴ πολλῶν πολίων κατέλυσε κάρηνα  
 ἦδ' ἔτι καὶ λύσει· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.

105. ἀτρείῃ: ἀτρέω Par. β. 108. ἀνάσσειν Vr. a<sup>1</sup>. 110-119 Ζηνόδοτος  
 συντέμνει ὦ φίλοι ἦρωες θαναοί, θεράποντες ἄρηος. λῶβῃ γὰρ τὰδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ  
 ἐσσομένοιςι πυσέσσαι. 111. μέγας Ar. (see Ludw. i. pp. 66, 205) Par. j and γρ.  
 Vr. b: μέγα Ω. 112. μὲν om. Par. β. || ὑπὲσχετο Q. 114. ἀπάτην: ἄτην S.  
 115. πολὺν: πάντ (?) Par. β. 116. φίλον εἶναι: κρονίῳ R.

alternative der. from ἀργός and φαίνω was current, and was accepted by Ar., in the sense *swift appearing*. For want of a better it may pass; but the *ει* and *ο* are unaccounted for, the proper form being evidently ἀργιφάντης, if any. Generally speaking, these mythological names are inexplicable to us. (See Roscher *Lex.* i. 2384.)

105. Notice the hiatus at the end of the first foot here and 107; there are no less than fifteen cases after αὐτὰρ ὁ in this place (van L. *Ench.* p. 78). These two may be written ὅ γ' (Brandreth), and so Γ 379, Φ 33, with F' for *Foi*. In the other eleven cases we can write ὅ γ' or ὅς (Brandreth), or admit that the hiatus was allowable after ὁ, which cannot be elided. The ms. tradition is strongly in favour of the latter choice.

108. Argos here, from its opposition to the islands, can hardly mean less than the whole of the mainland over which the suzerainty of Agamemnon extended. See the remarks of Thucydides, i. 9, where he calls this passage the σκήπτρον παράδοσις. This famous line seems to have reached even the *Morte d'Arthur*—'king he was of all Ireland and of many isles,' i. 24.

111-18 = I 18-25. μέγας: so Ar. (acc. to Did. in a most explicit and important schol.; the contradictory statement of An. is clearly wrong). The adj. is more natural than the adv. thus separated from the verb, though the latter may be defended by A 78.

113. The main idea is given by ἐκπέρσαντα: we should say, 'that I should not return till I had wasted Ilios.' The acc. is the regular idiom. (Cf. A 541.)

115. δυσκλέα, i.e. δυσκλέε(α), see H. G. § 105, 4. The supposed 'hyphaeresis' in these stems is just as mythical as the 'syncope' of πλέας for πλέονας (129).

116. που μέλλει, *must, it seems*, as Φ 83 μέλλω που ἀπεχθέσθαι Διὶ πατρί. Bekker brackets 116-18, urging that such an appeal to Zeus as *destroyer* of cities contradicts what Agamemnon has just been saying. This, however, actually weakens the passage; for surely the thought that Zeus has so often 'overthrown fenced cities' heightens the bitterness of the ἄτη which Agamemnon says has come upon him. For κάρηνα used of cities compare the frequent epithet εὐστέφανος.

αἰσχροὺν γὰρ τόδε γ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι,  
 μὰψ οὕτω τοιόνδε τοσόνδ' εἴ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν 120  
 ἄπρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν ἠδὲ μάχεσθαι  
 ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισι, τέλος δ' οὐ πῶ τι πέφανται.  
 εἰ περ γάρ κ' ἐθέλοιμεν Ἀχαιοὶ τε Τρῶές τε,  
 ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες, ἀριθμηθήμεναι ἄμφω,  
 Τρῶες μὲν λέξασθαι, ἐφέστιοι ὅσοι ἔασιν, 125  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐς δεκάδας διακοσμηθήμεν Ἀχαιοί,  
 Τρώων δ' ἀνδρα ἕκαστοι ἐλοίμεθα οἶνοχοεῦν,  
 πολλαὶ κεν δεκάδες δευοίατο οἶνοχόοιο.  
 τόσσον ἐγὼ φημι πλέας ἔμμεναι υἷας Ἀχαιῶν  
 Τρώων, οἳ ναίουσι κατὰ πτόλιν· ἀλλ' ἐπίκουροι 130  
 πολλέων ἐκ πολλῶν ἐγχέςπαλοι ἄνδρες ἔνεισιν,  
 οἳ με μέγα πλάζουσι καὶ οὐκ εἰῶσ' ἐθέλοντα

119. Γ' *om.* G. || πῖθέσθαι Q. 120. τε *om.* LQ Pap. β; γε G. 123. γάρ τ' R.  
 124. ἄθ. Ar. 125. τρῶες Ar. (ἐν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις εὐρηται Eust.): τρῶας Ω.  
 126. διακοσμηθήμεν CL Vr. b (and *ap.* Schol. T): διακοσμηώμεν PR<sup>2</sup> (ω  
*in ras.*): διακοσμηθήμεν DQ: κατακοσμηθήμεν J. 127. ἕκαστοι Ar.: ἕκα-  
 στον Ixion Ω. 130. πόλιν HQ. 130-3 ἄθ. Ar. 131. πολλῶν R. || ἔνεισιν  
 Ar. (in one edition) Kallistratos: ἔασιν Ω.

124. Ar. athetized the line on the good ground that in a mere hypothesis the supposition of details to render it possible is quite out of place.

125. λέξασθαι, *to number themselves*. ἐφέστιοι, i.e. citizens in the town, as opposed to the allies from other lands; cf. ὅσοι μὲν Τρώων πυρὸς ἐσχάροι K 418, with note. Τρῶες Ar., MSS. Τρῶας, which would mean 'to muster the Trojans.' After Τρῶες above the nom. is more natural, 'the Trojans to muster themselves.' For εἰ περ . . κε with opt. see Lange EI p. 195, *H. G.* § 313, *M. and T.* § 460; it differs only by a shade from the simple εἰ with opt. For the sentiment compare Virg. *Aen.* xii. 233 *vix hostem, alterni si congregiamur, habemus*.

126. P. Knight followed by van L. reads διακοσμηθήμεν' (infin.), which is probably right; the MSS. give only -ῆναι for this termination before a vowel, but it seems that -ήμεν' should always be restored (van L. *Ench.* p. 319).

127. ἕκαστοι, i.e. each set of ten. The MSS. all give ἕκαστον: the text is more idiomatic and vigorous, and from the way in which Did. quotes Ixion as the only authority for ἕκαστον

it might seem that ἕκαστοι was the old vulg.

129. πλέας, a comparative form = πλέονας, for πλε-εας = πλε-jes-as; see note on A 80. The form remained in use in more than one dialect to historical times, being found in an inscription from Mytilene (Collitz no. 213, 9), ταῖς ἀρχαῖς παῖσαις ταῖς ἐμ Μ[υτιλή]ναι πλέας τ[ῶ]ν αἰμῖσεων, and in the great inscription from Gortyn, in the forms πλές, πλία, πλίανς. The nom. πλέες is found in A 395.

130-33 were athetized by Ar. on the ground that all the 'barbarians,' Trojans and allies together, are elsewhere always said to be fewer than the Greeks. The objection rather is that elsewhere the Trojans always play the prominent part in the defence, while the allies are of secondary importance. See especially P 221.

131. ἔνεισιν: so one of the editions of Ar., as in E 477 οἳ πέρ τ' ἐπίκουροι ἔνειμεν, and this gives a better sense than ἔασιν of MSS.

132. πλάζουσι, *lead me astray, drive me wide of the mark*; cf. πάλιν πλαγχθέντας A 59. εἰῶσι, i.e. ἔασουσι. εἰᾶν is a mere figment, cf. 165.

Ἰλίου ἐκπέρσαι ἐν ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον.  
 ἐννέα δὴ βεβάασι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί,  
 καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται·  
 αἱ δέ που ἡμέτεραί τ' ἄλοχοι καὶ νήπια τέκνα  
 εἵαται ἐν μεγάροις ποτιδέγμεναι· ἄμμι δὲ ἔργον  
 αὐτῶς ἀκράαντον, οὗ εἵνεκα δεῦρ' ἰκόμεσθα.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες·  
 φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίην αἰρήσομεν εὐρύναυιαν."  
 ὧς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νῆρι  
 πᾶσι μετὰ πληθύν, ὅσοι οὐ βουλῆς ἐπάκουσαν.  
 κινήθη δ' ἀγορὴ φῆ κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης,

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133. Ἰλίου: Ἰλιον Ar. J (*supr.* ου). 134. δὴ: δὲ J. 136. τ' om. S.  
 137. εἵαται ἐν Herakleides PQR: εἵατ' ἐν A (γρ. εἵατ' ἐν) D: εἵατο ἐν G: εἵατ'  
 ἐν CHJT Harl. a, Lips. Vr. b c A, Mosc. 1. 139. ἐγὼν Q. 141. ἐν τισιν οὐ  
 φέρεται οὗτος ὁ στίχος Schol. T. 143 ἀθ. Ar. 144. φῆ Zen.: ὥς Ar. Ω.

133. Ἰλίου: so MSS.; Ar. Ἰλιον. Both constructions are found; the acc. in line 501 and *passim* in the Catalogue, the gen. in B 538, E 642, a 2 Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον, o 193, etc.

135. Observe the neuter plurals followed by one verb in the sing. and the other in the plur. σπάρτα, apparently ropes made of common broom; see L. and S. s.v. Hemp was hardly known in Greece even in the fifth century; v. Herod. iv. 74. Varro, perhaps rightly, took the word to mean *things* used to bind the timbers together: *Liburni plerasque naves loris suebant: Gracchi magis cannabo et stupa, caeterisque sativis rebus, a quibus σπάρτα appellabant* (ap. Gell. xvii. 3). This suits the context rather better than to take σπάρτα = *cables*, a less vital matter. (A cable is called βύβλινος in φ 391; the rigging is of leather, β 426.)

141. The reason why this line was rejected by 'some' (see above) is that ἀναιρεῖ τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν. Agamemnon's speech hitherto has been studiously ambiguous, as becomes a πείρα. While suggesting flight, he has ingeniously suggested also both the shame and the needlessness of flight. This line undoes all by its open declaration of opinion. The objection is well founded, but applies equally to 140. It may be said that 139-41 are wrongly added from I 26-8; but the difficulty is really inherent in the idea of the temptation. If 139-41

are omitted, the effect of the speech becomes inexplicable.

143 was rejected by Aristarchos as involving unnecessary repetition; the πληθὺς of course knew nothing of the council. For μετὰ with acc. = *among* compare I 54, π 419, and δ 652 (though in the latter passage μεθ' ἡμέας may mean 'next to us'); and also μετὰ χεῖρας, Herod. vii. 16. 2, Thuc. i. 138, etc. See H. G. § 195. Van L. reads κατά, which we should have expected; the two are constantly confused in MSS., see App. Crit. on 163, 179 below, and A 424.

144. Aristonikos has here preserved for us the reading of Zenodotos, φῆ for ὥς of MSS.; and there can be no doubt that it is correct, though Ar. rejected it with the brief comment οὐδέποτε "Ὅμηρος τὸ φῆ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὥς τέταχεν. This merely means, that the word had generally dropped out of the MSS. in his day; it is found again in Ξ 499 ο δὲ φῆ κώδειαν ἀνασχών, where it was written φῆ, and, in defiance of Homeric idiom, translated 'said.' The word has survived also in Callim. *Hecale* (col. iv. 5 C. R. vii. 430) κνάνεον φῆ πίσαν, in φῆ γεράνοισι quoted from Antimachos, and, by certain emendations, in Hipponax (fr. 14, 2, Bergk *P. L. G.*³ p. 755), where φῆ glossed ὥς has been turned into ὥς φησι: and *Hymn. Merc.* 241 (Barnes, for δῆ or θῆ, see Allen in *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 260).

πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο· τὰ μὲν τ' Εὐρός τε Νότος τε 145  
 ὄρορ' ἐπαΐξας πατρὸς Διὸς ἐκ νεφελάων.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε κινήσῃ Ζέφυρος βαθὺ λήιον ἐλθών,  
 λάβρος ἐπαιγίζων, ἐπὶ τ' ἡμύει ἀσταχέουσιν,  
 ὥς τῶν πᾶσ' ἀγορὴ κινήθη, τοὶ δ' ἀλαλητῶι 150  
 νῆας ἔπ' ἐσσεύοντο, ποδῶν δ' ὑπένερθε κονίη  
 ἴστατ' ἀειρομένη. τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλοισι κέλευον  
 ἄπτεσθαι νηῶν ἡδ' ἐλκέμεν εἰς ἄλα διαν,  
 οὐρούς τ' ἐξεκάθαιρον· αὐτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἵκεν  
 οἴκαδε ἱεμένων· ὑπὸ δ' ἥϊρεον ἔρματα νηῶν.  
 ἔνθά κεν Ἀργείοισιν ὑπέρμορα νόστος ἐτύχθη, 155  
 εἰ μὴ Ἀθηναίην Ἥρη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·

147. ΚΙΝΗΣΗ [AD]JR: ΚΙΝΗΣΕΙΩ. 148. λαβρὸν Par. h. || ἐπαιγίζων: ἐπαΐξων Aph. || ἡμυ T<sup>1</sup> in ras.: ἡμύει T<sup>2</sup>. 153. τ': δ' Par. β. || αὐτὴ δ': αὐτὴν Par. β. || ἡκεν H. 156-69 Ζηρόδοτος συντέμνηκεν εἰ μὴ Ἀθηναίη λαοσσόος ἦλο' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου. εὗρεν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα κτλ. 156. ἈΘΗΝΑΪΗΝ: ἀθηναίη Par. β<sup>1</sup>.

145. Ἰκαρίοιο, so called from a small island near Samos (*Hygm.* xxxiv. 1, Strabo p. 639). πόντου seems to be in apposition with θαλάσσης, as the part to the whole.

146. ὥρορε, transitive, as δ 712, ψ 222 (τ 201?). In N 78, θ 539 it is intrans. The usual form of the trans. aor. is of course ὥρσε. The singular shews that Εὐρός τε Νότος τε must go together as 'the wind of East and South,' the later Εὐρόνοτος.

Some edd. have taken unnecessary offence at the two similes. They seem to express rather different pictures; that of the stormy sea bringing before us the tumultuous rising of the assembly, while the cornfield expresses their sudden bending in flight all in one direction. For the multiplication of similes cf. *infra*, 455-83. If either is to be rejected it is the first, 144-46, both on account of the rather awkward addition of πόντου Ἰκαρίοιο after θαλάσσης, and also because it indicates a familiarity with the Asian shore of the Aegean sea, which is a note of later origin.

148. ἡμύει, the crop bends with its ears. ἐνί, before the blast. For the change from subj. to indic. compare I 324, A 156. But the junction of the two by τε is very harsh; we ought to read either ἐπὶ δ' or ἡμῶν. So in A 156

Heyne read πάντῃ δ'. For the character of Ζέφυρος as a stormy wind see Ψ 200.

152. διαν: here in its primitive sense, bright. So of the αἰθήρ, II 365, τ 540, and dawn, I 240, etc. It is twice used of the earth, Ξ 347, Ω 532; in the latter passage the epithet seems somewhat otiose, but in the former 'bright' is obviously appropriate. In relation to men and gods it appears to mean illustrious, either for beauty or noble birth; but here again it becomes otiose as applied to the swineherd Eumaios in the *Odyssey*.

153. οὐρούς, 'the launching-ways,' trenches in the sand by which the ships were dragged down to the sea; ἔρματα, the props, probably large stones, placed under the ships' sides to keep them upright, see A 486. The former word, which does not recur in Greek in this sense, may possibly be the same as οὔρος = ὄρος, the boundary being originally the trench marking the divisions of the common field. No weight can be laid on difference of accent.

155. ὑπέρμορα, a rhetorical expression only: nothing ever actually happens in Homer against the will of fate, as a god always interferes to prevent it. For similar expressions compare P 327, T 30, 336; and also II 780, and α 34, with M. and R.'s note; and for ὑπέρ = against, ὑπὲρ ὅρκια I' 299, etc.



“ὦ πόποι, αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, ἀτρυτώνη,  
οὕτω δὴ οἰκόνδε, φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,  
Ἄργεῖοι φεύξονται ἐπ’ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης;  
καδὲ δέ κεν εὐχολὴν Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρωσὶ λίποιεν  
Ἄργείην Ἑλένην, ἧς εἵνεκα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν  
ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλοντο, φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἵης.  
ἄλλ’ ἴθι νῦν κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,  
σοῖς ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρήτυε φῶτα ἕκαστον,  
μηδὲ ἕα νῆας ἄλαδ’ ἐλκόμεν ἀμφιελίσσας.”

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165

ὧς ἔφατ’, οὐδ’ ἀπίθησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.  
βῆ δὲ κατ’ Οὐλύμπιοιο καρήνων αἴξασα.

157. ΤΕΚΟΣ: ΤΕΚΝΟΝ H. 158. ΔΗ: δὲ Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 160-2 ἀθ. Ar. 161.  
ἀργεῖην θ’ Zen. 163. κατὰ Ar. Ω: μετὰ DJPRU Pap: β, Harl. a d, King’s  
Par. b d g j k. || χαλκοχιτώνων: μηδὲ τ’ ἐρώει Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 164 ἀθ. Ar. ||  
σοῖς Ar. αἱ χαριέσταται καὶ ἡ Ἀριστοφάνους: σοῖς δ’ Ω.

157. ἀτρυτώνη: one of the obscure titles of gods, of which we cannot even say with confidence that they are of Hellenic or Indo-European origin. The common explanation is that it means ‘unwearied one,’ from τρύω *to rub* (in the sense ‘to wear out’). It is equally likely that it may be connected with the first element in the equally obscure Τριτογένεια, for which see note on Δ 515. (Reference may also be made to Autenrieth, App. to Nägelsbach’s *Hom. Theologic* ed. 3, p. 413.)

159. The punctuation of 159-62 is rather doubtful. Some edd. put even note of interrogation after αἵης, and another (or a comma, which is the same thing) after θαλάσσης: while others have no note of interrogation at all. In Ξ 88, O 201, 553, ε 204, οὕτω δὴ introduces an indignant question; and this certainly gives the most vigorous sense here. In δ 485, λ 348, οὕτω δὴ occurs indeed in direct statements; but there it does not stand in the emphatic position at the beginning of the sentence. On the other hand, it seems better to place a simple full stop after αἵης, because the opt. is not suited to the tone of remonstrant questioning. Thus δέ in 160 almost = our ‘Why!’ For εὐχολή = *subject of boasting* compare X 433 δ μοι . . . εὐχολῇ κατὰ ἄστυ πελίσκεο.

164. Ar. not without reason regarded this line as interpolated from 180; the

task is more suited to Odysseus than Athene, and is entirely committed to him. Ar. equally obelized 160-62, as being in place only in 176-78. This, however, does not seem necessary.

165. μηδὲ ἕα, i.e. μηδ’ ἕαε. All similar cases of hiatus before ἕαω (Θ 428, P 16, X 339, Ψ 73, δ 805, κ 536, σ 420) can be cured by reading the open form, and there is no other trace of an initial F. (μηδέ F’ ἕα Brandr.) Cf. 132. ἀμφιελίσσας is a word of somewhat doubtful meaning, as it is only applied to ships. The traditional explanation, *rowed on both sides*, is insufficient, as there is no ground to suppose that ἐλίσσω (Feλ-) was ever used for ἐρέσσω (root ἐρ-), from which we actually have ἀμφήρης, Eur. *Ochel.* 15. Nor will *rolling both ways* do, for ἐλίσσω is not = *σαλεύω*. The two meanings which are generally adopted are (1) *curved at both ends*, i.e. rising at both bow and stern (see note on κορωνίσι, l. 771 below); or (2) *with curved sides*. Against both these it may be urged that ἐλίσσεν never seems to imply ‘curving,’ but always ‘turning round,’ ‘whirling,’ and the like, a very different idea; and further, with regard to (1) ἀμφί strictly means ‘at both sides,’ not ‘both ends.’ The only sense consonant with the use of the word ἐλίσσω is *wheeling both ways*, i.e. easily turned round, *handy*. Cf. note on ὠκύαλος O 705.

[καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκανε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.]  
 εὔρεν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον  
 ἔσταότ'· οὐδ' ὃ γε νηὸς ἐυσσέλμοιο μελαίνης 170  
 ἄπτειτ', ἐπεὶ μιν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἵκανε.  
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἵσταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
 “διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
 οὕτω δὴ οἰκόνδε, φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,  
 φεύξεσθ' ἐν νήεσσι πολυκλήϊσι πεσόντες ; 175  
 κὰδ δέ κεν εὐχωλὴν Πριάμοι καὶ Τρωσὶ λίποιτε  
 Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην, ἧς εἵνεκα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλοντο, φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἷης.  
 ἀλλ' ἔτι νῦν κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν, μῆδ' ἔτ' ἐρώει,  
 σοῖς ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρήτυε φῶτα ἕκαστον, 180  
 μῆδὲ ἕα νῆας ἄλαδ' ἐλκέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας.”

ὥς φάθ', ὁ δὲ ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης,  
 βῆ δὲ θέειν, ἀπὸ δὲ χλαῖναν βάλε· τὴν δ' ἐκόμισσε  
 κῆρυξ Εὐρυβάτης Ἰθακήσιος, ὅς οἱ ὀπῆδει.  
 αὐτὸς δ' Ἀτρεΐδω Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀντίος ἐλθὼν 185  
 δέξατό οἱ σκῆπτρον πατρῷον, ἄφθιτον αἰεὶ·  
 σὺν τῷ ἔβη κατὰ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.  
 ὃν τινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔσοχον ἄνδρα κιχείη,  
 τὸν δ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε παραστάς·

168 *om.* ACD<sup>t</sup> T<sup>t</sup> U<sup>t</sup> Pap. α β, Vr. a b, Mose. 2, Eton. 169. εὔρε δ' Vr. b.  
 170. ἐστῶτ' L. || οὐδέ γε Q. 171. ἄπτειτ' *supr.* η over ἄ H. 172. ἔπεα  
 πτερρόετα προσκύδα PR. 178. τροία J. 179. κατὰ Ar. A[G]PR : μετὰ Ω  
 (cp. 163). || μῆδ' ἔτ' CT Lips. Bar. : μῆδὲ τ' Ω. || ἐρώει U. || χαλκοχιτώνων Pap.  
 β<sup>1</sup> (cp. 163). 180. σοῖς Ar. : σοῖς δ' Ω. || φῶτα : ἄνδρα Eust. 184. ὀπάθει  
 P<sup>1</sup>R<sup>1</sup>. 185. ἀντίον HS. 187. ἔβη : βᾶς Zen. 188. κιχείη GT : τινὲς κιχοῖν  
 Schol. T. 189. ἐρητύεσκε Bar. : ἐρητύασκε Vr. a<sup>1</sup>.

168 was unknown to Nik., for his scholion speaks of the asyndeton after ἀΐεσσα.

175. πεσόντες implies tumultuous and disorderly flight ; so Z 82 ἐν χερσὶ γυναικῶν φεύγοντας πεσέειν, et al. The phrase ἐν νηυσὶ πεσέειν is, however, also used of a violent attack upon the ships, and hence an ambiguity frequently arises ; e.g. I 235 (see note), A 311 (cf. 325), M 107, P 639.

179. ἐρώει, *refrain not*, hold not back. The verb is generally used with the gen., πολέμοιο, χάρμης, etc. ; but it occurs without a case, μ 75, X 185, Ψ 433. In N 57 it is transitive, 'drive back.' In

a similar sense ἐρώῃ (πολέμου) is used, 'cessation,' II 302, P 761 ; but ἐρώῃ in its ordinary meaning of 'swing,' 'impetus,' must be an entirely different word ; and so also ἐρώῃσει in A 303.

186. This is the sceptre described in 46, 101-9. It is of course handed over as a sign to all that Odysseus was acting on behalf of Agamemnon. οἱ, 'at his hand,' a *dativus ethicus*. See note on παιδὸς ἐδέξατο χειρὶ κύπελλον A 596.

188. μὲν is answered by δ' αὖ, 198. The asyndeton at the beginning of a fresh stage in the narration is unusual. Hence Zenod. removed the full stop after χαλκοχιτώνων, reading βᾶς for ἔβη.

“δαιμόνι’, οὐ σὲ ἔοικε κακὸν ὥς δειδίσσεσθαι.  
 ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς τε κάθησο καὶ ἄλλους ἴδρνε λαούς.  
 οὐ γάρ πω σάφα οἶσθ’, οἷος νόος Ἀτρείωνος.  
 νῦν μὲν πειράται, τάχα δ’ ἵψεται νίης Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἐν βουλῇ δ’ οὐ πάντες ἀκούσαμεν οἶον ἔειπε;  
 μῇ τι χολωσάμενος ῥέξει κακὸν νίης Ἀχαιῶν.  
 θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων,  
 τιμὴ δ’ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ, φιλεῖ δέ ἐ μῆτιέτα Ζεύς.”

190

195

192. Ἀτρείωνος Ar, Aph, Dion. Sid, Ixion, αἱ χαριέστεραι, L: ἀτρείδαο Ω.  
 193-7 ἄθ. Ar. 195. ῥέξει Q. 196. δὲ: γὰρ GP: δὴ Cant. || διοτρεφέων  
 (διοτροφέων) βασιλῆων Zen. DGHJLP<sup>1</sup>RU Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 2: διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος  
 Ar. ACP<sup>2</sup>QST.

190. δειδίσσεσθαι is uniformly transitive in Homer, and there is no reason why it should not be so here; Odysseus actually ‘terrifies’ the common sort into the assembly (199), but will not employ more than persuasion to the chiefs. We must therefore write οὐ σὲ, not οὐ σε, to emphasize this contrast; and so Herodianos thought, though the ‘usage’ was against him (ἡ μὲν ἀκρίβεια ὀρθοτονεῖ, ἐγκλίνει δὲ ἡ συνήθεια). Monro (*Journ. Phil.* xi. p. 127) rightly compares O 196 χερσὶ δὲ μὴ τί με πάγχυ κακὸν ὥς δειδισσέσθω, and Δ 286 σφῶί μὲν οὐ γὰρ ἔοικ’ ὀτρυνέμεν. Schol. B adds δειδίσσεσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλαβεῖσθαι, a wrong interpretation, which has been generally adopted. Among the solecisms derided by Lucian, *Pseudosophr.* 564, is that of using δεδιττομαι in the sense of ‘fear’; πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα, Δεδιττομαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φεύγω, Σύ, ἔφη, καὶ ὅταν τινὰ εὐλαβῇθῃς, διώξῃ. The ellipse of thought implied in ἀλλά (191) is very simple: ‘but this I do say—sit still,’ etc. This is, in fact, the common use of ἀλλά in appeals, with imper. (A colon is put at the end of 190 to bring this out.)

193. Aristarchos rejected this and the following four lines as ἀπεικίστες καὶ οὐ προτρεπτικοὶ εἰς καταστροφήν—a not very convincing remark. On the other hand, he inserted here 203-5, as being evidently addressed to the kings, not to the common folk. But as spoken to chiefs 203-5 would eminently be οὐ προτρεπτικοὶ εἰς καταστροφήν, and likely rather to arouse the spirit of independence and opposition; they gain in rhetorical significance if addressed to the multitude, to whom they can cause no offence. 193-4 are, however, clearly an insertion due to the

same hand which gave us the scene in the Βουλῇ. 192 becomes literally true if in the first form of this scene Agamemnon has not as yet had a chance to speak (v. Introd.). For ἵψεται see A 454.

194 is commonly printed without a note of interrogation; but ‘by reading it as a rhetorical question’ (an alternative given by Schol. B) ‘the connexion of the speech is considerably improved. Odysseus has begun by explaining the true purpose of Agamemnon. Then he affects to remember that he is speaking to one of the “kings” who formed the council. “But why need I tell you this? Did we not all—we of the council—hear what he said?”’—Monro *J. P.* xi. 125. This also suits line 143 πᾶσι μετὰ πληθύν, ὅσοι οὐ βουλῆς ἐπάκουσαν. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the council is always regarded as consisting only of a small number of ‘kings,’ not as including all the chiefs. Nine persons, Agamemnon, Menelaos, Odysseus, Nestor, Achilles, the two Aiantes, Diomedes, and Idomeneus, ‘are the only undeniable kings of the *Iliad*, as may appear from comparing together B 404-9, T 309-11, and from the transactions of K 34-197. Particular phrases or passages might raise the question whether four others, Meges, Eurypylos, Patroklos, and Phoinix, were not viewed by Homer as being also kings.’—Gladstone *Juv. M.* pp. 417-18. This is clearly too small a number to be expressed by line 188, and this consideration no doubt led to the rejection of the note of interrogation.

196. It looks as though Ar. preferred the gen. sing. to the plural on the ground that the latter involved the use of ἐ as

ὄν δ' αὖ δῆμον ἄνδρα ἴδοι βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι,  
 τὸν σκήπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μύθῳ·  
 “δαιμόνι, ἀτρέμας ἦσο καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουε,  
 οὐ σέο φέρτεροί εἰσι, σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἀναλκις,  
 οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ.  
 οὐ μὲν πῶς πάντες βασιλεύσομεν ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιοί.  
 οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,  
 εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ δῶκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω  
 [σκήπτρόν τ' ἡδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βασιλεύῃ].”  
 ὥς ὃ γε κοιρανέων διέπε στρατόν· οἱ δ' ἀγορήνδεδε  
 αὐτῖς ἐπεσσεύοντο νεῶν ἅπο καὶ κλισιάων  
 ἡχῇ, ὥς ὅτε κύμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης  
 αἰγιαλῷ μεγάλῳ βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος.  
 ἄλλοι μὲν ῥ' ἔζοντο, ἐρήτυθεν δὲ καθ' ἔδρας,  
 Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μῶνος ἀμετροεπὴς ἐκολώα,

198. αὖ: ἄν Eust. || δῆμου ἄνδρα AST Par. h, Bar. Laud. Eton: δῆμου τ' ἄνδρα Ω. || ἴδῃ Q. || ἐφεύροι Q (*supr.* οἱ). 199. μύθοι: θυμῷ Vr. a. 201. ἀπόλεμος Et. Mag. 202. οὐδὲ ποτ' PR Pap. β. || οὔτ': οὐδ' Pap. β. 203. πῶς: περ Lips. 205. δῶκε Ar. Harl. b: \*δῶκε T: ἔδωκε Ω. 206 om. Ω: *habent* GJRPQ<sup>m</sup>R Harl. a<sup>m</sup> Vr. b. || σφίσι R Vr. b: σφίσι ἡγεμονεύῃ Harl. a<sup>m</sup>: σφίσι βουλευῖσι Dio Chrys. || βασιλεύει Q<sup>m</sup>. 207. οἱ δ': ἡδ' Q (*supr.* οἱ). 208. αὖθις Pap. β. 211. ἐρήτυθεν Q. || καεῖδρας CDGHJPQRT. 212. σαρσίτης Pap. β. || δέ τι U. || ἀμαρτοεπὴς Plin. *Ep.* i 20, 22.

a plural (see App. A). It is, however, quite possible to retain the plural used generically, and yet take *εἷς* as sing. used of a particular instance, as is proved by δ 691—

ἥ τ' ἐστὶ δίκη θεῶν βασιλῶν,  
 ἄλλόν κ' ἐχθαίρησι βροτῶν, ἄλλόν κε φίλοι.

Compare Eurip. *And.* 421—

οἰκτρά γὰρ τὰ δυστυχῇ  
 βροτοῖς ἅπασι, κὰν θυραῖος ὦν κυρῇ.  
 (Monro ut *sup.* and *H. G.* § 255. 1.)

198. δῆμου ἄνδρα: the τ' is probably inserted only to avoid the hiatus, which is rare in this place. We should rather read δῆμοι' (and so in Ψ 431, Ω 578). For the elision of ο of the term. -οιο see note on A 35. If τε be retained, we must with Bekker, *H. B.* ii. 165, explain 'every one whom he *both* saw to be of the common sort *and* found shouting,' which is not very satisfactory.

202. οὔτε . . . ἐναρίθμιος, *in nullo numero*, 'not counted.'

203. οὐ μὲν = Att. οὐ δήπου, as 233;

μὲν is virtually = μήν, and has no adversative force here. For the neut. ἀγαθόν in the next line cf. *triste lupus stabulis*, Virg. *Ec.* iii. 80.

206 is apparently inserted in order to supply an object to δῶκε, which does not need one (see on A 295), and is clumsily altered from I 99, apparently at a time when the sense of metre was dying out. It is, however, as old as the age of Trajan, for Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* i. p. 3) knows it. It is hardly worth while to discuss the reference of σφίσι, which may have been supposed = ὑμῖν, or simply transferred from I 99 without further consideration. If the line is to be corrected, Dio Chrysostom's βουλευῖσι is better than Barnes's ἐμβασιλεύῃ.

209. On ὥς ὅτε in similes see 394. For μεγάλῳ Bentley conj. μέγала, with much probability; cf. Δ 425.

212. Θερσίτης, like Θερσίλοχος P 216, is from the Aeolic θέρος = θράσος, a name made to suit the man, cf. Πολυθερσεΐδης φιλοκέρτομος χ 287. ἐκολώα: see A 575. ἀμετροεπὴς (cf. ἀφαμαρτοεπής



ὅς ῥ' ἔπεα φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε ἦιδη,  
 μὰψ ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἐριζέμεναι βασιλεύσιν,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ τί οἱ εἴσαιτο γελόιον Ἀργείοισιν  
 ἔμμεναι. αἵσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε·  
 φολκὸς ἔην, χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα· τῷ δέ οἱ ὤμω  
 κυρτῷ, ἐπὶ στήθος συνοχωκότε· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε  
 φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλὴν, ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη.  
 ἔχθιστος δ' Ἀχιλῆϊ μάλιστ' ἦν ἡδ' Ὀδυσῆϊ.

215

220

213. ὅς: ὅ D: ὅς Pap. β (om. ῥ'). || ἦ(ι)δει CDGS. 214. αὐτὰρ Q. ||  
 βασιλῆι Q. 216. δ' ἀνὴρ CG Laud. Eton. 217. φολκός: φορκός S. 218.  
 συνοχωκότε Mor.<sup>2</sup> (H in ras.) Vr. c: συνοχωχότε Q (supr. ο over first ω): συν-  
 οχωχότε Hesych.: συνοχωκέτες Pap. β. 220-3 ἀθ. Zen.

Γ 215, ἀκριτόμυθος B 246) is illustrated by Soph. *Phil.* 442—

Θερσίτης τις ἦν  
 ὃς οὐκ ἂν εἴλετ' εἰσάπαξ εἰπεῖν ὅπου  
 μηδεὶς ἐώην,

where see Jebb's note.

214. The infin. in this line is epegetic, and is qualified by μὰψ ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον. For ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε we should have in Attic πολλά τε καὶ ἄκοσμα, and for ἀτὰρ οὐ, οὐδέ. For the litotes οὐ κατὰ κόσμον cf. πλῆγεις οὐ κατὰ κ. Θ 12, and οὐ κόσμωι M 225. Schol. A rightly πολλά τε καὶ ἀτακτα λέγειν ἡπίστατο, ὥστε μάτην καὶ οὐ πρὸς λόγον φιλονεικεῖν τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν. In the next line we may understand λαλεῖν or the like after ἀλλά.

The scholiasts give two curious legends about Thersites: one that having been Homer's guardian, and in that capacity robbed him of his inheritance, he is thus caricatured in immortal revenge; the other that he had been crippled by Meleagros, who threw him down a precipice because he skulked in the chase of the boar of Kalydon. They also point out that Homer mentions neither his father nor his country, in order to indicate his base origin. In the *Aithiopsis* and Quintus he is killed by Achilles for insulting him and the corpse of Penthesileia. He is the only common soldier mentioned by name in the *Iliad*.

217. φολκός, φοξός, ψεδνός are all ἀπ. λεγόμενα in Homer, and it is impossible to be sure of their derivation and meaning. The first seems never to recur in all existing Greek literature. φολκός ὁ τὰ φάη ἐλκυσμένος δ' ἐστὶν ἐστραμμένος

(i.e. squinting), Schol. A. This etymology was universally accepted by antiquity, but it is of course untenable. Buttm. *Levil.* p. 536 points out that the order of the adjectives clearly shews that φολκός refers to the feet or legs. He is probably right in explaining 'bandy-legged,' but not in connecting it with *valgus*. It goes rather with *φάλκης*, the rib of a ship, Lat. *falca*, *faleo*. φοξός is explained as meaning strictly 'warped in burning,' of pottery (φοξά κυρίως εἰσὶ τὰ πυρρραγῇ ὄστρακα, Schol., who quotes Simonides, αὕτη δὲ φοξίχειλος Ἀργεῖη κύλις), and hence with a distorted head. In this sense 'the works of the old physicians shew that it continued in constant use, not merely as a poetical word, but as one of daily occurrence' (Buttm. l.l.). Perhaps conn. with *φώγω*, *bake* (Buttm., Curt.), in the sense of *overbaked*. ψεδνός, παρὰ τὸ ψῶ, ὄνομα ῥηματικὸν ψεδνός ὁ μαδαρός, Schol. L (i.e. falling away, sparse).

218. For συνοχωκότε Valckenauer is doubtless right in reading with Hesych. συνοκωχότε (Cobet *M. C.* 304), cf. ὀκωχή, ἀνοκωχή, διοκωχή, κατοκωχή. For συνέχειν = *join* (or intrans. *meet*) cf. Δ 133. ἐπενήνοθε is a doubtful form. ἀνήνοθε Δ 266 is from root *ἀνεθ-*, whence *ἄνθος*, and we should probably with Brandreth read ἐπανήνοθε here; in ρ 270 most mss. have ἀνήνοθε, but Ar. read ἐνήνοθε. In the *Od.* (θ 365, ρ 270) it is a perf.; in *Il.* it must be a plupf. (K 134, Δ 266) with the secondary person-endings (*H. G.* § 68). The sense is *sprouted* or simply *appeared on the surface* (see on Δ 266, and cf. *ιούλους ἀνθῆσαι* λ 320). λάχνη, *stubble*, *bristles*; cf. *λαχνήεις*, of swine, I 548.

τὼ γὰρ νεικέεσκε. τότ' αὐτ' Ἀγαμέμνονι δίωι  
 ὀξέα κεκληγῶς λέγ' ὀνειδέα· τῷ δ' ἄρ' Ἀχαιοὶ  
 ἐκπάγλως κοτέοντο νεμέσσηθέν τ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μακρὰ βοῶν Ἀγαμέμνονα νείκεε μύθωι·  
 “Ἀτρεΐδῃ, τέο δ' αὐτ' ἐπιμέμφει ἡδὲ χατίρεις ; 225  
 πλείαι τοι χαλκοῦ κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναικες  
 εἰσὶν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι ξεαίρετοι, ἃς τοι Ἀχαιοὶ  
 πρωτίστῳ δίδομεν, εὖτ' ἂν πτολίεθρον ἔλωμεν.  
 ἦ ἔτι καὶ χρυσοῦ ἐπιδεύεαι, ὃν κέ τις οἶσει  
 Τρώων ἵπποδάμων ἐξ Ἰλίου υἱὸς ἄποινα, 230  
 ὃν κεν ἐγὼ δῆσας ἀγάγω ἢ ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ἢ γυναιῖκα νέην, ἵνα μίσγεται ἐν φιλότῃ,  
 ἦν τ' αὐτὸς ἀπονόσφι κατίσχει ; οὐ μὲν ἔοικεν  
 ἀρχὸν ἐόντα κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ὦ πέπονες, κάκ' ἐλέγχε', Ἀχαιίδες, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί, 235

221. τῷ Ar. Ω: τῷ DQ: τοὺς Pap. α β. || αὐτ': αὐ GPS. 224. βοῶν: βιβίας Vr. a. 225. δ' αὐτ': δὴ αὐτ' Zen. 226. πλείαι δὲ γυναικῶν Zen. 227-8 δθ. Zen. 227. κλισίῃ J Cant.: κλισίαις Bar. Mor.: κλισίῃσιν PR. 229. οἶσει G. 231-4 δθ. Zen. 231. ἐγὼν L. || ἀγάγωιμ' Eust. 233. ἦν κ' S: ἦν δ' Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 235. ἀχαιίδες S.

222. λέγε in the strict Homeric sense, *counted out*, enumerated, *débitait ses injures*. τῷ is clearly Agamemnon. Thersites is at the moment the accepted spokesman of the mob, who are indignant with Agamemnon for his treatment of Achilles; and it is by a subtle piece of psychology that they are made ashamed of themselves, and brought to hear reason by seeing their representative exhibited in an absurd and humiliating light, and their own sentiments caricatured till they dare not acknowledge them.

225. τέο: the gen. is the same as A 65 *εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται*. Thersites pretends that avarice is Agamemnon's only reason for wishing to continue the war. He assumes that he will do so, and makes no allusion whatever to the proposal to return home.

228. εὖτ' ἂν, *as often as we take any Trojan stronghold*. But we should probably read *εὖτε*, cf. A 163. Thersites purposely alludes to Achilles' words, as again in 242.

229. ἦ, *can it be that*. For ὅς κε with the fut. indic. cf. note on A 175. Similarly 231 ὃν κεν ἀγάγω, 'such as I shall bring.'

232. γυναιῖκα νέην is strictly co-or-

dinate with χρυσοῦ (229), and ought therefore to be gen. The intervening acc. in the preceding line no doubt caused the change, which is natural enough to a speaker. μίσγεται and κατίσχει must be subj.; but the short vowel cannot be right. Read *μίσγη'* and *κατίσχη'*, like *βούλη'* A 67, and cf. note on A 380.

233. οὐ μὲν, as 203. Bentley conj. *οὐ σε*, Heyne *οὐδέ*, Christ *οὐτι*.

234. κακῶν ἐπιβασκέμεν, *bring into trouble*. This causal sense is probably not elsewhere found with the verb-suffix -σκ-. Cf. Θ 285, I 546, ψ 13. Zenodotos rejected 227-8 (reading *πλείαι δὲ γυναικῶν*) and 231-4, apparently thinking them beneath the dignity of Epic poetry.

235. πέπονες: this word is found in H. only in the voc. It is generally a polite address, sometimes with a shade of remonstrance, such as is often expressed in our 'My good sir!' It is always found in the sing. except here and N 120, and in these two passages only it has a distinctly contemptuous meaning, 'weaklings.' ἐλέγχεα, an abstract noun used as a concrete. Monro (*H. G.* § 116) compares *ὀμηλική*=*ὀμηλιχ* χ 209, *δῆμον ἐόντα*, *one of the common*

οἴκαδέ περ σὺν νηυσὶ νεώμεθα, τόνδε δ' ἐώμεν  
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ γέρα πεσσέμεν, ὄφρα ἴδῃται,  
ἢ ῥά τί οἱ χ' ἡμεῖς προσαμύνομεν ἢε καὶ οὐκί·  
ὅς καὶ νῦν Ἀχιλλῆα, ἔο μέγ' ἀμείνονα φῶτα,  
ἠτίμησεν· ἐλὼν γὰρ ἔχει γέρας, αὐτὸς ἀπούρας. 240  
ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐκ Ἀχιλλῆϊ χόλος φρεσὶν, ἀλλὰ μεθήμων·  
ἦ γὰρ ἂν, Ἀτρεΐδῃ, νῦν ὕστατα λωβήσαιο."

ὥς φάτο νεικείων Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν  
Θερσίτης· τῷ δ' ὦκα παρίστατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
καὶ μιν ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν χαλεπῶι ἠνίπαπε μύθωι· 245  
"Θερσίτ' ἀκριτόμυθε, λιγύς περ ἐὼν ἀγορητής,  
ἴσχεο, μῆδ' ἔθειλ' οἷος ἐριζέμεναι βασιλεῦσιν.  
οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ σέο φημὶ χερειότερον βροτὸν ἄλλον  
ἔμμεναι, ὅσσοι ἅμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃς ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον.  
τῷ οὐκ ἂν βασιλῆας ἀνὰ στόμ' ἔχων ἀγορεύοις, 250

236. ΤΟΝΔΕ Τ' J. οὐ διὰ τοῦ χ (οὐχι) Ar.  
ἀτρεΐδῃ PQ Pap. β'.

237. ἘΝΙ: ἘΝ S. 239. ΕἴΟΥ Zen.  
250. ἀγορεύεις DQ (supr. οι).

238. χ' om. G. || οὐκί διὰ τοῦ κ,  
245. ἠνίπαπε Pap. a. 249.

sort, M 213. It should be substituted for ἐλεγχέες in Δ 242, q.v. So τὰ δ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα λέλειπται Ω 260. Ἀχαιοί=H 96, imit. by Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 617 *o vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges*. Thersites evidently regards the suggestion of a return to Greece as entirely his own; after his attack on Agamemnon it would be absurd to conclude with a proposal to do just what the king has himself ordered.

236. οἴκαδέ περ, 'let us have nothing short of return home' (Monro *H. G.* § 353). ΤΟΝΔΕ Δ' ΕἴΟΥ: read τὸν δ' ἐάωμεν (P. Knight).

237. ΓΕΡΑ ΠΕΣΣΕΜΕΝ, 'to digest, gorge himself on, needs of honour,' enjoy them by himself. Cf. A 81.

238. οἱ χ' ἡμεῖς, i.e. καὶ. Some read οἱ χ' (i.e. κε). But προσαμύνομεν must be the pres. indic.; if it were aor. subj. it would mean 'if we shall help him,' a sense clearly precluded by the nature of Thersites' proposition. There is no clear case of κε with pres. indic. in H. καὶ must be taken closely with ἡμεῖς, we also of the common sort, as well as great chiefs like Achilles. So Θ 111 ἐλίσσεται, εἰ καὶ ἐμὸν δόρυ μαίνεται. The second καὶ is that commonly used to give emphasis to one of two alternatives in an indirect disjunctive question, e.g. 300. On the question of crasis or elision see Z 260

241. μάλ'α goes with οὐκ, as in Germ. *gar nicht*. These two lines are an obvious allusion to the dispute in the assembly, Achilles' very words being quoted, τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἀτελὲς τῆς ξιφουλκίας φησὶν, Schol. B. It has been pointed out in the Introd. that the Νῦν in 242 is meaningless as the speech now stands, spoken at a long interval after the quarrel of the kings.

245. ἠνίπαπε, a strange reduplication, like ἡρόκακε. The subst. ἐνιπή is common, but the pres. ἐνίπτω is doubtful; see Γ 438, Ω 768, where van L. (*Ench.* p. 480) would read ἐνίσσε, ἐνίσσοι. On the cognate ἐνένιπε see *H. G.* p. 397.

246. ἀκριτόμυθε: see 796 αἰεὶ τοι μῦθοι φίλοι ἀκριτοὶ εἰσιν, θ 505 ἀκριτα πῶλλ' ἀγόρευον. The latter passage shews that the word means *indiscriminate, inconsistent*, rather than *countless*; a sense which it would not be easy to derive from κρίνω. So ἀκριτόμυθοι ὄνειροι, τ 560, *hard to be discerned*, ἀχε' ἀκριτα (Γ 412, Ω 91), ἀκριτον πενθήμεναι (σ 174, τ 120), of grief which is not brought to a determination, *endless*; ἀκριτόφυλλος B 868, *with confused foliage*. λιγύς is a word of praise (A 248) used ironically.

248. χερειότερον virtually = χερειόνα. See A 80.

250. οὐκ ἂν ἀγορεύοις, *you may not (i.e. must not) chatter with kings' names*

καί σφιν ὀνειδέα τε προφέροισ νόστον τε φυλάσσοις.  
 οὐδέ τί πω σάφα ἴδμεν, ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα,  
 ἣ εὖ ἦε κακῶς νοστήσομεν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν.  
 τῷ νῦν Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι, ποιμένι λαῶν,  
 ἦσαι ὀνειδίζων, ὅτι οἱ μάλα πολλὰ διδοῦσιν  
 ἥρωες Δαναοί· σὺ δὲ κερτομέων ἀγορεύεις.  
 ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται·  
 εἴ κ' ἔτι σ' ἀφραίνοντα κιχήσομαι, ὥς νύ περ ὦδε,  
 μήκέτ' ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ κάρη ὥμοισιν ἐπείη,

255

251. προφέρεαι JP. || νόστον δὲ Pap. β. || φυλάσσης J: φυλάσσεις (or -οις?) P: φυλάττοις C. 252-6 ἀθ. Ar. 258. εἴ κ' ἔτι Ar.?: εἴ δ' ἔτι Zen.?: εἴ κέ τι RU Harl. a: εἴ καί τι PQS Par. c. || κιχέσμεν Pap. β<sup>1</sup>: κιχείω Et. Mag.: κιχείομαι Ptol. Ask. || ὥς νύ περ ὦδε Ar. Ω: ὥς τὸ πάρος περ Sinop.: ὕστερον αὐτίς Mass.: ἐν θανασαῖσιν Philemon. (The scholia on the line are corrupt and contradictory: v. Ludw. *ad loc.*)

on your tongue; so Ξ 126, ν 135 ('ironical courtesy,' *H. G.* § 300 β; but practically it means 'you shan't'). Or we may take τῷ as virtually a protasis, 'if that were not so.' For the phrase cf. Eur. *El.* 80 θεοὺς ἔχων ἀνὰ στόμα.

251. προφέροισ, cast in their teeth, as Γ 64. νόστον φυλάσσοις, be on the watch for departure. The next two lines refer to this; but they hardly seem in place here, and would come more suitably after 298. Lehrs would put 250-1 after 264. Ar. rejected 252-6. The repeated τῷ (250, 254) has all the appearance of a double version, such as we should expect if the speech has been displaced as suggested in the Introduction. If any lines are to be rejected, 250-3 should go.

255. Ar. objected against this line that Thersites was standing when he spoke (cf. 211-2), and therefore the word ἦσαι could not be properly used. But it is frequently found with a participle in a weak sense, meaning no more than to 'keep on' doing a thing; e.g. A 134, B 137; see also Δ 412 (comp. with 366).

258. κιχέσμαι: fut. indic. The aor. subj. is κιχείω (or -ήω), A 26. There are several other clear cases of the constr. in H. (see *H. G.* § 326. 5). There is no serious ground for disputing κε with fut. indic. except that it is not known in Attic; and aor. subj. and fut. indic. are so closely connected both in form and sense in H. that the use with one tense almost inevitably implies that with the other. See note on X 66. By its

nature κε is indeed particularly suitable for use with the fut. indic. in the very frequent case where a future contingency has to be expressed. The wonder is not that H. so uses κε, but that later Greek does not so use ἄν.

259. The apodosis here, as in E 212 sqq., virtually consists of a whole conditional sentence, a second condition occurring to the mind of the speaker as he rhetorically expands the simple λαβὼν σε ἀποδύσω which would form the logical continuation. Telemachos is mentioned in the *Il.* only here and Δ 354, q.v., in an equally curious phrase. οὐχ ἑαυτῷ νῦν ἀράται, ἀλλὰ τῷ παιδί. καὶ ἔστιν ἡ μὲν πρώτη κατὰ κατὰ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεως, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα κατὰ τοῦ Τηλεμάχου· εἴ γὰρ ἀπόλοιτο ὁ παῖς, οὐκέτι πατὴρ ἔστιν Ὀδυσσεύς (Schol. A). It is possible that the origin of the expression may be more recondite, and lie in the strange but wide-spread use among savages of 'paedonymics' instead of patronymics. E.g. 'In Australia when a man's eldest child is named the father takes the name of the child, Kadlitpinna the father of Kadli; the mother is called Kadlingangkli, or mother of Kadli, from *ngangkli* a female or woman. This custom seems very general throughout the continent. In America we find the same habit. . . In Sumatra the father in many parts of the country is distinguished by the name of his first child, and loses, in this acquired, his own proper name. . . The women never change the name given them at the time of their birth; yet frequently they are



μηδ' ἔτι Τηλεμάχοιο πατὴρ κεκλημένος εἶην, 260  
 εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ σε λαβὼν ἀπὸ μὲν φίλα εἴματα δύσω,  
 χλαῖνάν τ' ἠδὲ χιτῶνα, τά τ' αἰδῶ ἀμφικαλύπτει,  
 αὐτὸν δὲ κλαίοντα θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας ἀφήσω  
 πεπληγῶς ἀγορήθεν αἰεκέσσι πληγῇσιν."  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, σκήπτρῳ δὲ μετάφρενον ἠδὲ καὶ ὦμον 265  
 πλῆξεν· ὁ δ' ἰδνῶθη, θαλερὸν δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε δάκρυ.  
 σμῶδιξ δ' αἱματόεσσα μεταφρένου ἐξυπανέστη  
 σκήπτρου ὑπο χρυσεύου· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔξετο τάρβησέν τε,  
 ἀλγῆσας δ', ἀχρεῖον ἰδὼν, ἀπομόρξατο δάκρυ.  
 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἠδὺν γέλασσαν· 270  
 ὦδε δέ τις εἵπεςκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον·  
 "ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ μυρὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργε  
 βουλὰς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς πόλεμόν τε κορύσσων·

260. μηδὲ τι HQ. || τηλεμάχου γε G. 261. ἐγὼν Q. || δύω L<sup>1</sup>. 262.  
 τὰ δ' Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 264. πεπληγῶς: τινὲς πεπληγῶν Schol. B. || ἀγορήει G. ||  
 αἰεκέλις R. 265. ὦμον J. 266. θαλερόν: ἀλυκὸν Zon. Lxx. || ἔκπεσε:  
 ἔκφυγε Ar. 267. μετάφρενον Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 269. ἀπομόρξατο ACJT<sup>2</sup>U: ἀπ-  
 εμόρξατο Ω.

called through courtesy, from their eldest child, "Ma si ano," the mother of such an one; but rather as a polite description than a name."—Lubbock *Origin of Civilization* p. 358. The same is the case among the Kaffirs (Theale *Kaffir Folk-Lore* p. 117). Odysseus thus means, 'may I lose my proudest title.' Ἀλθαία Μελαγρίς (Ibycus, fr. 14) is another instance of a paedonymic (quoted in Geddes *Prob. of Hom. Poems* p. 84 n. 5), but I am not aware of materials sufficient to prove that the custom was ever prevalent in Greece; or that there are any relics there of the savage's reluctance, for fear of magic, to reveal his real name, with which it is not improbably connected.

262. τά τ' of course refers to χλαῖνα and χιτῶν: it cannot be trans. 'and that which,' as some have done, understanding it to refer to some other articles of dress (μίτρη? or ζῶμα?).

266. θαλερόν, *vig*; apparently from the idea 'well-grown,' 'flourishing,' in which the word generally occurs (but always of men, their limbs, grief, and the like; never in the most literal sense, of growing trees).

269. ἀχρεῖον ἰδὼν, *with helpless look*; σ 163 ἀχρεῖον δ' ἐγέλασε, 'she laughed

an idle unmeaning laugh,' not being really gay. So here the word seems to imply a dazed 'silly' expression, as though Thersites could not recover from the sudden shock and grasp the position. So Schol. B, *καίρως υποβλέψας*. For the use of ἰδὼν cf. ὑπόδρα ἰδών. Philetas absurdly read ἰδὼν for ὀφθαλμῶν. The F is neglected; ἀχρεῖα Bentley.

270. The assembly are vexed to see themselves humiliated in their spokesman's person, and to lose their hope of returning home; but Odysseus has gained his point by getting the laugh on his side.

271. For τις as the 'public opinion' of Homer reference may be made to Gladstone *J. M.* p. 436. The passages are—I 297, 319; Δ 81, 85, 176; Ζ 459, 479; Η 87, 178, 201, 300; Π 414, 420; Χ 106, 372; β 324; δ 769; ζ 275; θ 328; κ 37; ν 167; ρ 482; σ 72, 400; ν 375; φ 361, 396; ψ 148.

273. ἐξάρχειν elsewhere in H. always takes the gen.: γόοιο Σ 51, etc., μολπῆς Σ 606 [δ 19], and in mid. κακῆς ἐξήρχετο βουλῆς μ 339 (cf. also Ω 721). The acc. depends no doubt on a reminiscence of the familiar βουλὰς βουλευεῖν: the meaning is 'taking the lead in giving counsel,' whereas with the gen. it means

νῦν δὲ τόδε μέγ' ἄριστον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν,  
ὃς τὸν λωβητῆρα ἐπεσβόλον ἔσχ' ἀγοράων. 275  
οὐ θὴν μιν πάλιν αὖτις ἀνήσει θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ  
νικεῖν βασιλῆας ὀνειδείους ἐπέεσσιν."

ὧς φάσαν ἡ πληθὺς· ἀνὰ δὲ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων· παρὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
εἰδομένη κήρυκι σιωπᾶν λαὸν ἀνώγει, 280  
ὥς ἅμα θ' οἱ πρῶτοί τε καὶ ὕστατοι υἱὲς Ἀχαιῶν  
μῦθον ἀκούσειαν καὶ ἐπιφρασσαίατο βουλὴν.  
ὅ σφιν ἐν φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·  
"Ἀτρεΐδῃ, νῦν δὴ σε, ἄναξ, ἐθέλουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ  
πᾶσιν ἐλέγχιστον θέμεναι μερόπεσσι βροτοῖσιν, 285

274. τόδε: τὸ δὲ PR: τόδ' αὖ Bar. Harl. a. 275. ἀγορεύων J. 276.  
αὖτις CDG Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 278. δὲ Vr. a and τινὲς ap. Did. (Harl. a has δὲ in outer  
margin): δ' ὁ Ar. Ω. || πτολίερος Q Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 281. ὧσε' T Eton. || πρῶτοι γε  
(sic) P. 283. ὅ Ar. Ω: ὅς GHQ Par. a e g h k and γρ. J. 284. δὴ: γάρ  
Ar.: δέ J.

rather 'beginning,' 'starting.' So *Hymn* xxvi. 18 ἐξάρχουσα χοροῦς, and often in later Greek; see Lex. We may compare ὁδὸν ἡγήσασθαι, ἀέθλους τοὺς ἐπειρήσαντ' Ὀδυσῆος θ 23, and other exx. in Mounro *H. G.* § 136.

275. For the order of the words cf. A 11: that *insulter*, *scurrilous* that *he is*.

276. τὸ μὲν πάλιν ἐς τοῦπίσω τὸ δὲ αὖτις χρονικὸν ἐξ ὑστέρου, Schol. A. Aristarchos repeatedly insisted that πάλιν in H. never means 'a second time,' but always 'back again,' in the local sense; but it requires some forcing to make the present passage consistent with the theory (e.g. 'his heart will not bring him back to the assembly'). There is no doubt that the temporal grew out of the local sense, through the idea of 'going back again' to a former state of things; and it is better to recognise in such phrases as this instances of the transitional use than to attempt to force an arbitrary rule on Homer. So π 456 πάλιν ποίησε γέροντα. ἀγῆνωρ may be ironical, as it is generally a word of praise; but as applied to Achilles in I 699, to Laomedon Φ 443, and perhaps to the suitors in the *Odyssey*, it may have conveyed a shade of blame. So schol., αὐθαδῆς ὑβριστῆς καὶ θρασὺς.

278. πτολίπορεος recurs in II. as an epithet of Odysseus only K 363. In *Od.* it is of course common, in allusion

to the capture of Troy by his cunning, see χ 230 σῆμ' δ' ἦλω βουλῇ Πριάμου πόλιν εὐρύαγυια. In II. it is frequently applied to Achilles, and once each to Eneo E 333, Oileus B 728, Otrynteus T 384, and Ares T 152.

281. The ο' is perhaps inserted to prevent hiatus; which is probably allowable at the end of the first foot (see on 87), without the necessity of taking οἱ for the pron. *For*, with Nauck. If θ' is to be kept, Döderlein's explanation seems the most satisfactory, viz. that there is a confusion between ἅμα τε πρῶτοι καὶ ὕστατοι, and ἅμα πρῶτοί τε καὶ ὕ.: in other words, ἅμα has, as often, attracted a τε into its neighbourhood from its proper place in the sentence, e.g. I 519, ξ 403; but the word is again repeated, just as we sometimes find *an* occurring twice, once in its right place, and once following a word which it is desirable to emphasize. πρῶτοι and ὕστατοι are used in a local sense, *those in front* and *those behind*.

284. For νῦν δὴ Aristarchos seems to have read νῦν γάρ, "ἔθος δὲ αὐτῷ (sc. Ὀμήρῳ) ἀπὸ τοῦ γάρ ἀρχεσθαι" (e.g. H 328, K 61, 424, Ψ 156). In all other cases, however, the γάρ is either in a question or in an explanation by anticipation (*H. G.* § 348, 2); it is far less natural here in a principal sentence. Platt suggests γ' ἄρ, but γάρ is more likely; see on A 123.

οὐδέ τοι ἐκτελέουσιν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἣν περ ὑπέσταν  
ἐνθάδ' ἔτι στείχοντες ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο,  
Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντ' εὐτείχεον ἀπονέεσθαι.

ὥς τε γὰρ ἦ παῖδες νεαροὶ χῆραί τε γυναῖκες  
ἀλλήλοισιν ὀδύρονται οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι.

290

ἦ μὴν καὶ πόνος ἐστὶν ἀνιηθέντα νέεσθαι.  
καὶ γάρ τίς θ' ἓνα μῆνα μένων ἀπὸ ἧς ἀλόχοιο  
ἀσχαλάαι σὺν νηὶ πολυζύγῳ, ὃν περ ἄελλαί  
χειμέριαι εἰλέωσιν ὀρινομένη τε θάλασσα·  
ἡμῖν δ' εἵνατός ἐστι περιτροπέων ἐνιαυτός

295

286. **ΤΟΙ: ΤΙ** CLS Bar. || **ἦν: Η** Pap. β. 287. **ἐνεάδε τί** P Lips.: **ἐνεάδε**  
**γε** G: **ἐνεάδ' ἐπιστείχοντες** Q Cant. 292. **Θ'** om. G. 293. **οἰζυγῶι** Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. ||  
**ἦνπερ** CGJ (γρ. ὄν) P<sup>2</sup> (? also **ἦνπερ** P<sup>m</sup>) S. 294. **χειμέριοι** Vr. c Lips. ||  
**ιλέωσιν** Δ<sup>t</sup> (εἰλέωσιν Δ<sup>m</sup> T.W.A.) Cant.: **εἰλέωσιν** PR: γρ. **φορέωσι** H. 295.  
**χ' ἡμῖν δ' Q.**

289. The **ἦ . . τε** of MSS. is an obvious difficulty. Bentley proposed *εἰ* for *ἦ*, so that *ὥς τε γὰρ εἰ=ὥς εἴ τε*: but *ὥς εἰ* are never separated in H. Nauck writes *ἦντε γάρ* for *ὥστε γὰρ ἦ*, Ameis, after Bekker, *ἦ*, as γ 348 *ὥς τέ τευ ἦ παρὰ πάμπαν ἀνείμονος ἠδὲ πενιχροῦ*, and τ 109 *ὥς τέ τευ ἦ βασιλῆος*, in both which passages the MSS. have *ἦ*, though it is clearly out of place (in the former passage MSS. also have *ἦέ*, not *ἦδέ*). But there does not seem to be any certain case of this use of *ἦ* in a simile—where indeed so strongly affirmative a particle seems out of place. Still it is adopted in the text as an only resource, better than taking the sequence *ἦ . . τε* as a very violent anacoluthon.

290. For this pregnant use of *ὀδύρομαι* cf. Ψ 75 *ὀλοφύρομαι*. The infin. *νέεσθαι* in fact stands in the place of the accus., found in ε 153, ν 379 *νόστον ὀδύρεσθαι*, ν 219 *ὁ δ' ὀδύρετο πατρίδα γαῖαν*.

291. The obvious sense of this line, if it stood alone, would be, 'Verily it is a trouble even to return home in grief.' But this does not cohere with what follows, and the only interpretation which really suits the sense is that given by *Lehrs* (*Ar.* p. 74), and probably by *Aristarchos* (who noted that *πόνος* is used in the true Homeric sense of *labour*, not *grief*): 'truly here is toil to make a man return disheartened.' *ἦ μὴν καὶ* thus introduces an excuse, just as in I 57. The difficulty is the very bare use of the acc. and infin. with a

violent change of subject. *Lehrs* compares β 284 *οὐδέ τι ἴσασιν θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν* | *ὅς δ' ἴσφι σχεδὸν ἐστίν, ἐπ' ἡματι πάντας ὀλέσθαι*, a not very satisfactory parallel. *Monro* (*Journ. Phil.* xi. 129, *H. G.* § 233) adds *μοῖρ' ἐστὶν ἀλύξαι, ὥρῃ εὔδεω*, and other similar phrases, and we may add Δ 510, H 239, and the infin. after *τοῖος*, etc.; but none are really quite parallel. Various emendations have been proposed; the most attractive is *van L.*'s *ἀνὴ τ' ἐνθ' ἀνέχεσθαι* (after *Mehler*'s *ἀνιηθέντ' ἀνέχεσθαι*, where the aor. part. will not do); for *ἀνὴ* cf. η 192, ν 52. The only alterations are the interchange of *θ* and *τ* and the insertion of *χ*, and the corruption is easily accounted for by *νέεσθαι* in the previous line.

295. This line seems at first irreconcilable with 134, where it is said that nine years of Zeus *have passed*. But it is to be noticed that the word used here is not the usual *περιπλόμενος* or *περιτελλόμενος*, but *περιτροπέων*, which is not elsewhere applied to the year. The word is to be explained not as the *revolving* year, but as the year on the *turn*, i.e. at the very point of changing from one year to another. Secondly, *Prellwitz* has shewn good reason for supposing that this is the primitive sense of *ἐνιαυτός*, as being the moment at which the heavens are again *ἐνὶ αὐτῷ*, 'in the same position'; the word represents not a *period* but an *epoch*. And in the Gortynian inscr. *ἐνιαυτῷ* actually means 'at the year's end.' *περιτροπέων* is in fact to be con-

ἐνθάδε μιννόντεσσι. τῷ οὐ νεμεσίζοι' Ἀχαιοὺς  
 ἀσχαλίαν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμπης  
 αἰσχρόν τοι δηρὸν τε μένειν κενεόν τε νέεσθαι.  
 τλήτε, φίλοι, καὶ μείνατ' ἐπὶ χρόνον, ὄφρα δαῶμεν,  
 ἣ ἔτεον Κάλχας μαντεύεται ἦε καὶ οὐκί.  
 εὖ γὰρ δὴ τόδε ἴδμεν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἔσπε δὲ πάντες  
 μάρτυροι, οὓς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι·  
 χθιζά τε καὶ πρωΐζ' ὅτ' ἐς Αὐλίδα νῆες Ἀχαιῶν

300

297. παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν: μίνοντ' ἐπὶ νῆεσσ' Zen. (μιννόντεσσι. τὰ  
 πληθυντικά δυνάμει ἐκφέρων MS.). 299. ἐπὶ: ἔτι Zen. || χρόνον: χρόνου R (ἐπὶ  
 χρόνον R<sup>m</sup>). 300. Ἡ Ar. A'R: εἰ Ω (A supr.). 302. μάρτυρες Zen.: μάρ-  
 τυρε Q. 303. ὅτ' ἐς: ὅτε R.

nected with τροπή, which from Hesiod onwards means the *solstice*. The sailing from Aulis must have been at the summer solstice; the action of the *Iliad* is fixed as happening at the summer solstice *exactly* nine years afterwards. With this time of year, of course, the pestilence sent by Apollo well agrees. So the epoch of the *Odyssey* is clearly fixed to the winter solstice. Aischylos too, as Verrall has well observed, fixes the date of the *Agamemnon* to the winter solstice (*Agam.* 817 and p. xli. note). Evidently either turn of the year is regarded as the proper moment for a great turn of fortune. Aischylos places the fall of Troy at the (cosmical) 'setting of the Pleiades' late in October, four months after the opening of the *Iliad*.

299. ἐπὶ χρόνον, as μ 407, ξ 193, ο 494, etc. Zenod. ἔτι, "ἀπιθάνως" (Schol. A). δαῶμεν: a non-Homeric form for δαίομεν. Brandreth conj. *Ἰδῶμεν*, and so van L.

300. The choice between εἰ and ἥ in the first clause of subordinate disjunctive questions is not easy. Generally speaking, MS. authority is for εἰ and Ar. for ἥ. In a few cases (e.g. α 175, π 95, τ 525) ἥ εἰ is fixed by metre, or one would be inclined always to write εἰ as in single clauses. The ambiguity probably dates from the earliest days of the written poems. Cf. *H. G.* § 341.

302. This is the only clear case in H. of the use of μὴ for οὐ in a 'quasi-conditional' relative clause with the indic. Cf. 143, 338, H 236, Σ 363 (*H. G.* § 359). The κῆρες, acc. to Rohde, are the demons, originally themselves ghosts,

who hover about the earth to carry off the spirits of the departing to Hades. The cult of the dead had its origin in the wish to appease this malignant troop.

303. χθιζά τε καὶ πρωΐζα: a proverbial expression, more common in the form πρώην τε καὶ χθές, as in Hdt. ii. 53 μέχρι οὐ πρ. τ. κ. χθές, *until very lately*. So Ar. *Ran.* 726 and Plato. There are three leading explanations: (1) the principal verb is ἐφάνη (308), but the construction of the sentence is virtually forgotten in the subordinate clause ὅτε . . φέρουσαι and the quasi-parenthetical ἡμεῖς . . ὕδωρ, and is resumed by ἐνθα. In this case the phrase is used to make light of the long duration of the war, 'it is as it were but yesterday, when,' etc. Or (2) ἦν is to be supplied after πρωΐζα, 'it was a day or two after the fleets had begun to assemble in Aulis.' Näg. and Aut. support this at length, comparing γ 180 τέτρατον ἡμᾶρ ἔην ὅτ' ἐν Ἀργεὶ νῆας εἰσας | Τυδείδῳ ἔταροι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο | ἵστασαν, Φ 81 ἥως δέ μοι ἔστιν | ἦδε δωδεκάτῃ ὅτ' ἐς Ἴλιον εἰλήλουθα. The passages they quote for the omission of ἦν are insufficient, for they are all in rel. or subord. clauses. (3) Lehrs, *Ar.* p. 366, takes χθ. τε καὶ πρωΐζα with ἡγερ., transl. *vix cum Aulida advecti eramus, tum* (v. 308) *portentum accidit*. This is far the best; the interpretation coincides with (2), 'when the ships had been gathering but a day or two in A.' This omen cannot fail to recall the famous portent of the eagles and the hare in *Agam.* 115-20, told of the same place and time.



ἰγερέθοντο κακὰ Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρῳσὶ φέρουσαι·  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ κρήνην ἱερούς κατὰ βωμοὺς 305  
 ἔρδομεν ἀθανάτοισι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας,  
 καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ, ὅθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ·  
 ἔνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σῆμα· δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφινόος,  
 σμερδαλέος, τόν ῥ' αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ἦκε φώσδε,  
 βωμοῦ ὑπαίξας πρὸς ῥα πλατάνιστον ὄρουσεν. 310  
 ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί, νήπια τέκνα,  
 ὄξῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ, πετάλοις ὑποπεπτηῶτες,  
 ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτῃ ἦν, ἣ τέκε τέκνα.  
 ἔνθ' ὃ γε τοὺς ἐλεεῖνὰ κατήσθιε τετριγῶτας·  
 μήτηρ δ' ἀμφεποτᾶτο ὀδυρομένη φίλα τέκνα· 315  
 τὴν δ' ἐλελιξάμενος περὺγος λάβεν ἀμφιαχυῖαν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ τέκν' ἔφαγε στρουθοῖο καὶ αὐτήν,

307. ῥέεν : νέεν Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 308. ἔνθα φάνη Mosc. 1. 309. τόν ῥ' : τὸν δ' PR Pap. β : τὸν\* U. || φώσδε P<sup>1</sup> (φώσδε P<sup>2</sup>) : φόσδε D. 311. ἔνθ' ἔσαν CGQT. 314. τετριγῶτας JPR : τετριγῶτας CT<sup>1</sup> : τιτίζοντας Zen. 315. ἀμφιποτᾶτο G. || ὀδυρομένη Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 316. δ' ἐλεξάμενος Pap. β. || ἀμφιαχούσαν Ambr.<sup>1</sup> 317. τέκνα φάγε Mosc. 1.

305. Not only was this spring shewn at Aulis in Pausanias' day, but part of the plane-tree (307) was preserved as a relic in the temple of Artemis (ix. 19. 7).

308. **δα-φοινός** : δα- = ξα-, for δια-intensive. **φοινός**, II 159, is apparently for **φόνος**, *gory*, i.e. blood-red. Cf. **φοίνιον** σ 97, **φοίνεις** M 202, **φοῖνιξ**. Rendel Harris (*Homeric Centones* p. 4) has called attention to the curious echo of this line in Rev. xii. 1, 3 *καὶ σημείον μέγα ὤφθη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ . . . καὶ ἰδοὺ δράκων μέγας πυρρός, κτλ.*

311. Observe how the word **τέκνα** (and *τέκε*) is repeated so as to give a sort of human pathos to the passage. Cf. M 170, π 217, and Θ 248, Π 265, P 133 (*τέκος*). **νήπια** especially emphasizes this association. Notice also the rimes, 311-3-5 and 312-4. This phenomenon, though not rare in H., is so sporadic that we have no ground for supposing it to have been in any case intentional, even if it was consciously observed.

312. **ὑποπεπτηῶτες**, st. πτη, as in Θ 136 *καταπτήτην*, the only form found beside the pf. part. (ν 98, ξ 354), other parts being supplied from the secondary stem πτη-κ (πτήσσω).

314. **ἐλεεῖνά**, adv. with *τετριγῶτας*, *cheeping in piteous fashion*.

315. In the principal caesura the hiatus is 'licitus'; we do not therefore need Bentley's conj. *ἀμφεποτᾶτ' ὀλοφύρομένη*.

316. **ἐλελιξάμενος** (the original *ἐλεξάμενος* has survived in Pap. β, though perhaps only by a blunder; see A 530), 'coiling himself up for the spring.' **ἀμφιαχυῖαν** : an anomalous form. We have a root *φαχ*, strong form *φηχ* in *φηχή*, pres. stem *λάχω* = *φίλάχω*. From this we may perhaps have a perf. part. without redupl. *φαχυῖα*, like *ιδυῖα* (H. G. § 23. 5). Schulze has ingeniously conj. an aor. (ἐ) *φαχον* to explain the numerous cases where *F* is neglected, reading *μέγα φάχον*, ἐπὶ δὲ *φάχον*, ἐπὶ *φάχον* for *μέγ' ἱαχον* κτλ. Of this aor. *ἀμφι(φ)αχούσαν*, read by Ambr., would be the regular participle. The scholion of Herodianos on the accent of **περύγος** is characteristic: *παροξυτόνως. καὶ ὁ μὲν κανὼν θέλει προπαροξυτόνως, ὡς δοῖδνκος. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὕτως δοκεῖ τονίζειν τῷ Ἀριστάρχωι, πειθόμεθα αὐτῷ ὡς πάνν ἀρίστῳι γραμματικῷ.*

τὸν μὲν αἰζηλον θῆκεν θεός, ὅς περ ἔφηνε·  
 λᾶαν γάρ μιν ἔθηκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω·  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἑσταότες θαυμάζομεν, οἷον ἐτύχθη. 320  
 ὥς οὖν δεινὰ πέλωρα θεῶν εἰσήλθ' ἐκατόμβας,  
 Κάλχας δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα θεοπροπέων ἀγόρευε·  
 'τίπτ' ἄνῃ ἐγένεσθε, κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί·  
 ἡμῖν μὲν τόδ' ἔφηνε τέρας μέγα μητίετα Ζεὺς,  
 ὄψιμον ὀψιτέλεστον, οὗ κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται. 325  
 ὥς οὗτος κατὰ τέκν' ἔφαγε στρουθοῖο καὶ αὐτὴν,  
 ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ἐνάτη ἦν, ἣ τέκε τέκνα,  
 ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσσαῦτ' ἔτεα πτολεμίζομεν αὐθι,

318. μὲν : μέγ' Vr. b. || αἰζηλον Ar. (v. Ludw. *ad loc.*) Ambr.<sup>1</sup> (αἰζηλος ἀδελος Hesych.). : αἰζηλον Ar. *Lex.* : αἰδελον Et. Mag. : ἀρίζηλον Ω : ἀρίδηλον Zen. || εἶκεν Ambr.<sup>1</sup> || ὥπερ Bar. Schol. *ad* T 407. || ἔφηνε : ἔδειξε Q. 319 ἀθ. Ar. (An. says the line was added by Zen.). 320 om. T<sup>b</sup>. 322. δ' om. GST. || θεοπροπῶων T<sup>1</sup> (ἐ *in ras.* T<sup>2</sup>) : θεοπρεπων Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 324. μὲν : μὴν Pap. β<sup>2</sup>. 325. ὀψιτέλεστον Vr. b. || ὃ οὐ (with hyphen) A (T.W.A.) : ὃ οὐ (?) Q. 326. τέκν' ἔφαγε Ω (τέκνα Q) : τέκνα φάγε Ar. (?). 328. τοσσαῦτ' : γε τοσαῦτ' GRS : τοσαῦτ' C<sup>1</sup>DQ T<sup>1</sup>. || πτολεμίζομεν DU : πολεμίζομεν C<sup>1</sup>Q T<sup>1</sup> : πολεμίζομεν JPR Lips. Vr. a.

318. αἰζηλον, ὅτι (sc. Ar. marked the line with the διπλὴ περιεστιγμένη, because) Ζηρόδοτος γράφει ἀρίδηλον καὶ τὸν ἐχόμενον (the next line) προσέθηκεν. τὸ γὰρ ἀρίδηλον ἄγαν ἐμφανές, ὅπερ ἀπίθανον. δ γὰρ ἐάν πλάσῃ τοῦτο ἀναρεῖ (i.e. whatsoever a god creates, that he brings to naught again. But there seems to be some lacuna in the quotation). λέγει μέντοι γε ὅτι ὁ φήνας αὐτὸν θεὸς καὶ ἀδελον ἐποίησεν, Ar. It seems clear therefore that Ar. read αἰζηλον (or αἰδελον) explaining *invisible*, and athetizing 319. αἰδελος recurs several times in H., but always in the sense *destructive*, which will not suit here. The best course seems therefore to read αἰζηλον, as phonetically equivalent to αἰδελον, but in a pass. sense, *removed from sight* (αἰζηλος ἀφαντος Et. Mag.). Cf. αἰδέελα in the same sense, Hesiod, fr. 136 (of Autolykos the thief) ὅττι κε χειρὶ λάβεσκεν, αἰδέελα πάντα τίθεσκεν. Cic., who translates 299–330 in *Div. ii.* 30. 63, took the word in the same way—

'Qui luci ediderat genitor Saturnius, idem Abdidit.'

Hinrichs suggests αἰδελος = *ever visible*, αἰ = αἰ as in αἰπάρθεος (Sappho), and often in Aeolic inscriptions. The sense is thus the same as with the alternative

ἀρίζηλον, and would be 'god who created him made of him *an evident sign*,' which is comparatively weak. (Cf. however the fate of the Phaeacian ship, v 156 θείναι λίθον ἐγγύθι γαίης νηϊ τοῦ ἐκελον, ἵνα θαυμάζωσιν ἅπαντες.)

319, rejected by Ar., was known to Cicero, *Abdidit, et duro firmavit tegmina saxo*, and Ovid *Met.* xii. 23 *Fit lapis et servat serpentis imagine saxum*.

320. οἷον here preceded by θαυμάζομεν shews the origin of the exclamatory use, e.g. H 455 ὦ πόποι, ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρύσθενες, οἷον εἶπες, where we must supply such a suppressed thought as 'the thing is marvellous, such as you have spoken.' See *H. G.* § 267. 3. The arguments there given seem decisive against the paratactic origin of these phrases.

321. Cauer, with Cicero, puts a comma at the end of 320, and regards the line as an expansion of οἷον ἐτύχθη, 'how the portent came in.' This, however, does not seem very Homeric; but the connexion with 322 is also unsatisfactory as the text stands. Bekker and Nauck condemn the line altogether.

325. οὐ : doubtless an error in transcription for οἶ, an intermediate form of the gen. which has disappeared from mss. but may often be restored with

τῶι δεκάτῳι δὲ πόλιν αἰρήσομεν εὐρύαγυιαν.  
 κείνος τὼς ἀγόρευε· τὰ δὲ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μῖμνετε πάντες, ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,  
 αὐτοῦ, εἰς ὃ κεν ἄστρῳ μέγα Πριάμοιο ἔλωμεν."

330

ὧς ἔφατ', Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγ' ἴαχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβησαν ἀυσάντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν,  
 μῦθον ἐπαινήσαντες Ὀδυσσῆος θεῖοιο.

335

τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·

"ὦ πόποι, ἦ δὴ παῖσιν εἰκότες ἀγοράασθε  
 νηπιάχοις, οἷς οὐ τι μέλει πολεμῆϊα ἔργα.

πῆι δὲ συνθεσῖαι τε καὶ ὄρκια βήσεται ἡμῖν;

ἐν πυρὶ δὲ βουλαί τε γενοίατο μῆδεά τ' ἀνδρῶν

340

330. τὼς Ar.? (The scholia are contradictory. A says Ἀρίσταρχος διὰ τοῦ τ: Schol. TU give τὼς to Herod., ε' ὧς to Ar.; the Et. Mag. and Anec. Ox. i. 234 give ε' ὧς to Herod., τόσς to Ar.): δ' ὧς R: ε' ὧς Herod.? Ω. || δῆ: δὲ Q. 332. αὐτοὶ H. 333. μετῖαχον Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 334. κονάβισαν J: κονάβισαν Q. 335. ἐπαινέας(ς)αντες P Pap. α (ἐπαινέ[ ]): ἐπαίρσαντες S. 337. ἡγοράασθε Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 339. τε om. S. 340. δῆ: δὲ G.

confidence. So also in α 70, and cf. ἐς II 208. See lines 518, 731, and H. G. § 98.

329. τῶι: on this use of the article with numerals see H. G. § 260 c.

330. τὼς: cf. Ξ 48, σ 271, where MSS. are divided between τὼς and θ' ὧς. The word recurs only Γ 415, τ 234, but has very likely disappeared by corruption in other places; cf. on A 418.

332. The F of *Fἔλωμεν* is very doubtful in H.; out of very many instances only one other (E 118) requires it and most reject it, though there is evidence for it from Elean inscriptions. Bentley conj. *Φαλώη*.

335. For a participle belonging to the leading clause of a sentence, after a virtual parenthesis, we may perhaps compare A 153, where *χαλκῶι δηϊόωντες* seems to belong to *ἱππεῖς δ' ἱππῆας* in 151. But the construction is very awkward.

336. Γερήνιος is traditionally explained as a local name from a river or town in Elis where Nestor was supposed to have been brought up when expelled for a time from Pylos. The story is attributed to Hesiod (fr. 34, 35, Rzsch), but Strabo p. 340 makes it clear that no 'Gerena' or 'Gerenia' was known to him, and that he regarded the supposed sites as fictions (cf. Paus. iii. 26. 8, who identifies the Gerenia of his

time with the Homeric Enope, I 150). The alternative which makes *γεράνιος* only a lengthened form of *γέρων* is also known to the scholia. Another explanation, *ἐντιμος*, seems to imply a der. from *γέρας*. The title is evidently so old that the real meaning of it had been lost in prehistoric times. Steph. Byz. mentions a village *Γέρην* in Lesbos, named from *Γέρην τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος*, who may have had a place in the Neleid genealogy.

337. For the long α of *ἀγοράασθε* cf. *ἀπονέσθαι* 113, 288, etc., *ἀθάνατος* 306, etc., *δυναμένοιο* α 276, and other instances, which will be found enumerated and discussed in App. D. It is due to the ictus, and is confined to forms which would not otherwise suit the verse. *ἀγοράομαι* occurs elsewhere in H. only in impf. and aor.

338. For οὐ a later writer would probably have used *μή*, but the only instance in H. of such a use of *μή* with the rel. is in line 302 (q.v.). οὐ shews that the claim is added as a general description of a class, while in 302 *μή* is used to make an exception to what the speaker has already said (H. G. § 359).

339. Cf. 286, Virgil *Aen.* iv. 426. For *ἐν πυρὶ* cf. E 215. He means of course 'all our oaths are so much useless lumber.'

σπονδαί τ' ἄκρητοι καὶ δεξιαί, ἧς ἐπέπιθμεν·  
 αὐτῶς γὰρ ἐπέεσσ' ἐριδαίνομεν, οὐδέ τι μῆχος  
 εὐρέμεναι δυνάμεσθα, πολλὸν χρόνον ἐνθάδ' ἔοντες.  
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σὺ δ' ἔθ', ὥς πρὶν, ἔχων ἀστεμφέα βουλήν  
 ἄρχεν' Ἀργείοισι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας, 345  
 τούσδε δ' ἔα φθινύθειν, ἕνα καὶ δύο, τοί κεν Ἀχαιῶν  
 νόσφιν βουλευώσ', ἄνυσσις δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται αὐτῶν,  
 πρὶν Ἀργοσδ' ἰέναι, πρὶν καὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
 γνόμεναι εἴ τε ψεύδος ὑπόσχεσις εἴ τε καὶ οὐκί.  
 φημὶ γὰρ οὖν κατανεῦσαι ὑπερμενέα Κρονίωνα 350  
 ἥματι τῶι, ὅτε νηυσὶν ἐν ὠκυπόροισιν ἔβαινον  
 Ἀργεῖοι Τρώεσσι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέροντες,  
 ἀστράπτων ἐπιδέξι', ἐναίσιμα σήματα φαίνων.

341. ἧς: αἶς GP. 342. γὰρ PR: γάρ ῥ' Ω. 344. δ' ἔθ' [A]: δέ θ' Ω. ||  
 ἀμειψέα P. 345. ἀργείοισιν ἀνά (pseudo-)Plut. 117. 40. 346. τοὺς δ' ἔα JQ. ||  
 ΚΕΝ: ΜΕΝ R (ΚΕΝ R<sup>m</sup>). 347. βουλευώσ' L Vr. a b A: βουλευούσ' Eust. ||  
 αὐτοῖς Vr. c (Lips. *supr.*). 348. ἄργοςδ': ἄργος Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 349. εἴ τε καὶ:  
 ἢ καὶ PR. || οὐκί Ar. (not οὐχί). 351. ἔν ADPQR: ἐπ' Ω. 353. ἐναίσιμα:  
 αἰνέσιμα GR. || φήν[ας Pap. β<sup>1</sup>.

341. ἄκρητοι, solemnised with un-mixed wine, as Δ 159. See, however, Γ 269, with note. Peppmüller conj. ἄκραντοι here and in Δ; but the Homeric form is ἀκράαντος. σπονδαί here includes both the literal meaning of 'libation' and the metaphorical 'ratification of agreement.' δεξιαί: handclasping as the sign of a pledge is mentioned Z 233, Φ 286. It is of course familiar in later Greek; e.g. δεξιὰς φέρειν παρά τινος, to bring a pledge from a man, Xen. An. ii. 4. 1. ἐπέπιθμεν: for the rather rare non-thematic plpf. see H. G. § 68.

344. ἀστεμφέα: see Curt. Et. no. 219; lit. 'not to be squeezed' (στέμφυλον = pressed olives), hence *unflinching, im-movable*, as Γ 219.

345. ἀρχεύειν: only here and E 200 with dat., as ἄρχεν E 592, θ 107, ἡγεμονεύειν B 816, γ 386, etc., ἡγείσθαι A 71, X 101; always of 'shewing the way.'

346. τούσδε, if the reading were right, would shew that Thersites is aimed at, not, as some commentators have thought, Achilles and Patroklos, for it must indicate some who are *present*. But we must read with P. Knight τοὺς δ' ἔα (cf. on 165), and then the reference is clearly to Achilles and

his friends; Thersites cannot be said to take counsel νόσφιν Ἀχαιῶν.

347. αὐτῶν: it is hard to say whether this is masc. or neut. (sc. βουλευμάτων or the like). αὐτός is so rarely used of *things* in H. that the presumption is in favour of the former, which we must then understand to mean 'there will be no fulfilment on *their part*.' This clause is parenthetical, ἰέναι depending on βουλευώσι.

349. εἴ τε . . εἴ τε: cf. note on 300. There is no authority here for ἦ τε in the first clause; and we have no right nor need to desert the tradition and write ἦ τε . . ἦ τε (or ἡέ) with Bekker, though there is no other clear case of εἴτε . . εἴτε in an indirect question. εἴτε . . οὐκ is found even in Attic in similar cases, e.g. ὅπως ἴδῃς | εἴτ' ἐνδον εἴτ' οὐκ ἐνδον Soph. Aj. 7, where see Jebb's note. In the purely hypothetical statement of a fact (εἰ with indic., here ἐστὶ to be supplied) εἰ οὐ seems to be the original and more natural construction, though it was afterwards superseded by εἰ μὴ by force of analogy. See note on Δ 160, and H. G. §§ 316, 341. For the predicative use of ψεύδος cf. I 115.

353. ἀστράπτων: a very natural anacoluthon, the thought in the speaker's mind being κατένευσε Κρονίων. For the



τῷ μή τις πρὶν ἐπειγέσθω οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι,  
 πρὶν τινα παρ Τρώων ἀλόχῳ κατακοιμηθῆναι, 355  
 τίσασθαι δ' Ἑλένης ὀρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε.  
 εἰ δέ τις ἐκπάγλως ἐθέλει οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι,  
 ἀπτέσθω ἥς νηὸς εὐστέλμοιο μελαίνης,  
 ὄφρα πρόσθ' ἄλλων θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπῃ.  
 ἀλλὰ, ἄναξ, αὐτός τ' ἐν μῆδεο πειθέῳ τ' ἄλλῳ· 360  
 οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητον ἔπος ἔσσεται, ὅττι κεν εἴπω·  
 κρῖν' ἄνδρας κατὰ φύλα, κατὰ φρήτρας, Ἀγάμεμνον,

355. πὰρ: περ Ar. 356. δ': ὅ Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 357. ἐθέλοι Vr. b. 361.  
 οὔτι DGHJP. 362. φρήτρας τ' G: φήτρας JQ Vr. A.

sense of ἐπιδέξια (rather than ἐπὶ δεξιά, cf. ἐνδέξια) see on M 239. But Heyne rejected the line as made up from I 236; and the mention of such a vague omen is intolerably flat after the elaborate account in Odysseus' speech. When the line is omitted, Nestor also will refer to that portent.

355. **ΤΙΝΑ**, as though ἐκαστον, like 382, II 209, etc.

356. A much disputed line. It is highly probable that Heyne is right in regarding it as interpolated here from 590, where the explanation is comparatively simple. The χωρίζοντες of Aristarchos' time took it to mean 'Helen's searchings of heart and groanings,' and urged that this view of Helen's resistance to her abduction was peculiar to the *Il.*, while the poet of the *Od.* represented her as going willingly with Paris. Aristarchos replied, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὁ λόγος ἀλλ' ἔξωθεν πρόθεσιν τὴν 'περὶ' δεῖ λαβεῖν, ἢν ἥι 'περὶ Ἑλένης.' The scholiast goes on, καὶ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος, τιμωρίαν λαβεῖν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστενάξαμεν καὶ ἐμεριμνήσαμεν περὶ Ἑλένης· παραλειπτικὸς (fond of omitting) γὰρ προθέσεών ἐστιν ὁ ποιητής. Apart from the gratuitous insertion of the preposition there can be little doubt that this view is right, if the line is to be regarded as in place here at all. The sense is *all the fighting and groaning about* (caused by) *Helen* (not, of course, 'our (mental) struggles and groans' of *sympathy*, as some have taken it). Whatever excuse might be found for Helen in the guile of Aphrodite, there can be no doubt that Homer represents her as having deserted her husband voluntarily as far as the outward aspect of her action went; and she could not therefore be regarded by the Greeks as

a victim whose sufferings were to be avenged. The chief passages in H. are δ 145, 260, Γ 164, 399 ff., [ψ 218-24]. See also Mr. A. Lang's note to *Helen of Troy*. For the gen. compare ἄχος ἡνιόχοιο, grief for the charioteer, Θ 124, etc., ἄχος σέθεν Δ 169, χόλον υἱος Ο 138, πένθος παιδὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο Σ 88, and others in *H. G.* § 147. 1. **ὀρμήματα** recurs only in 590; it evidently means the struggles of war, ὀρμάω and ὀρμάομαι being used chiefly of the rushes of close conflict. (In the alternative expl. we should compare ὀρμαίνω, always used of mental effort.)

357. **ἐκπάγλω**: cf. β 327 ἔται αἰνῶς, a curious parallel to some expressions of modern slang.

359. This line is a threat, 'let him so much as touch his ship, he shall immediately be slain before the face of the rest.' (The alternative explanation, 'he will start homeward only to perish on the road sooner than the others,' is clearly inferior.)

362. This tactical counsel, like the advice to build a wall round the ships in H 327-43 (q.v.), is singularly out of place in the last year of the war; it is the first of many such didactic passages put into Nestor's mouth, and is meant at once to present him as the leading counsellor of the Greek army, and to introduce the coming Catalogue. For **φρήτρας**, *clans*, lit. *brotherhoods*, cf. I 63 ἀφρήτωρ: the word does not recur in H., but is only slightly disguised in the Attic *φρατρία*, and is used by Herod. i. 125, where, as here, some mss. give the form *φήτρη*, perhaps by confusion with the Dor. *πάτρα*. So in Attic *φατρία* has some support from grammarians and late authorities (see Lex.).

ὥς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγηι, φύλα δὲ φύλοις.  
 εἰ δέ κεν ὥς ἔρξης καὶ τοι πείθωνται Ἀχαιοί,  
 γνῶσθι ἔπειθ', ὅς θ' ἡγεμόνων κακὸς ὅς τέ νυ λαῶν, 365  
 ἦδ' ὅς κ' ἐσθλὸς ἔησι· κατὰ σφέας γὰρ μαχέονται·  
 γνῶσσαι δ', εἰ καὶ θεσπεσίη πόλιν οὐκ ἀλαπάξεις  
 ἢ ἀνδρῶν κακότητι καὶ ἀφραδίῃ πολέμοιο."

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 "ἦ μὰν αὐτ' ἀγορήι νικᾷς, γέρον, υἱας Ἀχαιῶν. 370  
 αἶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Ἀπολλων,  
 τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν·  
 τῶ κε τάχ' ἡμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος  
 χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡμετέρησιν ἀλοῦσά τε περθομένη τε.

363. **φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν** JQ Vr. A. || **ἀρήγει** D<sup>1</sup>PQS. 364. **ἔρξεις** PQR Vr. c. ||  
**καὶ σοὶ** G. || **πείθονται** CDHPQRT Pap. β<sup>1</sup> Lips. Vr. b A, Eton. Mosc. 1<sup>1</sup>. 366.  
**ὅς τ' Q.** || **μαχέοντο** Q: **μαχέοιντο** Schol. *ad* A 368. 370. **μὰν: μὴν** G: **μὲν**  
 Par. k<sup>1</sup>. || **ἀγορήι: ἀρετῇ** Schol. *ad* B 350. 373. **κε: δὲ** Pap. β.

There can, however, be no doubt of the connexion with *frater*, etc. The word seems to be a relic of the patriarchal time when the family, not the tribe, was the unit.

363. **φρήτρηφιν** is evidently meant to be a pure dat., an unexampled use of the term. -φιν. The only alternative is to take it, with Moller, as an (ablat.) gen., cf. N 109 **ἀμύνειν νηῶν**, II 522 **παιδὸς ἀμύνει**, etc., and then write **φύλων** for **φύλοις**. But as van L. remarks, we ought to hear that the object of the arrangement is not that *clan* may help *clan*, but that *clansman* may help *clansman*. But all the military advice of which Nestor is the spokesman is strongly suggestive of Athens under Peisistratos, who claimed to be his descendant; and here we seem to have an echo of the political reorganization so supremely important in the seventh century in Attica.

365. After each **ὅς** we must apparently supply **κ' ἔησι** from the next line; **ἔστι** would almost make Nestor call in question the existence of brave men while insisting on the presence of cowards (Ameis). **γνώσθι**: rather **γνώσε(αι)**, as the contraction is not Homeric. In 367 mss. all read **γνώσσαι** with synizesis in place of contraction. Barnes omitted the **δ'** in 367, but it can hardly be dispensed with unless we omit 365-6 as a doublet of 367-8.

366. **κατὰ σφέας**: cf. **μαχόμεν κατ' ἑμ' αὐτὸν ἐγὼ** A 271, 'they will fight each tribe on their own account,' and so

every man will have a motive for ambition in the glory which will accrue to his tribe or family from success. Cf. 'Quodque praecipuum fortitudinis incitamentum est, non casus neque fortuita conglotatio turmam aut cuneum facit, sed familiae et propinquitates,' Tac. *Germ.* 7; 'Batavi Transrhenanique, quo discreta virtus manifestius spectaretur, sibi quaeque gens consistunt,' *Hist.* iv. 23.

367. **θεσπεσίη**, a substantivized adj., like many others in H.; **ἀμβροσίη ἀναγκαῖη** **ἰθεῖα ἰση** **τραφερὴ ὕγρῃ**, and cases used as here adverbially, **ἀντιβίην ἀπριάτην** (see A 99) **ἀμφαδίην** (Ameis *Anh.* to a 97). There is no need to supply any ellipse. **ἀλαπάξεις**: fut. in potential sense (cf. Z 71, N 260), or perhaps as taking up with some slight irony Agamemnon's despairing tone, **οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίην αἰρήσομεν εὐνᾶγνιαν** 141. Bekker's conj. **ἀλαπάξεις** is needless.

371. This formula (also Δ 288, H 132, II 97, and several times in *Od.*) gives a typical instance of the similarity between 'wishing-clauses,' followed by a paratactic clause expressing the result, and regular conditional sentences; 371-2 stand independently as a wish, as the appeal to the gods and the parallel passages shew, but by putting a comma at the end of 372 we could treat them as the protasis of a regular conditional sentence. *H. G.* § 318.

374. **ὑπὸ χερσίν**: this instrumental use of **ὑπὸ** with dat. is developed from

ἀλλά μοι αἰγίοχος Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν, 375  
 ὅς με μετ' ἀπρήκτους ἔριδας καὶ νείκεα βάλλει.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν Ἀχιλεὺς τε μαχесσάμεθ' εἵνεκα κούρης  
 ἀντιβίοις ἐπέεσσιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἦρχον χαλεπαίνων·  
 εἰ δέ ποτ' ἔς γε μίαν βουλευσομεν, οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα 380  
 Τρῶσιν ἀνάβλησις κακοῦ ἔσσεται, οὐδ' ἡβαιόν.  
 νῦν δ' ἔρχεσθ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν Ἀρηα.  
 εὖ μὲν τις δόρυ θηξάσθω, εὖ δ' ἀσπίδα θέσθω,  
 εὖ δέ τις ἵπποισιν δεῖπνον δότω ὠκυπόδεσσιν,  
 εὖ δέ τις ἄρματος ἀμφὶς ἰδὼν πολέμοιο μεδέσθω,  
 ὥς κε πανηγέριοι στυγερῶι κρινώμεθ' Ἀρηϊ. 385  
 οὐ γὰρ παυσωλὴ γε μετέσσεται, οὐδ' ἡβαιόν,  
 εἰ μὴ νύξ ἐλθοῦσα διακρινέει μένος ἀνδρῶν.  
 ἰδρώσει μὲν τευ τελαμῶν ἀμφὶ στήθεσφιν  
 ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης, περὶ δ' ἔγχεϊ χεῖρα καμείται·

375. ΖΕΥΣ : κρατέρ' S. || ἔΔΩΚΕΝ : ἔΘΗΚΕΝ Pap. β<sup>1</sup>, Eust. 376. ΜΕΤ' : ΚΑΤ'  
 J. || ἀπρήκτας S. 377. ΜΑΧΕΣ(С)ΑΜΕΘ' Ω : ΜΑΧΗΣΑΜΕΘ' Ar. 378. ΧΑΛΕ-  
 ΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ G. 383. ὠκυπόροιςιν Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 385. ὥς τε Vr. a. || ΠΑΝΗΜΕΡΙΟΙΣ  
 Pap. β. 388. ΣΤΗΘΕΣΦΙΝ ACHPPQR Vr. b c, Mosc. 1 : ΣΤΗΘΕΣΣΙ(Ν) [DGJ][S]TU  
 Pap. β, Ambr. 389. ΠΕΡΙ : ΠΑΡΑ H. || ΧΕΙΡΑ : ΧΕΙΡ ΡΑ U<sup>2</sup> (ΡΑ in ras.).

the local by a transition which is quite easy in phrases like the present, where 'subjection' or 'falling prostrate' is the leading idea ; in ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπείς, ὑπὸ νοῦσιν φθίσθαι (N 667), ὑπνῶι ὑπο γλυκερῶι τερπόμεθα, the local sense almost fades away, but never quite disappears. Obs. ἀλοῦσα, aor. of the moment of capture ; περσομένη, pres. of a continuing state.

376. ἀπρήκτους : fruitless, not conducing to any result ; cf. Ω 524 οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο, β 79 ἀπρήκτους ὀδύνας.

379. μίαν, sc. βουλήν, to be supplied from the verb ; so ξ 435 τὴν ἱαν, supply μοῖραν from διεμοιράτο.

380. ἡβαιόν occurs only in this phrase, and always at the end of a line, except ι 462 ἐλθόντες δ' ἡβαιὸν ἀπὸ σπέλους. It would seem that some of the ancients preferred to write οὐδ' ἡβαιὸν or οὐ δὴ βαιόν. The origin of the word and its relation to βαιός are quite uncertain.

381. ξυνάγωμεν Ἀρηα, committere praelium ; compare Ξ 149, 448, II 764, for similar phrases.

382. ἐέεω, not here in the later sense of 'grounding arms,' but place ready, bestow well, as I 88 τίθεντο δόρυπα : so

εὖ θέσθαι ὅπλα, to keep armour in order, Xen. Cyr. vi. 5. 3 ; εἰς δὴρην ἔθεντο ὅπλα Epigram ap. Dem. 322. 6.

384. ἀμφίς : so MSS. ; Bentley ἀμφί, which is, however, found with gen. in H. only II 825, θ 267. Monro H. G. § 184 comp. Att. περιωρῶμαι with gen. = to look round after, take thought about (Thuc. iv. 124), and also the gen. with ἀμφιμάχεσθαι II 496, etc. ἀμφίς with gen. appears elsewhere always in the sense 'aside from.'

385. κρινώμεθα, measure ourselves ; cf. the same root in de-cern-ere, cer-tamen. From the primary idea of separation (by sifting, etc.) comes that of two parties standing in opposition. So διακρινέει, part, 387 ; cf. 362, Γ 98, π 269 μένος κρίνηται Ἀρηος, σ 264, ω 507.

387. μένος ἀνδρῶν, a periphrasis for 'brave warriors,' as μένος Ἀλκινόοιο, etc.

388. τευ virtually = ἐκάστου, at least for purposes of translation, as in 355. We must in the next line supply τις as subject to καμείται. This passage may be added to those in H. G. § 186, in which it is doubtful whether περὶ is prep. or adv. (= exceedingly) ; cf. II 289. For ἀμφιβρότη see App. B, 1, 2, 3.

ιδρώσει δέ τευ ἵππος εὖξοον ἄρμα τιταίνων. 390  
ὄν δέ κ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω  
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὐ οἱ ἔπειτα  
ἄρκιον ἐσσεῖται φυγέειν κύνας ἢδ' οἰωνούς."

ὥς ἔφατ', Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγ' ἴαχον, ὥς ὅτε κύμα 395  
ἀκτῇ ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ, ὅτε κινήσῃ Νότος ἐλθών,  
προβλήτῃ σκοπέλωι· τὸν δ' οὐ ποτε κύματα λείπει  
παντοίων ἀνέμων, ὅτ' ἂν ἐνθ' ἢ ἐνθα γένωνται.  
ἀνστάντες δ' ὀρέοντο κεδασθέντες κατὰ νῆας,  
κάπνισσάν τε κατὰ κλισίας καὶ δαίπνον ἔλνοντο.  
ἄλλος δ' ἄλλωι ἔρεξε θεῶν αἰγιγενετάων, 400

391. ΔΕ Κ': δ' ἂν U Ambr. Vr. a. || ἐγὼ Vr. a. || ΕΘΕΛΟΝΤΑ: ΠΤΩΣΣΟΝΤΑ  
Aristot. *Eth.* N. iii. 11. 393. ἢδ': οὐδ' Q. 395. ΚΙΝΗΣΕΙ CHPRQT. 396.  
Τὸν δ': ὄν Γ' G. 397. ΓΕΝΩΝΤΑΙ Ar. Ω: τινὲς ΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ Did. 398. ἈΝΣΤΑΝΤΕΣ  
Ar. Ω: ἀστάντες others. || ὀρέοντο: ὀρόωντο C: ὀρόοντο Cant. || σκεδασθέντες  
Q. || κατὰ: ἐπὶ Eust. 400. ἔρεξε Vr. b.

391. νοήσω: in sense 'perceive' νοεῖν takes a partic.; 'to think over,' 'remember,' an infin. E 665, λ 62, etc.

393. ἄρκιον, 'there shall be nothing on which he can rely, nothing to give him any well-grounded hope of escaping the dogs and birds,' Buttm. *Lex.* pp. 163-4, comparing O 502 νῦν ἄρκιον ἢ ἀπολέσθαι | ἢ ἐ σωθῆναι. He deduces this sense from the verb ἀρκεῖν, through the sense 'sufficient,' 'able to help,' and thence 'that on which one can rely.' So K 304 μισθὸς δέ οἱ ἄρκιος ἔσται, *his reward shall be certain* (see, however, note there). The passage of course means 'he shall certainly be slain and left unburied.'

394. On ὥς ὅτε without a finite verb see L. Lange EI pp. 134, 234, where it is compared with the similar use of ὥς εἰ in similes. He argues that there is no need to supply any ellipse; the ὅτε is really indef., 'as on a time,' and is, strictly speaking, superfluous. It seems more likely, however, that there is an unconscious ellipse; see *M. and T.* § 475. The construction recurs Δ 462, M 132, N 471, 571, O 362, 679, Π 406, Σ 219, Ψ 712, ε 281, λ 368, τ 494. For the simile itself cf. 144 and 209.

397. ἀνέμων: for this use of the gen. cf. ν 99 ἀνέμων δυσσείων μέγα κῆμα, Δ 305 νέφεα ἀργεστώ Νότου, and ι 411 νοῦσον Διός, *a sickness sent from Zeus*. ΓΕΝΩΝΤΑΙ: sc. ἀνεμοὶ (but Ar. thought κύματα, and some actually wrote γένηται).

400. ἔρεξε: the F is neglected as in T 150 ἀρεκτον, Ψ 570 ἔρεξας, ω 458 ἔρεζον.

From here eleven consecutive lines have the trochaic caesura, which is commoner than the penthemimeral in H. (about 54·5 per cent of the lines have it in *Il.* and 58 per cent in *Od.*, see Van L. *Ench.* p. 14 note), and was perhaps originally invariable. For the genesis of the Homeric hexameter reference may be made to a very interesting paper by F. A. Allen of Cincinnati, in Kuhn's *Ztsch.* xxiv. 558 (1879), where it and the Saturnian verse, as well as the typical old German measure, are traced back to a common origin still found as a metre in the Zend-Avesta. Another view is taken by Usener, *Allgriechischer Versbau*. He takes the original form of the hexameter to have been a couplet of which the second half had an anacrusis, long or short—

| — — — | — — — | — — —  
— — — | — — — | — — —

and of this doubtful length he holds that traces still remain in numerous cases of 'neglect of F' and other irregularities after the trochaic caesura. But the evidence is not decisive enough to raise this above the level of an attractive hypothesis; and it gives no explanation of the importance of the bucolic diaeresis.



εὐχόμενος θάνατόν τε φυγεῖν καὶ μῶλον ἼΑρηος.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων  
 πῖονα πενταέτηρον ὑπερμενεί Κρονίωνι,  
 κίκλησκειν δὲ γέροντας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν,  
 Νέστορα μὲν πρότιστα καὶ Ἰδομενῆα ἄνακτα, 405  
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' Αἴαντε δῶω καὶ Τυδέος υἱόν,  
 ἔκτον δ' αὖτ' Ὀδυσῆα Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον.  
 αὐτόματος δέ οἱ ἦλθε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος·  
 ἦιδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεόν, ὥς ἐπονείτω.  
 βοῦν δὲ περιστήσαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο. 410  
 τοῖσιν δ' εὐχόμενος μετέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 “Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, αἰθέρι ναίων,  
 μὴ πρὶν ἐπ' ἥελιον δύναι καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἐλθεῖν,  
 πρὶν με κατὰ πρηνὲς βαλέειν Πριάμοιο μέλαθρον  
 αἰθαλόεν, πρῆσαι δὲ πυρὸς δηΐοιο θύρετρα, 415

406. δύο PQR. 407. ὁ om. D. || αὐθ' C. 408. οἱ: γε G. 409. Sus-  
 pected acc. to Ath. p. 177. 412. ἐν τισι γέγραπται ζεῦ πάτερ Ἰδομενῆα μεδέων  
 <κύδιστε μέγιστε> An. 415. πρῆσαι: ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις διὰ τοῦ λ [i.e. πλῆσαι],  
 καὶ αἱ Ἀριστάρχου Did. || εὐρέτρα: μέλατρα Pap. β<sup>1</sup>.

409. ἀδελφεός is the only Homeric form (cf. E 21); so δένδρεον, never δένδρον (cf. however on Γ 152).

410. περιστήσαντο, so all mss. But the aor. mid. is always transitive in H. (see A 480, β 431, etc.). Σ 533, ι 54 (στήσασμενοι δ' ἐμάχοντο μάχην) are ambiguous, but no doubt are also trans., as Herod. also says στήσασθαι πολέμους. Hence Bekker conj. περίστησάν τε, followed by most edd.; so also in μ 356, cf. Δ 532. But possibly the word may have some old ritual significance now lost to us. οὐλοχύτας, A 449.

412. κελαινεφές, apparently for κελαινονεφής, god of the black cloud. The epithet is also applied to blood, dusky, the significance of the second element having been weakened—a phenomenon familiar in the Tragedians but very rare in H.

413. ἐπί, 'that the sun set not upon us,' a pregnant expression which is virtually an anticipation of the ἐπί immediately following, and may be compared with Eph. iv. 26 ὁ ἥλιος μὴ ἐπιδύνετω ἐπὶ τῷ παροργισμῷ ὑμῶν. See also Θ 487 Τρωσὶν μὲν ῥ' αἰέκουσιν ἔδω φάος. Some have, without necessity, conj. ἔρ' or γ' in place of ἐπ': La R. thinks that the word was inserted when it was forgotten

that πρὶν was originally long by nature (Cretan πρεῖν, Brugm. Gr. ii. p. 406). For μὴ with infin. expressing a prayer see H. G. § 361. μὴ appears fundamentally to express the idea 'away with the thought that,' 'let us not suppose that,' and may thus be properly used with the infin. without the need of supplying any ellipse of δός or the like. Cf. Γ 285, H 179, ρ 354, where the infin. expressing the mere thought indicates, by the form of interjectional utterance, a strong wish; and also the use of the infin. as an imper. The idiom is common in later Gk., e.g. Aisch. Sept. 253 ὦ θεοὶ πολῖται, μὴ με δουλείας τυχεῖν, and other instances in M. and T. § 785. (It is virtually a case of the use of μὴ without a finite verb, such as we find in A 295 and ὅτε μὴ = 'except'; see Lange EI p. 162 (468), where the key to the question is given.)

415. πυρὸς: for this use of gen. see H. G. § 151 c, where it is classed as a 'quasi-partitive' use, as though the idea of material used implied a stock drawn upon; so H 410 πυρὸς μειλίσσμεν, Z 331 πυρὸς θέρηται. πρῆσαι, A 481. δῆϊός with πῦρ, in the lit. sense blazing, conn. with δαίω: so Θ 217 πῦρ κήλεον (καίω). See note on I 674.

Ἐκτόρεον δὲ χιτῶνα περὶ στήθεσσι δαΐξαι  
χαλκῶι ῥωγαλέον· πολέες δ' ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἑταῖροι  
πρηνέες ἐν κονίησιν ὁδᾶξ λαζοίατο γαῖαν·"

ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἄρα πῶ οἱ ἐπεκράαινε Κρονίων,  
ἀλλ' ὃ γε δέκτο μὲν ἰρά, πόνον δ' ἀμέγαρτον ὕφελλεν. 420  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' εὗξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο,  
ἀέరుσαν μὲν πρῶτα καὶ ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν,  
μηρούς τ' ἐξέταμον κατὰ τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν  
δίπτυχα ποιήσαντες, ἐπ' αὐτῶν δ' ὠμοθέτησαν.  
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρ' σχίξῃσιν ἀφύλλοισιν κατέκαιον 425  
σπλάγχχνα δ' ἄρ' ἀμπεύραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἥφαίστοιο.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρ' ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχχ' ἐπάσαντο,  
μίστυλλον τ' ἄρα τᾶλλα καὶ ἄμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν,  
ὥπτησάν τε περιφραδέως ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα, 430  
δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς εἴσης.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρ ν ἔντο,  
τοῖς ἄρα μύθων ἦρχε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·  
"Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
μηκέτι νῦν δὴ ταῦτα λεγόμεθα, μηδ' ἔτι δηρὸν 435

416. δαΐξον H. 419. ἐπεκράαινε Pap. α: ἐπεκράανε Pap. β: ἐπεκράαινε  
Ω. 420. ὃ γε: ὃ δε Q. || πόνον: φόνον Et. Gud. || ἀμέγαρτον: ἀλίστατον  
Ar. 421. προβάλλοντο: ἀνέλοντο GS (cf. A 449). 422. αέρουσαν AG:  
αὐ ἔρυσαν Ω: ἀνέρυσαν J (cf. A 459). || ἔδηραν Q. 423. τε: δὲ Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. ||  
κνίσῃ(ι) CDPQR. 425. ἀφύλλῃσι Q. || κατέκῃον J. 426. σπλάγχχνα P. || ἐμ-  
πεύραντες G Eust. 427. μῆρα (Ptol. μῆρε) κᾶν καὶ σπλάγχχνα πάσαντο Ar.  
(cf. A 464) || σπλάγχχ' P. 433. τοῖσι δὲ S. 435. δὴ ταῦτα Zen.: θησαυτα  
Pap. β<sup>1</sup>: θᾶτ' αὐθι CP<sup>1</sup>R: θᾶθ' αὐθι Ar. Ω (Pap. β<sup>2</sup>): δὴ νῦν αὐθι Kallistratos:  
δὴ αὐθι others. || μῆδε (μὴ δέ) τι ΔΗJQST.

417. ῥωγαλέον, proleptic; as II 841  
αἵματόεντα. But αἰθαλόεν, 415, seems to  
be a standing epithet of the hall; see  
χ 239.

419. The correct form ἐπεκράαινε is  
preserved here by the papyri, and in  
E 508 by P. κρααίνω is a mere figment,  
a supposed case of 'Epic diectasis'; cf.  
ἀκραάντων, κεκράανται. κραίνω and κρααίνω  
are related as κράτ- and κράατ-, head; cf.  
ὀνοματ-: ὀνομαίνω (van L. *Ench.* p. 494).

420. Ar. read ἀλίστατον as a λέξις  
ἐμφαντικωτέρα, but the *littol*es in ἀμέγαρ-  
τον is thoroughly Homeric, cf. λ 400.  
Hentze points out that elsewhere a god  
either accepts the sacrifice and fulfils the  
prayer, or refuses both. That Zeus  
should accept the one and deny the

other shews that he is deliberately de-  
ceiving Agamemnon.

421-4 = A 458-61; 427-32 = A 464-  
69.

426. Ἥφαίστοιο = πυρός, as Ἀμφιτρίτῃ  
= θάλασσα μ 97, Ἀφροδίτῃ = εὐνή χ 444,  
"Ἀρης = πόλεμος *passim*. Cf. I 468  
φλογὸς Ἥφ.

435. The reading of Zen. given in the  
text is the only one consistent with  
Homeric usage; cf. N 275, 292, τ 244,  
etc. Ar. explained the vulg. δῆθ' αὐθι  
thus: θηᾶ πολλὸν χρόνον, αὐθι αὐτοῦ,  
λεγόμεθα συναθροϊζόμεθα, 'let us not  
now long remain gathered here,' which  
is unsatisfactory enough, though it takes  
account of the fact that λέγεσθαι is never  
used absolutely in H. = to converse. The

ἀμβαλλώμεθα ἔργον, ὃ δὴ θεὸς ἐγγυαλίζει·  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε κήρυκες μὲν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων  
 λαὸν κηρύσσοντες ἀγειρόντων κατὰ νῆας,  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἀθρόοι ὧδε κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἴομεν, ὄφρα κε θᾶσσον ἐγείρομεν ὄξυν Ἀρηα." 440

ὧς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 αὐτίκα κηρύκεσσι λιγυφθόγοισι κέλευσε  
 κηρύσσειν πόλεμόνδε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς.  
 οἱ μὲν ἐκήρυσσον, τοὶ δ' ἡγείροντο μάλ' ὧκα.  
 οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἀτρεΐωνα διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες 445  
 θῦνον κρίνοντες, μετὰ δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 αἰγίδ' ἔχουσ' ἐρίτιμον, ἀγήραον ἀθανάτην τε·  
 τῆς ἑκατὸν θύσανοι παγχρύσειοι ἡερέθονται,

436. ἐγγυαλίζει Ar. Aph. Ap. Rhod. A : ἐγγυαλίζει Ω (*supr.* οι L) : ἐγγυαλίξει Vr. a. 440. ἀγείρουμεν PRT. 442. κέλευσε GQ Vr. b<sup>1</sup>. 444. κήρυκων S : ἐκήρυκων Q. 447. ἀγέρων Ar. Aph. : ἀγέρω τ' PR. 448. ἡερέεοντο Zen. GHJQRST and A *supr.* (T.W.A.).

difficulty in the text, which led to the alteration and this strained interpretation, is obvious; how can Nestor talk about 'continuing this conversation'—for this the words must mean—when no conversation has been mentioned? Epic practice forbids us to understand it of the conversation 'which had naturally taken place at the table, though the poet does not mention it' (Buttmann). And though it is true that *μηκέτι* does not necessarily imply that the conversation has begun (Gildersleeve in *A.J.P.* vii. p. 271), yet *ταῦτα* clearly does so. The key to the whole crux is to be found in the fact, which seems obvious when pointed out, that the words of Nestor here really belong to his former speech, in place of 362–8, which are condemned on so many grounds, and that they have been displaced to make room for that awkward interpolation. The only question is whether we should simply replace 435–40 after 361, omitting the formal 434 and making some little alteration in 441, so that it may follow directly on 432, or whether 362–433 are not an interpolation altogether. Either alternative seems admissible.

447. For the aegis see also Δ 167, E 738, O 308, P 593; it clearly symbolizes the storm-cloud, and as such belongs properly to Zeus; Apollo wields it O 318, 361, Ω 20; Athene here, E 738, Σ 204, Φ 400. It is no doubt rightly

explained by Reichel (*Hom. Waffen*, p. 69) as a *λαιοσχίον* or skin with the hair left on, whence the epithet *ἀμφιδάσεια*, O 309, *covered with hair*. This skin shield is the primitive form, superseded in Homer for the heroes by the solid shield overlaid with metal, but still carried by the common folk. But from its antiquity it remains as the divine armour. There is no ground for supposing it to have been of metal, except that it is made by Hephaistos the smith in O 309. But the smith in his capacity of armourer may well have undertaken leather as well as metal work, and the mention of the golden tassels here and elsewhere in any case gives a reason for the intervention of the metal-worker. The *θύσανοι* are presumably a fringe with pendants, serving at once to adorn the edge, where the hair alone would make it look ragged, and to protect it where it was most liable to wear. So a belt is finished off with tassels in Σ 181. These pendants developed later, under the influence of the Gorgoneion, into the snakes of Athene's aegis in classical art. *ἀγήραον* and *ἀθανάτην* being co-ordinated by *τε* are exegetical of *ἐρίτιμον*.

448. ἡερέεονται: so Ar.; Zenod. -οντο. The present is quite in place in describing the immortal gear of the gods; see a striking instance in E 726–8 compared with 729.

πάντες ἐνπλεκέες, ἐκατόμβοις δὲ ἕκαστος·  
 σὺν τῇ παιφάσσουσα διέσσυτο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν 450  
 ὀτρύνουσ' ἰέναι· ἐν δὲ σθένος ὤρσεν ἑκάστωι  
 καρδίῃ, ἄλληκτον πολεμίζειν ἥδ' ἐ μάχεσθαι.  
 τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένητ' ἥ ἐ νέεσθαι  
 ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφυρήισι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.  
 ἥντε πῦρ αἶδηλον ἐπιφλέγει ἄσπετον ὕλην 455  
 οὔρεος ἐν κορυφῇς, ἕκαθεν δέ τε φαίνεται αὐγῇ,  
 ὥς τῶν ἐρχομένων ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ θεσπεσίοιο  
 αἶγλη παμφανόωσα δι' αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἴκε.  
 τῶν δ' ὥς τ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλά,  
 χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων, 460  
 Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα,  
 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι,

451. ἐκάστου (pseudo-)Plut. 136. 41. 452. κραδίη CGPQRT. || ἄλληκτον  
 CDGHIJQRU. 454. γλαφυροῖσι Q. 456. κορυφῇ G; κορυφῆσι Q: κορυ-  
 φαῖς Par. d: ἐκ κορυφῆς Vr. a. || φαίμετο P. 457. τῶνδ' Vr. a. 458. παμ-  
 φανόεσσα H. || ἦκε H. 460. δουλιχοδείρων Q. 461. ἀσίῳ Ar. Ptol. Ask.  
 Herod. Ω: ἀσίῳ CG. 462. πέτονται (pseudo-)Plut. 14. 38. || ἀγαλλόμενα  
 Ar. AGHRS (*supr.* αι) Harl. a, Eton.<sup>1</sup> Vr. b c A: ἀγαλλόμεναι CDJPQTU:  
 ἀγαλλόμεναι Pap. β: μεναί (sic) A<sup>m</sup> (T.W.A.).

450. παιφάσσουσα, *dazzling*, here and E 803 only, perhaps by intensive reduplication from a secondary form of root *φα-*, *φαν-* (cf. *πιφαύσκω*).

451. ὀτρύνουσα, clearly not by words, but by her invisible presence and the supernatural power of the aegis.

455-83. The accumulation of similes has given much offence to critics, and most edd. reject one or more. But each is vivid and Homeric, and refers to a particularly striking point in the aspect of the Greek host, the gleam of their weapons (455-8), the clamour of their advance (459-66), their countless number (467-8), their multitudinous unrest (469-73). Then follow two describing the leaders in general and Agamemnon in particular. The effect is that of a majestic prologue, and would be greatly enhanced if the direct action of the poem followed on immediately, and were not interrupted by the Catalogue. The mention of the Trojans in 472 particularly requires that the two armies should be actually face to face. αἶδηλον, lit. 'making invisible,' ἀφανίζων, i.e. *destroying*; cf. note on 318.

456. For this use of ἑκάσθεν, where we say 'to a distance,' see II 634. Observe

the characteristic use of δέ τε in similes (456 and 463) to introduce an additional touch, often, but not always, containing the *tertium comparationis*.

461. Ἀσίῳ: so Ar., who regarded it as the gen. of a proper name Ἀσίας (for Ἀσίῳ), said to have been a king of Lydia. So Herod. iv. 45 καὶ τοῦτον μὲν μεταλαμβάνοντα τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκλήσθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν. Virgil, on the other hand, clearly read Ἀσίῳ:

varias pelagi volucres, et quae Asia  
 circum  
 Dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri.—  
 Georg. i. 383.

Ceu quondam nivei liquida inter nubila cyeni  
 Cum sese e pastu referunt et longa canoros  
 Dant per colla modos, sonat ammis et Asia  
 longe  
 Pulsa palus.—Aen. vii. 699.

This is the only passage in the *Iliad* indicating knowledge in detail of any part of the coast of Asia Minor beyond the Troad.

462. ἀγαλλόμενα, perhaps here in the primitive sense (root *γαλ* to *shine*), 'preening themselves.' The variant ἀγαλλόμεναι would be perfectly good Greek but for the masc. προκαθίζοντων



κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμών,  
 ὥς τῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων  
 ἐς πεδίον προχέοντο Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ χθὼν 465  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβιζε ποδῶν αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.  
 ἔσταν δ' ἐν λειμῶνι Σκαμανδρίῳ ἀνθεμόεντι  
 μυρίοι, ὅσά τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεται ὥρη.  
 ἥτε μυιάων ἀδινάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ,  
 αἵ τε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊον ἡλάσκουσιν 470  
 ὥρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει,  
 τόσσοι ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
 ἐν πεδίῳ ἴσταντο διαρραῖσαι μεμαῶτες.  
 τοὺς δ', ὥς τ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν αἰπόλοι ἄνδρες  
 ῥεῖα διακρίνωσιν, ἐπεὶ κε νομῶι μιγέωσιν, 475  
 ὥς τοὺς ἡγεμόνες διεκόσμεον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
 ὑσμίνηνδ' ἰέναι, μετὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἵκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳι,  
 Ἄρεϊ δὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.  
 ἥτε βοῦς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἔξοχος ἔπλετο πάντων 480

463. **ΛΕΙΜΩΝ**: **γαῖα** *ap. Did.* (Ar. objected that the final short syllable weakened the sound of the line; Schol. T.) 465. **ΠΡΟΧΕΑΝΤΟ** R (*supr. o.*) ||  
**ΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΙΟΝ** GJLT (*post ras.*) Harl. a<sup>1</sup>, Lips. 466. **ΚΟΝΑΒΗΕ** S. 467. **ἔΣΤΑΝ**  
 Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. || **ΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΙΩ** C (*post ras.*) GPQT (*post ras.*) Harl. a<sup>1</sup>, Lips. 468. **ΦΥΛΑ**  
 H. || **ΓΕΙΝΕΤΑΙ ὥρη** Δ<sup>1</sup> (T.W.A.). || **ὥρη**: γρ. ἦρι L (*man. rec.*). 469. **ΜΥΣΩΝ**  
 P<sup>1</sup>T<sup>1</sup>U. 470. **ἡΛΑΣΚΟΥΣΙΝ**: ἰλίσκονται Pap. β. 471. **ὅτε τε**: ὅτε δὲ Pap.  
 β: **γε ὅτε** G: **τε** *om.* HR. || **ΔΕΥΗ** PR. 475. **ΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΟΥΣΙΝ** GJ: **ΔΙΑΚΡΙΝΕΩΣΙ(Ν)**  
 PRU. 476. **ΤΟΥΣ Γ'** G. 477. **ΥΜΕΙΣΙΝΗΝ** Pap. α. 479. **ἄρεϊ τε** Harl. α.

in the next line. **ΠΟΤΩΝΤΑΙ**: **πέτονται** van L.

463. **ΠΡΟΚΑΘΙΖΟΝΤΩΝ**, a pregnant expression, 'keep settling ever forwards'; the whole body moves forward by the continual advance of single birds who keep settling in front of the rest. **ΣΜΑΡΑΓΕΪ** may here, as in the two other passages where it occurs (210, Φ 199), be taken to refer either to bright light or loud noise, but the latter is generally adopted, and suits the simile best.

465. **ὑΠὸ** must go with **ποδῶν**, the gen. indicating a transition from the local to the causal meaning of the preposition. Cf. Ξ 285 **ποδῶν ὑΠΟ** with T 363 **ὑΠὸ ποσσίν**.

469. **ἀΔΙΝΑΩΝ**, *busy*. See on 87. The simile indicates both the multitude of the Greeks and their restless eagerness for their object; cf. II 641-3, where line

471 also recurs. Homer has another striking simile of the fly in P 570.

471. It has been noted that this simile implies that only sheep's and goats' milk was used in Homeric, as in modern Greece, cattle being employed as beasts of draught; and further, that the milk was obtained only in the spring, the natural breeding-time of wild animals, instead of all the year round by an artificial stimulating life. **ἐΝ** was *om.* by Bentley because of the F of *Féar*: so ε 485 ὥρη *χειμερίη*.

474. **ΠΛΑΤΕΑ**, because of the wide spaces over which they range.

479. **ζΩΝΗΝ**, *the waist*. Except in A 234, the word is elsewhere used only of a woman's girdle.

480. **ἐΠΛΕΤΟ**: for this use of the aor. in similes as virtually a present cf. H 4, etc.; and for **βοῦς ταῦρος** cf. σὺς *κάπρος*, ἔρῃς *κίρκος* (ν 86), *δρυιθες αἰγυπιοί* (H 59).

ταῦρος· ὁ γάρ τε βόεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀγρομένησι·  
τοῖον ἄρ' Ἀτρεΐδην θῆκε Ζεὺς ἥματι κεῖναι,  
ἐκπρεπέ' ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἔξοχον ἠρώεσσιν.

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, μούσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,

ὕμεις γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστε πάρεστε τε ἴστε τε πάντα,

485

ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν,

οἳ τινες ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν.

πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω,

οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,

φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος, χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη,

490

εἰ μὴ Ὀλυμπιάδες μούσαι, Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο

θυγατέρες, μνησαίαθ' ὅσοι ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον.

ἄρχους αὖ νηῶν ἐρέω νῆάς τε προπάσας.

481. ἀγρομένοισι CGH<sup>2</sup>Q.

482. ἄρ': δ' H.

483. εὐπρεπέ' S (*supr.* εκ).

484. γρ. καὶ ἔσπετε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνίσπετε Schol. T. | Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι:

Ὀλυμπιάδες βασιλοῖσι Zen. 485. πάρεστε καὶ ἴστε G: παρήστε τινὲς An.

487. Placed before 485 in HJ (the same order indicated by letters in Ven. B): om.

C. 489. εἶεν: μεν Cram. An. Ox. iv. 318.

490. φωνή τ' Bekk. An. 771.

21. || ἄρρηκτος PQR. 493. ἀρχούς γὰρ αὖ Q.

483. It would hardly be possible in Homeric language to join πολλοῖσι with ἠρώεσσιν: rather 'pre-eminent in the multitude and excellent amid warriors.'

484. ἔσπετε: either a redupl. aor. for σέ-σπ-ετε, or more probably for ἐν-σπ-ετε (which some read, v. *supra*), root σπ = sek, our say. The pres. ἐννεπε = ἐνσεπε, Lat. *insece* (*virum mihi, Camena, insece versutum* is Liv. Andr.'s translation of α 1 ἀνδρά μοι ἐννεπε, Μοῦσα). The other aor. forms all take the full form of the prep. ἐν-σπ-εῖν, etc. Observe the rime μούσαι—ἐχουσαι. πάρεστε, either 'are present at all that happens,' or 'stand at the poet's side.' The Muses are particularly appropriate in such a place as this, for they are goddesses of Memory (Μοῦσα = Μοιρῆ, root *men*; see Curt. Et. no. 429), though the legend which made them daughters of Mnemosyne is post-Homeric. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* vii. 641.

488. For ἄν with aor. subj. as apodosis to a clause containing εἰ with opt. cf. A 386, and the equivalent fut. indic. ἐσσεῖται with ὅτε μὴ ἐμβάλοι, N 317 (so I 388, and other instances in *M. and T.* § 499). Possibly μυθήσομαι is fut. indic., and ὀνομήνω is independent of ἄν, as in A 262 οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι. ἄν here seems to enforce the contrast, see *H. G.* § 276 b. Virgil imitates the passage, *G.* ii. 42, *Aen.* vi. 625.

490. ἦτορ, Lat. *animus*, primarily of vitality, as here; then, as most commonly, of the passions. Though the word probably comes from *āw* to breathe, it would be quite against all Homeric use to understand it, as some commentators have done, of the lungs.

492. μνησαίατο, made mention of, as δ 118, ο 400. προπάσας, all from end to end; so πρόπαν ἡμαρ, etc.

## Βοιωτία ἢ κατάλογος νέων.

THE CATALOGUE OF THE SHIPS, as modern critics have almost unanimously recognized, was not composed for its present place, but has been adapted to it. The phraseology throughout suggests a description of the assembling of the host in Aulis, such as Apollonios Rhodios gives at the opening of the *Argonautica*, rather than a review of the army before Troy. Expressions such as ἀγε νῆας, νέες ἐστί-χρώντο, are out of place when used of ships which have for ten years been drawn up on land. When circumstances have changed, as with Achilles, Philoktetes, Protesilaos, the adaptation to the *Iliad* is made in the most superficial manner. Moreover, the Catalogue does not agree with the *Iliad* in the names of heroes and tribes. Not merely do many tribes, cities, and heroes named in the Catalogue not reappear in the *Iliad*, while cities named in the *Iliad* (e.g. the whole list of I 150-52) are not mentioned in the Catalogue; but the whole perspective of the Catalogue is entirely different from that of the *Iliad*. Here Boiotia takes the first place, both in order and in the number of cities named; elsewhere it hardly receives a passing notice. The Arkadians, never named again, here bring the large contingent of sixty ships; and so with many other cases. But it has been pointed out by Niese that all the heroes named in the Catalogue played their parts in other portions of the Epic Cycle. The conclusion is that the Catalogue originally formed an introduction to the whole Cycle, and was composed for that portion of it which, as worked up into a separate poem, was called the *Kypria*, and related the beginning of the Tale of Troy, and the mustering of the fleet at Aulis.

Another point essential to observe is that in the Catalogue alone the localization of the heroes is consistently carried out. Elsewhere in the *Iliad* they are heroes of Greece at large, not of particular towns, save as rare exceptions, notably Odysseus and Idomeneus. Agamemnon himself is only three times brought into connexion with Mykenai (H 180, I 44, A 46), Aias once with Salamis (H 199). Diomedes never has a kingdom at all, but is called an Aitolian, who has had to flee from his home. The whole Catalogue contains an appropriation to the different Greek states of the heroes of Troy. This can hardly have been founded on old local tradition; for it is noteworthy that few Trojan warriors received local honours in Greece proper; Diomedes was worshipped in the cities of Italy, Achilles on the shores of the Black Sea. It would seem, therefore, that the partitioning was not carried out till after the early days of colonization.

Moreover, it is clear that considerable difficulty was felt in the apportionment. Though Agamemnon is 'king of all Argos and many isles,' the realm of Diomedes is carved out of his kingdom of Argos and contains the chief island. Achilles receives only three towns, one of which (Trachis) is in Lokris, and should therefore belong to the Lokrian Aias; another (Alos) is in the very middle of the towns ascribed to Protesilaos. The Phthians are followers of Philoktetes and Protesilaos, not of Achilles, in N 686-99; cf. B 695, 704, 727. So the towns given to Eurypylos (734 ff.) lie in the midst of those of Eumelos; indeed, as Strabo notes with astonishment, the Fountain Hypereia given to Eurypylos lies inside the town of Pherai which belongs to Eumelos. Philoktetes has the towns in Magnesia, but the Magnetes, who are expressly located in the same district, come separately under Prothoos. So again the towns given to the Lapith Polypoites are all Perrhaibian, but the Perrhaibians appear separately under the leadership of Gouneus. All these difficulties, it will be seen, occur in Thessaly; the rest of Greece is at least not discordant with itself, though the name and city of Eurytos of Oichalia are transferred bodily from Thessaly to the Peloponnesos. So far as the Catalogue goes,

therefore, appearances are decidedly against the theory which has lately found much support, that all the heroes of the *Iliad* were originally Thessalian, and had been only at a later date spread over all Greece; it seems that it was precisely in Thessaly that there was least clear local tradition.

It is impossible to discuss here the historical questions raised by all these perplexities. It must be sufficient to point out that on the whole the author of the Catalogue studiously preserves an ante-Dorian standpoint. It is only in one or two slight indications that he betrays any knowledge of the change brought about in Greece by the Dorian invasion. The clearest of these is the presence of the Herakleid Tlepolemos in Rhodes, with the characteristic three-fold division of his people. And Thucydides long ago pointed out the difficulty caused by the presence of the Boiotians in Boiotia; for according to the legend they settled there only twenty years before the Dorian invasion, and sixty years after the fall of Troy. He concludes that an ἀποδασμός must have come in advance of the main body, and taken part in the Trojan war.

It seems hopeless with our present means to give even an approximate date for the composition of the Catalogue. There can be little doubt that some of the material at least is old, though in its present form it must have been worked over at a late date. For the unmistakable traces of Athenian influence see the *Prolegomena*.

The canonical position held by the Catalogue in Greece in matters of inter-state law is best illustrated by the famous story alluded to by Aristotle (*Rhet.* xv.), that the possession of Salamis was disputed between Athens and Megara, and after a war was referred to the arbitration of Sparta. The Athenians urged in their pleadings the evidence of B 557-8 (οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τῷ Σόλωνι συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι τὴν Ὀμήρου δόξαν· ἐμβαλόντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔπος εἰς νεῶν κατάλογον ἐπὶ τῆς δίκης ἀναγνῶναι· Αἶας δὲ κτλ. *Plut. Solon* x. 2). Schol. B adds other instances, saying that Abydos gained Sestos from Athens by quoting l. 836, that Miletos gained Mykalessos from Priene by the aid of 868, and that Homer 'presented Kalydon to the Aitolians, in a dispute with the Aiolians, by mentioning it in the Aitolian Catalogue' (640). There seems to be no independent confirmation of any of these stories, however.

It will be seen that the Catalogue is arranged on a sort of concentric system, the enumeration passing from Boiotia NW. to Phokis, then E. to Euboea, S. to Attica, W. through the islands to Mykene and Sparta, Pylos, Arkadia, Elis, and the Western Islands and Aitolia. Then a fresh start is made with Crete, and a round is taken by Rhodes and the Sporades (no mention being made of the Cyclades) to Thessaly, which ends the list.



Βοιωτία ἢ κατάλογος νεῶν.

Βοιωτῶν μὲν Πηνέλεως καὶ Λήϊτος ἦρχον  
 Ἄρκεσίλαός τε Προθοήνωρ τε Κλονίος τε, 495  
 οἳ θ' Ὑρίην ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐλίδα πετρήεσαν  
 Σχοῖνόν τε Σκῶλόν τε πολύκνημόν τ' Ἐτεωνόν,  
 Θέσπειαν Γραϊάν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησόν,  
 οἳ τ' ἄμφ' Ἄρμ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Εἰλέσιον καὶ Ἐρύθρας,  
 οἳ τ' Ἐλεῶν εἶχον ἡδ' Ὑλην καὶ Πετεῶνα, 500  
 Ὠκαλέην Μεδεῶνά τ', ἐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,  
 Κώπας Εὐτρησίν τε πολυτρήωνά τε Θίσβην,  
 οἳ τε Κορώνειαν καὶ ποιήενθ' Ἀλίартον,  
 οἳ τε Πλάταιαν ἔχον ἡδ' οἳ Γλίσαντ' ἐνέμοντο,  
 οἳ θ' Ὑποθήβας εἶχον, ἐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον, 505  
 Ὅγχηστόν θ' ἱερόν, Ποσιδηῖον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος,  
 οἳ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον, οἳ τε Μίδειαν

494-877 *om.* DTU Pap. β (506-877 added in *U* by later hand). 496. οἳ εὐρίην  
*τινές* Schol. A (v. Ludw.). 497. πολύκνημόν: πολύκρημόν Bekk. *An.*  
 865, 25. 498. θέσπειαν P. || εὐρύχωρον GHJP. 500. εἶχον: ὥκου P. ||  
 ἄλην J (γρ. ὕλην). 502. θίσβην: μέσσην Zen.: θέσβην P. 503. ποιήεντ'  
 ἀλίартον PR. 505. ὑπὸ θήβας CJPR Strabo (and οἱ πλείους Eust.). 506.  
 ἄλσος: ἄστυ Schol. Ap. Rhod. iii. 1242. 507. ἄρνην: ἄσκηρην Zen.: ἐνιοι  
 τάρνην *ap.* Strabo, p. 413.

496. The available information about the following towns will be found in Frazer's *Pausanias* vol. v., viz.: Hyria p. 68, Aulis 72, Skolos 21, Thespeia 140, Mykalessos 66, Harma 62, Erythrai 2, Eleon 65, Kopai 131, Thisbe 162, Koroneia 170, Haliartos 164, Plataia 8, Glisas 60, Onchestos 139, Arne 208, Mideia 567, Anthedon 92, Aspledon 195, Orchomenos 180.

502. πολυτρήωνα: Chandler was led to the discovery of the ruins of Thisbe (near the coast of the Corinthian gulf) by the number of pigeons which haunted them, as they do to this day (Frazer v. p. 162).

505. Ὑποθήβας, apparently meant for a lower Thebes in the plain, an offshoot from the great city which we are to regard as still lying waste after its destruction by the Epigoni.

506. For the grove of Poseidon at Onchestos, and the curious customs connected with it, see *Hymn. Apoll.* 230, and Allen *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 247.

507. No Arne was known in Boiotia in historical times, the only known Arne being in Thessaly. Strabo takes this to be the prehistoric name of Ptoon, Pausanias of Chaironeia (Frazer v. p. 208). Zen. read Ἀσκηρην, but Ar. objected that Hesiod's birthplace, χεῖμα

Νίσάν τε ζαθέην Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν·  
 τῶν μὲν πεντήκοντα νέες κίον, ἐν δὲ ἐκάστη  
 κούροι Βοιωτῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι βαῖνον. 510  
 οἳ δ' Ἀσπληδόνα ναῖον ἰδ' Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύειον,  
 τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος, υἱὲς Ἄρηος,  
 οὓς τέκεν Ἀστυόχη δόμῳ Ἄκτορος Ἀζειδαο,  
 παρθένος αἰδοίη, ὑπερώϊον εἰσαναβάσα,  
 Ἄρηϊ κρατερῶϊ· ὁ δέ οἱ παρελέξατο λάθρη· 515  
 τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο.  
 αὐτὰρ Φωκῶν Σχεδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον,  
 υἱέες Ἰφίτου μεγαθύμου Ναυβολίδαο,  
 οἳ Κυπάρισσον ἔχον Πυθῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν  
 Κρίσαν τε ζαθέην καὶ Δαυλίδα καὶ Πανοπήα, 520  
 οἳ τ' Ἀνεμώρειαν καὶ Τάμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο,  
 οἳ τ' ἄρα παρ ποταμὸν Κηφισὸν δῖον ἔναιον,  
 οἳ τε Λίλαιαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισοῖο·  
 τοῖς δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.  
 οἳ μὲν Φωκῶν στίχας ἴστασαν ἀμφιέποντες, 525  
 Βοιωτῶν δ' ἔμπλην ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ θωρήσσοντο.

508. ΝΙΣΑΝ: nissan HPS: ἰσόν, κρεῦσάν, νῦσάν, φαρὰς τε ζαθέας *ap.* Strabo.

511. ἀσπληδόν' ἔναιον CGJQU Eton. Mosc. 1, Vr. b (-πλήδον'). 512. ΤΩΝ: τῶνδ' Cant. 516. τοῖς Ar. Ω: τῶν Δ (*supr.* οἱς) HPRSU. || τριάκοντα G.

517. ΦΩΚΗΩΝ and ΦΩΚΕΙΩΝ Ar. διχῶς: ΦΩΚΗΩΝ H (*supr.* εἰ over ἡ). 518. υἱὲς GS. || αἰβολίδαο J (*post ras.*, γρ. ναυβολίδαο J<sup>m</sup>): ναυολίδαο Bar. 520.

κρίσαν P (second c inserted) QS Eust. || ΔΑΥΛΙΔΑ: τινὲς ἀνακρίδα Schol. Soph. O.T. 733. || ΠΑΝΟΠΗΑ: ΠΑΝΟΠΤΕΩΝ (?) Zen., ἀμετρον ποιῶν τὸν στίχον (An.). 521.

τινὲς ἀνεμώλειαν Strabo. 522. ἄρ R. || ΚΗΦΙΣΣΩΝ PQU. || ἔβαινον L (P<sup>1</sup> ? corr. to ἔναιον). 523. ΠΗΓΑΙΣ G. || ΚΗΦΙΣΣΟΙΟ PQU Strabo. 524. δ' *om.* P. ||

ΤΕΣΣΕΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ Δ: ΤΕΤΤΑΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ L. 525. ἔστασαν CP (corr. from ἔτασαν) S: ἔσαν R.

κακή, θέρει ἀργαλήη, could not be called πολυστάφυλος. The Thessalian Arne was the original home of the Boiotians, acc. to Thuc. i. 12.

508. ἐσχατόωσαν, as lying on the Euboic sea. No Nisa in Boiotia was known in the classical period; hence the conjectures recorded by Strabo. The name suggests Nisaia, the port of Megara; this territory, not named elsewhere in the Catalogue, may once have belonged to Boiotia. Cf. Paus. i. 39. 5 τῇ πόλει Μέγαρα ὄνομα γενέσθαι, πρότερον Νίσαι καλουμένην.

511. The territory of the Minyai was afterwards part of Boiotia. For Orchomenos see I 381. The local name was

Ἐρχομενός: cf. note on 605. Ares was the tribal god of the great tribe of the Minyai, and hence the two chiefs claim descent from him.

514. αἰδοίη, there was no dishonour in the love of a god. ὑπερ. εἰσαν. goes with τέκε in the sense *conceived*, as 742. Compare II 184.

518. Ἰφίτου: read Ἰφίτοο by a certain restoration; the second syllable of the name is short, see P 306. For this form of the gen. see H. G. § 98, and for lengthening of the short vowel before initial μ, § 371.

519. Kyparissos, acc. to Paus. x. 36. 5 the later Antikyra. Pytho is of course Delphi. For Krisa see Frazer *Paus.*

Λοκρῶν δ' ἡγεμόνευεν Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας,  
 μείων, οὐ τι τόσος γε ὅσος Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,  
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ μείων· ὀλίγος μὲν ἦν, λινοθώρηξ,  
 ἐγχείημι δ' ἐκέκαστο Πανέλληνας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς· 530  
 οἱ Κῦνόν τ' ἐνέμοντ' Ὀπόεντά τε Καλλίαρὸν τε  
 Βῆσσαν τε Σκάρφην τε καὶ Αὐγειαὺς ἐρατεινὰς  
 Τάρφην τε Θρόνιον τε Βοαγρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα·  
 τῶι δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο  
 Λοκρῶν, οἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἱέρης Ἐυβοίης. 535  
 οἱ δ' Ἐύβοιαν ἔχον μένεα πνεύοντες Ἀβαντες,  
 Χαλκίδα τ' Εἰρέτριάν τε πολυστάφυλόν θ' Ἰστίαίαν  
 Κήρινθόν τ' ἔφαλον Δίου τ' αἰπὺν πτολίεθρον,  
 οἳ τε Κάρυστον ἔχον ἠδ' οἱ Στύρα ναιετάεσκον,  
 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευ' Ἐλεφήνωρ ὄζος Ἄρρος, 540  
 Χαλκωδοντιάδης, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸς Ἀβάντων.  
 τῶι δ' ἅμ' Ἀβαντες ἔποντο θοοί, ὅπιθεν κομώοντες,

527. ὀϊλῆος Ar. Ω: ὁ Ἰλῆος Zen. G. 528 (i.e. 528-30) ἀθ. Zen. 529-30  
 ἀθ. Ar. 529. μεῖζων H. || λινοθώραξ CGQ. 530. ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ: ἄν'  
 Ἕλληνας Schol. Thuc. i. 3. 531. κύρνον L. || οἳ τε κύνον ἐν. G. 532. Βῆσσαν  
 Zen. GPR Vr. b, Mosc. 1, Laud.: cβῆσσαν C Eton. 534. ΤΩΙ: ΤΩΝ G. 535.  
 ΠΕΡΗΝ: ΠΟΛΙΝ Q: ΠΕΡΑΝ G. 536-7. οἳ δ' εὐβοίαν ἔχον καὶ χαλκίδα τ'  
 εἰρετρίαν τε Strabo. 537. χαλκιδ' ἐρέτρείαν τε Steph. Byz. || τ' ἰστίαίαν A (ε  
 ἰστίαίαν A<sup>m</sup>, T.W.A.). 538. κήριθόν PQR. 539. ΝΑΙΕΤΑΕΣΚΟΝ QR:  
 ΝΑΙΕΤΑΣΚΟΝ Ω. 540. ΤΩΝ δ' GQ. || αὐ G. 542. ΤΩΙ: ΤΩΝ J.

v. p. 459, Daulis 222, Panopeus 216, Hyampolis 442, Lilaia 410.

528-30 were rejected partly on account of the obvious tautology, partly because of the word Πανέλληνας, which implies the later extension of the name of the Thessalian Ἕλληνες to all the Greeks. ΛΙΝΟΘΩΡΗΞ, which recurs in 830, seems to mean 'wearing a linen chiton instead of a breastplate.' Paus. saw such linen 'breastplates' at Olympia (vi. 19. 7) and elsewhere (i. 21. 7, with Frazer's note); cf. Alkaios, fr. 15. 5. Iphikrates armed the Athenians with linen instead of metal breastplates to make them more rapid in movement; and this agrees with the character of light infantry and bowmen which is attributed to the Lokrians in N 714, but is hardly consistent with the praise of Aias the Less as a spearman; in N 712 he, as a hoplite, is separated from his followers. He does nothing in actual battle to justify the praise in 530.

535. ΠΕΡΗΝ, *over against*, as Χαλκίδος Πέραν Aisch. Ag. 190. It might, however, mean 'beyond,' if we suppose that the poet's point of view is that of an Asiatic Greek.

537. Ἰστίαίαν, trisyllable by synizesis, as Αἰγυπτίας I 382, δ 83. Cf. Ἰστιαίεύς μ' ἀνέθηκεν at the beginning of a hexameter in an inscr. from Delphi; where, however, we should naturally have supposed that the diphthong is shortened before the following vowel, as in αἶος N 275, γαῖος Hes. Theog. 15, etc.

540. ὄζος Ἄρρος, commonly expl. *scion of Ares*, cf. ἔρρος *sprout*, thence *child*, Pind. and Trag.; so Θησείδα ὄζω Ἀθηνῶν Eur. Hec. 125. But it is far more probably explained by Schulze (Q. E. p. 498) as *companion, follower* (ὄ- = ἅμα, cf. on 765, -ς- = σδ-, \*sed, root of ὁδός: cf. Hesych. ὄξεια· θεραπεία, ἄοξοι· ὑπηρέται).

542. ὅπιθεν κομώοντες: τὰ ὅπισω μέρη τῆς κεφαλῆς κομῶντες ἀνδρέας χάριν. ἴδιον

αἰχμηταί, μεμαῶτες ὀρεκτῆισιν μελίησι  
θώρηκας ῥήξειν δῆϊων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι·

τῶι δ' ἄμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο.

545

οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐνκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,  
δῆμον Ἐρεχθίδος μεγαλήτορος, ὃν ποτ' Ἀθήνη  
θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα·  
καδ' δ' ἐν Ἀθηναίῃς εἴσεν, ἐὼι ἐνὶ πύονι νηῶι·  
ἔνθα δέ μιν ταύροις καὶ ἄρνειοῖς ἰλάονται  
κούροι Ἀθηναίων περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν·  
τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνεν υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς.

550

543. ὀρεκτοῖσι Q. 544. θώρηκας P. || ῥήσσειν Strabo. || στήθεσφι(ν) PR.  
549 *om.* Pap. a. || ἀθήνη P: ἀθήναις G. || ἐνὶ: ἐν ACHQS Eton. Laud. Vr. a b. ||  
νηῶ: δῆμω P (γρ. νηῶι) R: ναῶ U (*supr.* η). 550. ἰλάσκονται P Vr. A:  
ἰλάοντο S *supr.* 552. τῶν δ' CGJQ Eton. || αὖ G Eton.

δὲ τοῦτο τῆς τῶν Εὐβοέων κοινῆς, τὸ  
ἔπαισεν τὰς τρίκας βαθείας ἔχειν, Schol. A.  
So of two Libyan tribes, οἱ μὲν Μάχλυνες  
τὰ ὀπίσω κομῶνσι τῆς κεφαλῆς οἱ δὲ Αὐσέες  
τὰ ἔμπροσθε, Herod. iv. 180. Compare  
Θρήϊκες ἀκρόκομοι Δ 533; the Abantes  
themselves seem to have been a Thracian  
tribe, Strabo x. 445, Herod. i. 146.  
These seem all to indicate that part of  
the head was shaved according to a tribal  
fashion, such as is familiar to us in the  
case of the Chinese, whereas the usual  
Greek practice was to let the hair grow  
long all over; the κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
being thus distinguished from many or  
most of their barbarian neighbours.  
Compare Sir A. Lyall's description of  
the Rajput chief, 'girl with sword and  
shield, and having the usual tail of  
clansmen with their whiskers knotted  
over the top of their heads . . as  
particular about his eponymous ancestor  
as if he were a Dorian Herakleid'  
(*Asiatic Studies* p. 154).

543. Strabo aptly refers to this line in  
connexion with the curious compact  
between Chalkis and Eretria in the  
Lelantine war, *τηλεβόλοι μὴ χρῆσθαι*.

544. It seems necessary here to scan  
Δῆϊων as an anapaest; otherwise the  
line is δωδεκασύλλαβος. See note on  
I 674.

547. Δᾶμον: here in the strict local  
sense, *realm*. It probably comes from  
root δα- of δαῖω and means the common  
land of the tribe *apportioned* for tillage  
among the tribesmen, as is still done  
in the Slavonic village communities;  
cf. on M 422. So Nausithoos ἐδάσσατ'

ἀρούρας § 10. In a still earlier stage  
δῆμος indicates a yet more complete  
communism, meaning the common stock  
of what we should call 'personal'  
property, e.g. τ 197 δημόθεν, A 704 ἐς  
δῆμον, and P 250 δήμιος, A 231 δημοβόρος,  
Σ 301 καταδημοβορῆσαι. (Mangold in  
Curt. *St.* vi. 403-13.)

548. τέκε—ἄρουρα is of course paren-  
thetical—an allusion to Athenian  
autochthony—and Ἀθήνη is the subject  
of εἴσε. The temples of Athene Polias  
and Erechtheus were always under one  
roof. So η 81, where Athene repairs to  
Athens, she δύνεν Ἐρεχθίδος πυκινὸν δόμον.  
This of course means that two different  
worships, one presumably pre-Hellenic,  
had been fused; only the character of  
Athene and the pride of autochthony  
alike precluded the usual device by  
which the older hero or god was made  
the son of the Olympian. ζεῖδωρος,  
the *graingiver*, from ζεῖα, not, of  
course, *life-giving*. νίονι, sc. with  
offerings.

550. μιν, Erechtheus; for cows and  
ewes were offered to female goddesses.  
The festival where these offerings were  
made was the (annual) 'lesser Pan-  
athenaia,' in honour of the two founders  
of agriculture. This naturally finds  
mention in the poems whose final  
redaction it appears to have occasioned.

552. Πετεῶο, gen. of Πετεῶς, as Ξ 489  
Πηγελέω. The three following lines  
were rejected by Zenodotos, as was 558  
by Aristarchos also, in obedience to the  
persistent tradition, evidently founded  
on truth (see *Prolegomena*), that they



τῶι δ' οὐ πώ τις ὁμοίος ἐπιχθόνιος γένετ' ἀνὴρ  
κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας·

Νέστωρ οἶος ἔριζεν· ὁ γὰρ προγενέστερος ἦεν.

555

τῶι δ' ἅμα πεντήκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας·

στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἔν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες.

οἱ δ' Ἀργός τ' εἶχον Τίρυνθά τε τειχιόεσσαν,

Ἑρμιόνην Ἀσίνην τε βαθὺν κατὰ κόλπον ἐχούσας,

560

553-5 ἀθ. Zen. 553. δ' om. R. 554. κοσμεῖσθαι ε' PR. 555. νέστωρ  
δ' L. 557. ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα: τινὲς ἄγε τρισκαίδεκα Eust. 558 om. AH<sup>U</sup>  
Pap. α, Cant<sup>b</sup> Vr. b (Πεισίστρατος παρέγραψε τὸν στίχον τοῦτον ἐνταῦθα, ὅσπερ οὐκ  
ἀρέσκει τοῖς κριτικοῖς Par. α). || ἵσταντο: στήσαντο L. 560. ἑρμιόνην τ' PR. ||  
ἀσίην *Certamen Hom. et Hes.* 282.

were an Athenian 'interpolation.' They must, however, be regarded as an integral portion of our (Attic) text. Herodotos mentions them (vii. 161), and Aischines (*Ktes.* 185) quotes the inscription set up by the Athenians in honour of the victory over the Persians at the Strymon, beginning—

ἐκ ποτε τῇσδε πόλῃος ἅμ' Ἀτρείδῃσι  
Μενεσθεὺς

ἦγείτο ζᾶθεον Τρωϊκὸν ἅμ πεδίον,  
ὅν ποθ' Ὀμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα  
χαλκοχιτώνων  
κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ἄνδρα μολεῖν.

There can be little doubt that they have ousted an older version of this part of the Catalogue, in which the various independent demes of Attica, especially Eleusis, were mentioned by name. The praise given to Menestheus in no way corresponds to the rest of the *Iliad*. In Δ 326-48 Agamemnon depreciates him, and he is named again only M 331, 373, N 195, 690, O 331, always among secondary heroes. There seems to have been no genuine Attic legend about him at all.

558. Here again criticism attacked the text at an early date (see *Prolegomena*), and seems, from the number of MSS. which omit the line, to have affected the tradition in prae-Aristarchean times. But the text was certainly current in the time of Aristotle, who alludes (*Rhet.* i. 15) to the story about the arbitration with Megara, to which the line is essential. According to this, Solon and not Peisistratos must have produced the interpolation as existing in the already established text.

But no doubt the whole story of the arbitration is a fiction, and the Athenians won Salamis by force of arms. Strabo evidently doubts the tale (ix. 394), οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τοιαύτην τινα σκῆψασθαι μαρτυρίαν παρ' Ὀμήρου δοκοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ Μεγαρεῖς ἀντιπαρωιδῆσαι αὐτοῖς οὕτως·

Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν νέας ἐκ τε  
Πολίχνης

ἐκ τ' Αἰγειρούσσης Νισαῖας τε Τριπόδων τε.

It is evident from this that the Attic version had supplanted all others at an early date, and that the Megarians had no authentic version of their own, but could only suggest what might have stood here. The fact that the line cannot be original is patent from the fact that Aias in the rest of the *Iliad* is not encamped next the Athenians, see Δ 327 ff., N 681. Indeed, the way in which the great hero is dismissed in a couple of lines, without even his father's name, sounds like a mocking cry of triumph from Athens over the conquest of the island of the Aiakidae. No line in the *Iliad* can be more confidently dated than this to the sixth century.

559. **τειχιόεσσαν**: the 'Cyclopean' walls of Tiryns are as great a marvel at the present day as in the time of Homer. But this is the only mention of the town in H.; the fame of it must have died out long before the end of the Mykenaeae epoch.

560. **κατεχούσας**, *enfolding the deep* (Saronic) *gulf*. The word applies of course to the territories, not the cities. There is no sufficient analogy for taking *ἐχούσας* by itself as intrans. = *lying*. The Argive domain, viz. that centring in

Τροίξῃν' Ἡϊόνας τε καὶ ἀμπελόεντ' Ἐπίδauρον,  
οἳ τ' ἔχον Αἴγιναν Μάσητά τε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,  
τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης  
καὶ Σθένελος Καπανῆος ἀγακλειτοῦ φίλος υἱός·  
τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' Εὐρύαλος τρίτατος κίεν, ἰσόθεος φώς, 565  
Μηκιστέως υἱὸς Ταλαϊονίδαο ἄνακτος.  
συμπάντων δ' ἡγείτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
τοῖσι δ' ἄμ' ὀγδώκοντα μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο.  
οἳ δὲ Μυκῆνας εἶχον, ἐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,  
ἀφνειὸν τε Κόρινθον ἐκτιμένας τε Κλεωνάς, 570  
Ὀρνειάς τ' ἐνέμοντο Ἀραιθυρέην τ' ἑρατεινὴν  
καὶ Σικυῶν', ὅθ' ἄρ' Ἀδρηστος πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευεν,  
οἳ θ' Ὑπερησίνην τε καὶ αἰπεινὴν Γονόεσσαν  
Πελλήνην τ' εἶχον, ἣδ' Αἴγιον ἀμφενέμοντο

562. Οἳ τ' ἔχον: Νῆσόν τ' *ap.* Strabo p. 375, *Cert. Hom.* 284 and γρ. J. 563.  
τῶν δ' CGQ. || αὖ G. || After this is added τυδείδης οὐ πατὴρ ἔχων μένος οἰνεῖδαι  
in *Cert. Hom.* 286. 565. εὐρύπυλος *Cert. Hom.* 288. 566. ΜΗΚΙΣΤΕΩΣ [AG]J  
(*supr.* ω). 568. After this ἐν δ' ἄνδρες πολέμοιο δαίμονες ἐστιχόμεντο, ἀργεῖοι  
ΛΙΝΟΣΩΡΗΚΕΣ ΚΕΝΤΡΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΙΟ *Cert. Hom.* 292-3. 571. ὈΡΝΕΙΑΣ: ἈΡΝΕΙΑΣ J. ||  
ἈΡΑΙΟΥΡΕΗΝ τ': τ' *om.* JP: ΠΑΡΑΙΟΥΡΕΗΝ τ' Zen. 572. ΣΙΚΥΩΝΑ PQR. || ἄρ'  
*om.* PR. || ἈΔΡΑΣΤΟΣ GU<sup>1</sup>. || ἘΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΕΝ QRU: ἘΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΕΝ CGS: ἘΜΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΕΝ  
J Lips. Vr. a. 573. ὙΠΕΡΗΣΙΗΝ GHJ Pap. a, Eton. Lips.: ὙΠΕΡΕΙΣΙΗΝ QU (*supr.*  
H): ὙΠΕΡΡΑΣΙΗΝ Schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 176. || ΓΟΝΟΕΣΣΑΝ: ΔΟΝΟΕΣΣΑΝ 'before  
Peisistratos,' acc. to Pausanias vii. 26.

the plain of Argos, is split into a western and an eastern half, to provide a kingdom for Diomedes, and the name "Ἄργος" is evidently used of the city, which became known only in Dorian times, after the fall of Mykene. For the following towns see Frazer *Paus.*: Hermione iii. 293, Asine and Eionai iii. 299, Troizen iii. 273, Epidaurus iii. 259, Mases iii. 298, Kleonai iii. 82, Orneai iii. 217, Araithyrea iii. 76, Sikyon iii. 43, Hyperesia, identified with Aigira iv. 176 (Gonoessa, see *Paus.* ii. 4. 4), Pellene iv. 181, Aigion iv. 159, Helike iv. 165.

564. ἀρακλειτοῦ, as one of the Seven against Thebes, Δ 404-10.

566. Ταλαϊονίδαο, son of Talaos. This is one of a number of patronymics formed with a double termination; another case of -ων + ιδης is Ἰαπειτιονίδης (Hes.). Forms like Πηληϊάδης, Φηρητιάδης, etc., are quite similar; they contain the suff. -το- (which itself is capable of being used for a patronymic, as Τελαμωνίως Αἴας) + ιδης: cf. on A 1. For the double suffix compare Κορινθ-ια-κό-ς (Angermann C.

St. i. 1). ΜΗΚΙΣΤΕΩΣ, i.e. Μηκιστῆος. See on A 489.

568. The second added line (v. *supra*) seems to come from a seventh century (?) oracle, given in *Anth. Pal.* 14. 73. Cf. note on 528.

570. Ar. observed that when the poet speaks in his own name (here and N 664) he calls the city 'Corinth'; but puts in the mouth of the hero Glaukos the older name 'Εφύρη, Z 152. See, however, note there.

572. πρῶτα: Adrastus, originally a local god, had according to the legend been driven from Argos, and dwelt with his grandfather in Sikyon, where he gained the royal power, but afterwards he returned and reigned in Argos. The worship of Adrastus at Sikyon was vigorous in the time of Kleisthenes (Herod. v. 67), and is also found at Megara (*Paus.* i. 43. 1), but the legends all locate him at Argos. Sikyon (locally Σεκυνών) seems to be a later name for the older Μηκωνή (Hes. *Theog.* 536).

Αἰγιαλόν τ' ἀνὰ πάντα καὶ ἀμφ' Ἑλίκην εὐρείαν, 575  
 τῶν ἑκατὸν νηῶν ἦρχε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 Ἀτρεΐδης. ἅμα τῷ γε πολὺ πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι  
 λαοὶ ἔποντ'· ἐν δ' αὐτὸς ἐδύσετο νώροπα χαλκὸν  
 κυδιῶν, πᾶσιν δὲ μετέπρεπεν ἡρώεσσιν,  
 οὔνεκ' ἄριστος ἔην, πολὺ δὲ πλείστους ἄγε λαούς. 580  
 οἱ δ' εἶχον κοίλῃν Λακεδαίμονα κητώεσσαν  
 Φᾶρίν τε Σπάρτην τε πολυτρήρωνά τε Μέσσην,  
 Βρυσείας τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐγείας ἐρατεινάς,  
 οἱ τ' ἄρ' Ἀμύκλας εἶχον Ἑλος τ' ἔφαλον πτολίεθρον,  
 οἱ τε Λάαν εἶχον ἡδ' Οἴτυλον ἀμφενέμεντο, 585  
 τῶν οἱ ἀδελφεὸς ἦρχε, βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος,  
 ἐξήκοντα νεῶν· ἀπάτερθε δὲ θωρήσσοντο.  
 ἐν δ' αὐτὸς κίεν ἡισι προθυμίησι πεποιθώς,  
 ὀτρύνων πολεμόνδε· μάλιστα δὲ ἴετο θυμῷ  
 τίσασθαι Ἑλένης ὀρμήματά τε στοναχάς τε. 590  
 οἱ δὲ Πύλον τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ἀρήνην ἐρατεινὴν

578. ἐδύσετο Ar. AH: γρ. [ἐδύ]σσετο J: ἐδύσατο Ω. 579-80 *ἀθ.* Zen.  
 579. πᾶσιν δὲ Ar. (in one ed.) Zen.: καὶ πᾶσι H Par. k: ὅτι πᾶσι(ν) Ω. 581.  
 τινὲς καιετάεσσαν (Zen. ? v. Ludwig). 582. φάρην GU (and τὰ πλεῖω τῶν ἀν-  
 τιγράφων Eust.). || μέεσσην: μέεσσην U (*supr.* ἢ μέεσσην): εἰςβην Max. Tyr.  
 583. Βρυσείας GJ. || αὐγείας τ' G. 585. οἴτυλον: ἥτυλον J: οἶ τύλον Tyrannio  
 P (and γρ. J): οἶ τύφον R (φ *in ras.*).

575. Αἰγιαλόν, the N. shore of Peloponnese, afterwards called Achaia. τῶν is gen. after νηῶν, *ships of these folk*.

578. νώροπα is found six times in *Il.* and twice in *Od.* (ω 467, 500), always as an epithet of χαλκόν. It is generally interpreted *gleaming, shining*, but the derivation of the word is quite uncertain, and of many interpretations that have been proposed none is convincing.

581. κοίλῃν Λ. κητώεσσαν, *L. lying low among the rifted hills*. κητώεσσαν perhaps refers to the numerous ravines which are characteristic of the Laconian mountains. There was another reading, attributed to Zen. by the scholiast on δ 1, καιετάεσσαν, which was explained to mean 'rich in καίετος' (said to be = καλαμνθός, *mint*), but might equally mean 'full of clefts,' from καιετοί (οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν ῥωγμοί, Strabo); cf. καίετα = ὀρύγματα ἢ τὰ ὑπὸ σεισμῶν καταρραγέντα χωρία, Hes., and καίετας, the gulf into which political criminals were cast at Sparta. See M. and R. on δ 1.

587. ἀπάτερθε, i.e. Menelaos' contin-

gent was independent of that ruled by his brother. For 590 see 356. The line, whatever be the interpretation of the gen. Ἑλένης, is far more naturally used of the chief sufferer Menelaos than of the Greek army at large.

591. The site of Nestor's Pylos was disputed from the earliest days between three cities of the name in W. Peloponnesos, one in Elis, one in Messenia (the modern Old Navarino), and one between the two in Triphylia. The present passage, and the localities named in Nestor's narrative, A 670 ff., seem clearly in favour of the Triphylian, which lay near the Alpheios. So too the mention of Alpheios in E 545 points in the same direction. On the other hand, the journey of Telemachos and Peisistratos from Pylos to Sparta with Pheraí as a halfway halt, in γ 485, δ 1, is only consistent with the Messenian Pylos; and the epithet ἡμαθέες implies a situation on the sea-shore, while both the Elean and Triphylian towns were in hilly places. So again the legends of

καὶ Ὀρόν Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον καὶ ἔκτιτον Λιπύ,  
καὶ Κυπαρισσήεντα καὶ Ἀμφιγένηϊαν ἔναιον  
καὶ Πτελεὸν καὶ Ἔλος καὶ Δώριον, ἔνθά τε μούσαι  
ἀντόμεναι Θάμυριν τὸν Ὀρήϊκα παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς,

595

592. ἔΚΤΙΤΟΝ : ἔΚΤΙΜΕΝ' CG (*supr.* ON) : ΕΥΚΤΙΣΤΟΝ PU : ΕΥΚΤΗΤΟΝ Q. 594.  
ΠΕΛΕΩΝ S. || ἔΝΘΑ ΓΕ G. 595. Θάμυριν : γρ. ἄμυριν J.

the migration of the Minyan Neleus from Thessaly all take him to Triphylia; yet Pindar speaks of him as Μεσσήνιος γέρον, and the Messenian site was clearly that generally accepted by the fifth century. It is natural to suppose that, so far as the legends may have a historical basis, the Triphylian Pylos was originally the home of Nestor, but that, in consequence perhaps of the Aitolian invasion, which took place in the W. Peloponnesos about the same time as the Dorian in the E. and supplanted the Epeians by the later Eleians, the Neleid clan were driven southward out of Triphylia, and took with them their legends and local names to a new home in Messenia. Some hypothesis of the sort seems required to account for the frequency of duplicate names in the region. The Homeric poems then contain traces of both the older and newer state of things. See M. and R. on γ 4, K. O. Müller *Orchomenos* pp. 357 ff., Strabo viii. 339 ff., where the problem is fully discussed. So far as they can be identified, all the towns here named are Triphylian, and Messenia is entirely ignored, unless with the scholia we take Messe (582), named among the towns of Lakonia, to mean Messene. But Paus. iii. 25. 9 testifies to a Messe near Tainaron, evidently the town here mentioned, though Strabo viii. 364 seems not to know of it. Christ has suggested that the list of Messenian towns named in I 149-56 may come from a lost part of the Catalogue dealing with Messenia. For the remaining sites see Frazer: Arene iii. 481, Αἰπύ (Aipeia) iii. 448, Κυπαρισεῖς iii. 462, Helos iii. 380, Dorion iii. 445, Oichalia iii. 408.

592. Ὀρόν, evidently the Ὀρυέσσα πόλις of A 711.

595. τὸν Ὀρήϊκα, *that Thracian*. Thamyris, like Orpheus, was one of the legendary Thracians who dwelt in Pieria at the foot of Olympos, and from whom the cultus of the Muses was said to come.

In *Rhesos* 921-25 the Muses speak of the time

ὅτ' ἤλθομεν γῆς χρυσόβωλον εἰς λέπας  
Πάργαον ὀργάνοισιν ἐξησκημένοι  
Μοῦσαι, μεγίστην εἰς ἔριν μελωιδίας  
δαινῶι σοφιστῇ Ὀρηκί, κάτυφλώσαμεν  
Θάμυριν, ὃς ἡμῶν πόλλ' ἐδέενασεν τέχνην.

It will be noticed that the *Rhesos* places the scene of the meeting in Thrace, and beyond question the legend was originally a northern one, transplanted southwards, perhaps, in the course of the same tribal migrations which carried the name of Olympos from Thessaly to Elis. In l. 730 below Eurytos and Oichalia are placed in Thessaly; and there also, according to Steph. Byz., Hesiod made Thamyris at home, in Δώτιον, the Dotian plain, a name which bears a curious resemblance to Δώριον. Commentators have generally tried to save the consistency of the Catalogue by supposing that Thamyris was a wandering bard, who found himself at Dorion, far away from the Thessalian Oichalia, in the course of his travels southward. But, apart from the fact that Homer knows nothing of wandering minstrels, and tells us only of bards attached to a particular chieftain's court, there is clear evidence that the Oichalia legend, which played an important part in the later Epos, was localized in Peloponnesos as well as in Thessaly; see φ 13 ff. (cf. θ 224) and Pherekydes in the scholia on Soph. *Trach.* 354. Pausanias iv. 2. 2 says that the Messenians claimed, in proof that theirs was the real Oichalia, possession of the bones of Eurytos. There was, however, yet a third claimant, near Eretria in Euboea, which was generally recognized by later poets, the Οἰχάλιας Ἀλωσις attributed to Kreophylos, Soph. *Trach.* 237 and Ap. Rhod. i. 87. We may therefore easily admit that the Catalogue recognizes two different localizations of the same legend, in preference to supposing, with Niese, that the compiler has fallen into a mere



Οἰχαλῖθην ἰόντα παρ' Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλῖθος·  
 στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν, εἴ περ ἂν αὐταὶ  
 μῦσαι ἀείδοιεν, κούραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο·  
 αἱ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὴν  
 θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν.  
 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·  
 τῷ δ' ἐνενήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νέες ἐστιχόωντο.

600

οἳ δ' ἔχον Ἀρκαδίην ὑπὸ Κυλλήνης ὄρος αἰπύ,  
 Αἰλύτιον παρὰ τύμβον, ἦν' ἄνδρες ἀγχιμαχῆται,  
 οἳ Φενεόν τ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀρχομενὸν πολύμηλον  
 Ῥίπην τε Στρατίνην τε καὶ ἡνεμόεσσαν Ἐνίσπην,  
 καὶ Τεγέην εἶχον καὶ Μαντινέην ἐρατεινήν,  
 Στύμφηλόν τ' εἶχον καὶ Παρρασίην ἐνέμοντο,  
 τῶν ἥρχ' Ἀγκαῖοιο πᾶϊς κρείων Ἀγαπήνωρ  
 ἐξήκοντα νεῶν· πολέες δ' ἐν νηϊ ἐκάστηι  
 Ἀρκάδες ἄνδρες ἔβαινον ἐπιστάμενοι πολεμίζειν.  
 αὐτὸς γὰρ σφιν δῶκεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων

605

610

597. ἐρχόμενος C. 600. κιθαριστὴν GHJPQU (S *supr.*) Vr. b, Mosc. 1.  
 601. τῶν δ' CQ. || αὖ G. 602. τῷ: τῶν S. 603. κυλλήνην S Vr. b.  
 608. παρρασίαν G. 612-4 ἄθ. Zen.

blunder through mistaking the name Dotion for the Messenian or Arkadian Dorion. The localization of this place is purely conjectural (Strabo viii. 350). The southern Oichalia was placed at or near Andania.

597. στεῦτο, *boasted*, see on Σ 191. This is the only case in H. of εἰ ἂν with opt., but there are 26 (or 28) of εἴ κε (*M. and T.* § 460, *H. G.* § 313). It is difficult to see that any particular shade is given by the particle. In accordance with Homeric usage it is more likely that the original sentence is to be conceived as νικήσω, εἴπερ ἂν ἀείδοιεν than to regard the opt. as representing a subj. of direct speech.

599. πηρός, a doubtful word, traditionally explained *blind*, as in Aesop 17 ἀνὴρ πηρός: cf. ἐτυφλώσαμεν in *Rhes.* ut sup. Others say *maimed*, deprived either of voice (so Ar.) or of the right hand, or more vaguely *helpless*; and in this general sense the word is common in later Greek. This certainly gives a better sense, for as Ar. says, comparing θ 64, blindness does not disable a bard. Indeed, music is always the natural profession for the blind. The τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ,

οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίω ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσση (Kynaithos?) of *Hymn. Apoll.* 172 naturally suggests itself. Teiresias, Daphnis and Stesichoros are other blind bards, acc. to the legends. αὐτὰρ is continuative, as 465, etc., and *moreover*. ἐκλέλαθον: for this trans. use of the redupl. aor. cf. O 60, and λελαχέιν always (H 80, X 343, etc.).

604. The Arkadians are never mentioned again in H. except H 134 in a tale of Nestor's, though their sixty ships formed one of the largest contingents to the army. The tomb of Aipytos son of Elatos is mentioned by Pausanias (viii. 16. 3) as being still shewn at the foot of the mountain Σηπία. See Pind. *Ol.* vi. 33. For Pheneos see Frazer iv. 235, Orchomenos 224, Tegea 422, Mantinea 201, Stymphalos 268, Parrhasia 306.

605. Coins and the inscription on the famous Plataian Tripod shew that, as with the Boiotian town (511), the old local name was Ἐρχομενός.

612-4 were obelized by Zenodotos; but they are obviously designed to meet a possible 'historic doubt,' and cohere with the rest of the paragraph. Nothing of the sort, however, is suggested for the

νῆας εὐστέλμους περάαν ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον,  
 Ἄτρεΐδης, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφὶ θαλάσσια ἔργα μεμήλει.  
 οἱ δ' ἄρα Βουπράσιόν τε καὶ Ἥλιδα διὰν ἔναιον, 615  
 ὅσσον ἐφ' Ἑρμῖν καὶ Μύρσινος ἐσχατώσα  
 πέτρῃ τ' Ὀλενίῃ καὶ Ἀλείσιον ἐντὸς ἔργει,  
 τῶν αὖ τέσσαρες ἀρχοὶ ἔσαν, δέκα δ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστωι  
 νῆες ἔποντο θοαί, πολέες δ' ἔμβαινον Ἐπειοί.  
 τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Θάλπιος ἡγησάσθην, 620  
 υἱὲς ὁ μὲν Κτεάτου, ὁ δ' ἄρ' Εὐρύτου, Ἀκτορίωνε·  
 τῶν δ' Ἀμαρυγκείδης ἦρχε κρατερὸς Διῶρης·  
 τῶν δὲ τετάρτων ἦρχε Πολύξεινος θεοειδής,  
 υἱὸς Ἀγασθένης Λύγχιᾶδο ἀνακτος.  
 οἱ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου Ἑχινάων θ' ἱεράων, 625  
 νήσων αἱ ναίουσι πέρην ἀλός, Ἥλιδος ἄντα,  
 τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε Μέγης ἀτάλαντος Ἀρηΐ,  
 Φυλεΐδης, ὃν τίκτε δίφιλος ἱππότη Φυλεύς,

616. ἐφ': ὑφ' Q Eton. Mosc. 1: ἡ G. || ὑρμῖνι Zen. || ἐσχατόεσσα R Vr. a.  
 617. ἀλῆσιον Steph. Byz. ap. Eust.: ἀλῆσιον Ar. on A 757. || ἑέργοι Vr. b<sup>2</sup>.  
 618. ἀρχαί J. 619. ἔβαινον PR. 621. ἄρ' om. CQ (γρ. ὁ δὲ εὐρύτου ἁ. J). ||  
 ἁκτορίωνε Ar. A(S *supr.*) U Par. e<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup>: ἁκτορίωνος Ω. 622. ἀμαρυγκλείδης  
 R (ἀμαρυγκείδης R<sup>m</sup>). 624. ἀγασθενέως PR. 626. αἱ: οἱ Zen. || πέραν G.  
 627. τῶν δ' CP Vr. A. || αὐ G.

Thessalian tribes, some of whom are as landlocked as the Arkadians.

615. See A 756 for Buprasion, the Olenian rock, and Aleision as landmarks of Elis, and Frazer *Paus.* iii. p. 466 for Hyrmine. The four localities in 616-7 seem to be regarded as being at the four corners of the valley known as κοίλη Ἥλιδος. There is a slight confusion of construction in ὅσσον ἐπὶ . . . ἐντὸς ἔργει, or, in other words, the object of ἔργει is not, as we should expect, and as we find in Ω 544, ὅσσον, but Ἥλιδα, to be supplied from the previous line. Instead of ὅσσον ἐπὶ, the usual phrase is ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ (I 12, H 451, O 358, etc.). The distance of ἐπὶ from the verb forbids explanation by tmesis, nor is ἐπεέργειν found elsewhere in H. There would seem to have been a fourfold tribal division of Elis. Ἐπειοί was the proper name for the inhabitants of Elis, A 671, the name Ἥλῆιοι having probably come in after the Dorian and Aitolian invasion.

621. Ἀκτορίωνε is properly the title

of Kteatos and Eurytos (not of course the same as in 596), as 'sons of Aktor,' at least as putative father. But the patronymic is here, as often, transferred to the grandsons; Αἰακίδης is a familiar case, and Priam is Δαρδανίδης from a yet more remote ancestor. The vulg. Ἀκτορίωνος probably comes from N 185 where only one brother is mentioned; here it is less suitable than the dual. For the curious legends about the sons of Aktor see A 709, Ψ 639.

626. αἱ, Zen. αἱ: but η 29 (δόμος) ναίει and the analogy of ναιετάν as applied to places by a sort of personification (Δ 45, α 404, etc.) are sufficient to justify the reading of Ar. and mss. So Soph. *Aj.* 597 ὦ κλεινὰ Σαλαμίς, σὺ μὲν που ναίεις ἀλίπλaktos κτλ. The Echinean islands as a matter of fact lie opposite Akarnania, a considerable distance N. of Elis; but the Homeric geography of the W. coast of Greece is apparently based on imperfect hearsay, not on knowledge. Dulichion cannot be identified. It can hardly here be Leukadia (Sta. Maura).

ὅς ποτε Δουλίχιδ' ἀπενάσσατο πατρὶ χολωθείς·  
τῶι δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.

630

αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἤγε Κεφαλλήνας μεγαθύμους,  
οἳ ῥ' Ἰθάκην εἶχον καὶ Νήριτον εἰνοσίφυλλον,  
καὶ Κροκύλει' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αἰγίλιπα τρηχεῖαν,  
οἳ τε Ζάκυνθον ἔχον ἢ δ' οἱ Σάμον ἀμφενέμοντο,  
οἳ τ' ἠπειρον ἔχον ἢ δ' ἀντιπέραι' ἐνέμοντο·

635

τῶν μὲν Ὀδυσσεὺς ἦρχε Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος·  
τῶι δ' ἅμα νῆες ἔποντο δυνώδεκα μιλτοπάρηιοι.

Αἰτωλῶν δ' ἠγείτο Θόας Ἀνδραίμονος υἱός,  
οἷ Πλευρῶν' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Ὀλλενον ἠδὲ Πυλῆνν  
Χαλκίδα τ' ἀγχίαλον Καλυδῶνά τε πετρῆεσαν·

640

629. δουλίχιον GS Lips. Vr. a, Mosc. 1. || ἀπενήσατο R: ἀπενάσατο PR<sup>m</sup>.  
631 ἀθ. Ar. ? (A has obelos but no schol.). 632. εἶχον om. PR, adding τ' ὥκουσιν  
at end of line. 633. κροκύλην Eton. || τραχεῖαν GJ (*supr.* η) U (*supr.* η).  
634. κάμην Zen. (ἀμετρον ποιῶν An.). || γρ. ἡδ' αἱ κάμην ἀμφινέμοντο Par. d.  
635. ἡδ' : οἳ δ' QS : οἳ τ' H. || ἀντιπέραν Vr. c, Mosc. 1 : ἀντιπέρα S.

629. Phyleus had to leave his home because he bore witness against his father Augeias, who endeavoured to cheat Herakles of the reward promised him for the cleansing of the stables. See Pind. *O.* xi. 31. In N 692, O 519 Meges is still king of the Epeians; the legend of his migration northwards to the coast of Aitolia looks like a reflex of the migration of the Aitolians S. to Elis. Such invasions were commonly justified as bringing back an expelled family to their old realm. The case of the Herakleidae is the most familiar, but there are many others.

632. εἰνοσίφυλλον = ἐν-Φοσι-, from Φοθ, root of ὠθέω, etc.; 'making its foliage to shake,' i.e. with trembling leafage. So Hesych. *κινησίφυλλον*, and cf. *ἐννοσίγαιος*. Νήριτον, ν 351, ι 21. The four places named in these two lines seem to be all on the island of Ithaka (Ἰθάκη being the chief town), though the Greek geographers located Krokyleia and Aigilips on the mainland. Κάμος is Kephallenia.

635. ἀντιπέραια, the coast of the mainland opposite Ithaka (regarded as part of Elis). That the inhabitants of the islands had such possessions on the mainland is consistent with δ 635, where Noëmon speaks of crossing over to Elis, ἐνθά μοι ἵπποι | δῶδεκα θήλειαι, ὑπὸ δ' ἡμίονοι ταλαεργοί. But there can

hardly have been Κεφαλλῆνες there. This was no doubt the ground for the (probable) athetesis of 631 by Ar.

637. μιλτοπάρηιοι (here and ι 125), with cheeks painted with vermillion. This does not indicate so much a personification of the ship as a literal painting of a face upon the bows, the red paint being used as a primitive approximation to the colour of flesh. So *φοινικοπάρηιος* λ 124, ψ 271. Though this practice is not expressly recorded otherwise in H., there can be little doubt that it existed then as it did, and still does, all over the world, from Chinese junks to Mediterranean and Portuguese fishing boats, to say nothing of its survival in the 'figure-head.' In early vase-paintings the ship of war has an animal's head for the bows, generally a pig's snout. The original idea seems to have been to give the ship eyes with which to see its way. (See Assmann *Jahrb. d. d. arch. Inst.* iv. 100, Torr *Ancient Ships* pp. 37, 69.) Of course the actual painting may in Homer's ships have degenerated into a purely conventional daub; but the epithet in question shews that even in that case some consciousness of its origin had survived. Ar. remarked ἡδὴ ἢ ἐκ χρωμάτων μῆλιν ἢ ἐπιπολάσασα πρὸς τὴν ζωγραφικὴν. Cf. Herod. iii. 58 τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες ἦσαν μιλτοπάρηες.

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' Οἰνῆος μεγαλήτορος νίεες ἦσαν,  
οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' αὐτὸς ἔην, θάνε δὲ ξανθὸς Μελέαγρος·  
τῶι δ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἐτέταλτο ἀναστέμεν Αἰτωλοῖσι·  
τῶι δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.

Κρητῶν δ' Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν, 645  
οἷ Κνωσὸν τ' εἶχον Γόρτυν τε τειχιόεσσαν,  
Λύκτον Μίλητόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Λύκαστον  
Φαιστόν τε Ῥύτιόν τε, πόλεις ἐν ναιεταώσας,  
ἄλλοι θ', οἷ Κρήτην ἐκατόμπολιν ἀμφενέμοντο.  
τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἰδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευε 650  
Μηριόνης τ' ἀτάλαντος Ἐνναλίωι ἀνδρεΐφόντηι·  
τοῖσι δ' ἅμ' ὀγδῶκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.  
Τληπόλεμος δ' Ἡρακλείδης ἡὺς τε μέγας τε

641-2 *ab. Zen.* 642. *Mosc.* (1?) adds καὶ τυθεὺς [ἐν] θήβαις ὅτ' ἀπόλετο λαὸς ἀχαιῶν. 643. ἐτέτακτο JR<sup>ms</sup>S Lips. 644. τῶ θ' J (*post ras.*). 645. δ' *om. L.* 646. κνωσσόν CGHJQU (*so Tryphon*). 647. ἀργιόεντα S. || Λύκαστον : κάμειρον H (*supr.* ἢ Λύκαστον) : γρ. κάμειρον J. 648. πόλις A. 651. ἀνδρηφόντη R : ἀνδριφόντη G. 653. δ' *om. P.*

641. For the Homeric legend of Oineus and Meleagros see I 529 sqq. Zenod. obelized 641-2, apparently because Meleagros alone is named of all the sons of Oineus. The inserted line (*v. supra*) testifies to the surprise naturally felt at the omission of Tydeus, the most famous of them. As the scholiast remarks, αὐτός may refer either to Oineus or to Meleagros, according to the punctuation. τῶι δέ, *sc. Thoas*.

645. The enumeration having passed from Boiotia S. and W. through Peloponnesos and the Western islands to Aitolia, now takes a fresh start from the S. of the Aegæan Sea and passes through the islands to Thessaly. The Cretan towns named are all at the foot of Ida in the middle of the island. See τ 172-7 for the Homeric account of Crete.

646. Κνωσός, Σ 591, τ 178.

647. Μίλητος, said to be the metropolis of the famous Ionic Milesos.

649. In τ 174 Crete is said to contain ninety cities; a divergence on which, as we learn from the scholiast, the χωρίζοντες founded one of their arguments.

651. Ἐνναλίωι ἀνδρεΐφόντηι : if this reading is right there is a violent synizesis of -ωι ἀν- into one syllable. But we ought to write ἀδριφόντηι (or rather ἀδροφόντηι), where ἀδρι- is a lighter form of ἀνδρι- : and so λιποῦσ' ἀδροσῆτα II 857

(where see note), X 363, for ἀνδροσῆτα, like ἀβρότη ἀμφί-βροτος, where the β has, like the δ of ἀνδρι, arisen from the nasal, which then disappeared (*H. G.* § 370 n.). Similar forms are ἀ(μ)πλακῆματα Aisch. *Eum.* 934, ἀνᾶ(μ)πλακῆται Soph. *O.* T. 472, ἀ(μ)πλακῶν Eur. *Alc.* 242, where also the mss. mostly give the μ. Cf. ἀδρί· ἀνδρί, Hesych. In the Cyprian inscriptions the nasal is regularly omitted before a consonant (and so often in mod. Greek, e.g. ἄθρῳπος).

653. In spite of this elaborate panegyric the Rhodians are not again mentioned in H. Tlepolemos enters only to be killed in E 628 ff. His connexion with Rhodes is not there alluded to. It is impossible to suppose that a Dorian colony was ever admitted by tradition to the Trojan war; but the triple division so characteristic of the Dorians is pointedly alluded to in 668. It is possible, of course, that the prae-Dorian Rhodians had their share in the early history of Greece, and that the Dorians only re-colonized an island already Greek. The intention here may be to give the Dorian hero an earlier possession of the island, and bring him there not by the Dorian invasion but by a private quarrel; but the author manages to betray himself by the word τριχθά. Bergk suggests that the high praise of the Rhodians



ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννέα νῆας ἄγεν Ῥοδίων ἀγερώχων,  
οἳ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες, 655  
Λίνδον Ἰηλυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργινόμεντα Κάμειρον.  
τῶν μὲν Τληπόλεμος δουρικλυτὸς ἡγεμόνευεν,  
ὃν τέκεν Ἀστυόχεια βίηι Ἡρακληίηι,  
τὴν ἄγετ' ἐξ Ἐφύρης, ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος,  
πέρσας ἄστεα πολλὰ διοτρεφέων αἰζῶν. 660  
Τληπόλεμος δ', ἐπεὶ οὖν τράφ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳι ἐυπῆκτῳι,  
αὐτίκα πατρὸς ἐοῖο φίλον μῆτρῳα κατέκτα  
ἤδη γηράσκοντα, Δικύμνιον ὄζον Ἄρῃος.  
αἴψα δὲ νῆας ἔπηξε, πολὺν δ' ὃ γε λαὸν ἀγείρας  
βῆ φεύγων ἐπὶ πόντον· ἀπειλήσαν γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι 665  
υἱέες υἰώνοι τε βίης Ἡρακληίδης·  
αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἐς Ῥόδον ἔξεν ἀλώμενος ἄλγεα πάσχων·  
τριχθὰ δὲ ὠϊκηθεν καταφυλαδὸν, ἣδὲ φίληθεν

656. ἀργιόμεντα S. || κάμειρον CJPR Bar. Eton. Vr. b c A. 658. ἀστυδάμεια  
Schol. Pind. O. vii. 24. || Ἡρακληίηι Q: Ἡρακλείηι Zen. (ἀμειτρον ποιῶν Δπ.). 659.  
τὴν ἄγετ': τηλόθεν Strabo vii. 328, viii. 339. 660. διοτρεφέων HL. 661.  
τράφεν ἐνὶ PQR Vr. A: τράφ' ἐν Vr. a: τράφετ' ἐν Mor. Bar. Vr. c: τράφῃ  
ἐν G. 663. ὄζος U (συγγρ. n) A<sup>m</sup> (T.W.A.). 665. ἐν τισὶ βῆ φεύγειν Schol.  
Pap. a (v. Ludwich *ad loc.*). 666. Ἡρακλείης QU. 667. αὐτὰρ: αἴψα δ'  
Zen. || ἦκεν G: ἦξεν Mor. Bar. 668. καφυλαδὸν Vr. a. || οἷ δ' ἐφίλησεν Cant.

points to the time of their naval supremacy, perhaps about 900 B.C. The legend of Tlepolemos is given in Pindar O. vii.

654. ἀγερώχων, apparently a desperate word; many derivations have been proposed, but not one carries conviction. It is applied by Homer to the Trojans, the Mysians, and once to an individual, Periklymenos, λ 286. In Homer and Pindar it seems to be a word of praise, but later writers use it to mean 'overbearing,' 'haughty.' Pindar applies it to things, N. vi. 34, O. xi. 78, P. i. 50. It is common in Polybios, Plutarch, Philostratos, etc., though not found in pure Attic. I give without comment a number of proposed etymologies. (1) ἄγαν γεράωχος (Ar.); (2) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγαν ἐπὶ γέρας ὀχεῖσθαι (Et. Maj.); (3) διὰ τὸ ἀγείρειν ὀχήν, τοῦτεστι τροφήν; (4) ἀγείρειν ὀχους, assemblers of chariots (Döderlein); (5) ἀγείρειν, ὠκὺς, swiftly gathering (Böttcher); (6) ἄγα(ν) ἐρωή (suff. -χο-), violent, impetuous (Göbel); (7) ἄγα-, ἔρα, ἔχω, having much land (Suidas); (8) ἀγαύρως ἔχων, holding themselves proudly (Pott); (9) adj. ἀγερός, root ἀγ, to admire, hence ἀγερώσσει (Hesych.), and ἀγερώχος = ex-

citing wonder (Schmalfeld); (10) = ἀγέλανχος, the bull proudly leading his herd; Bergk (*Gr. Lit.* i. p. 129).

659 = O 531. This river Selleeis (different of course from that mentioned 839, M 97, in Asia) was according to Ar. in Thesprotia, in the country of the Σελλοί (II 234); others said it was in Elis, and that Herakles took Astyocheia when he overthrew Augeias (so Strabo). For the name Ἐφύρη see note on Z 152.

661. The aor. τράφε is here, as always (cf. Ψ 84, 90), intrans., and should apparently be substituted for the pass. τράφη which occurs only in Γ 201, Λ 222 (note the reading of G here). So τράφεν should be τράφον in A 251, 266, Ψ 348.

662. Likymnios was brother of Alkmena. See Pind. O. vii. 27. The homicide was committed in a fit of anger according to Pindar, but another legend (ap. Schol. A) made it purely accidental.

665. γάρ οἱ, mss. with Ar.; but the neglect of the digamma in the pronoun οἱ is so rare that it is better to read γάρ οἱ. οἱ ἄλλοι is common enough in H.; e.g. A 75, 264, 524, 540, and many other cases; see Z 90.

ἐκ Διός, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει.  
καὶ σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων. 670

Νιρεὺς αὖ Σύμηθεν ἄγε τρεῖς νῆας εἰσας,  
Νιρεὺς Ἀγλαΐης υἱὸς Χαρόποιό τ' ἀνακτος,  
Νιρεὺς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε  
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα·  
ἀλλ' ἀλαπαδνὸς ἔην, παῦρος δέ οἱ εἶπετο λαός. 675

οὐ δ' ἄρα Νίσυρόν τ' εἶχον Κράπαθόν τε Κάσον τε  
καὶ Κῶν Εὐρυπύλοιο πόλιν νήσους τε Καλύδνας,  
τῶν αὖ Φείδιππός τε καὶ Ἀντιφὸς ἡγησάσθην,  
Θεσσαλοῦ νῆε δύω Ἡρακλεΐδαο ἀνακτος·  
τῶν δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νῆες ἐστιχῶντο. 680  
νῦν αὖ τοῦς, ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον·

669 ἀθ. Ar. 671. νιρεὺς δ' QRU. || αἰκύμῃσεν QS Vr. b : ἐκύμῃσεν PR<sup>m</sup> U  
Vr. A. 672. τ' om. Q. 673, 675 ἀθ. Zen., 674 οὐδὲ ἔγραφεν. 674. τῶν δ'  
RS. 675. γάρ οἱ ἔπετο G. 676. κάσον : κράσον P. 677. κῶν : κῶ L  
(post ras.). 678. τῶν δ' CGQR Eton. Vr. c. 680. τῶν AHJ (γρ. τοῖς) PU  
Pap. a : τοῖς Ω. 681. Ζηνόδοτος μετέγραφεν οἳ δ' Ἄργος τ' εἶχον τὸ Πελασγικόν,  
οὔσαρ ἀρούρης An. || Νῦν αὖ τοῦς : οἳ τ' αὐτοὶ Q(supr. nūn Q<sup>2</sup>) R(nūn αὖ  
τοῦς R<sup>m</sup>) S Par. e (γρ. nūn αὐτοῦς) j : οἳ δ' αὐτοὶ Mosc. 1 : nūn δ' αὐτοῦς J Vr.  
a c A : nūn αὐτοὶ Vr. b : nūn τοῦς φημί ὅσοι G.

670. There was a legend of a literal rain of gold sent by Zeus upon Rhodes, apparently founded upon this passage; cf. πολὺν ὅσε χρυσόν Pind. O. vii. 50, βρέχε χρυσταῖς νιφάδεσσι πόλιν ib. 34. **καταχέειν** is very often used metaphorically, e.g. χάριν θ 19, etc., ἐλεγχέην Ψ 408, and so it may be here; but Pindar's mention of the ξανθὰ νεφέλα shews that he understood the verb in its literal sense. But this line, according to a scholion on Pindar, was obelized. There is no mention of this in Schol. A, where we find, however, that Ar. obelized the preceding line, taking φίληθεν to mean 'they were friendly to one another in spite of the tribal division,' and regarding 669 as inserted in order to give another explanation of φίληθεν: the line with its obvious padding certainly bears out the idea.

671. Nireus is not mentioned again. The double *epanalepsis* is unique in H. For τῶν ἄλλων after a superl. cf. A 505.

676. These are small islands among the Sporades, only Kos having attained any subsequent importance; the Cyclades are not mentioned at all. Pheidippos and Antiphos again are named only here; the mention of their Herakleid

descent looks as if these lines came from the same source as the Rhodian episode above. All the islands were Dorian colonies, but Kos at least had legends of colonization from Thessaly, whence Thessalos is brought into the genealogy. This is again an anachronism, as the Thessalian name is elsewhere ignored in H.

681. It is hardly possible to read this and the two following lines without feeling that originally Achilles was the leader of the whole of the Thessalians, and that his restriction to three paltry towns in 682 is merely a device to make room for the localization of other Thessalian heroes. As it stands, the effect is almost like 'all the peoples of Britain, who dwelt in Greenwich and Woolwich and Blackheath, and were named Saxons and English and Danes.' The Pelasgian Argos, properly the central plain of Thessaly about Larissa, a long way from Phthia, is in the sequel stretched to comprise Thessaly in the widest sense, and even Dodona in Aitolia. There can be little doubt that Hellenes, Myrmidons, and Achaeans were originally three distinct tribal names of Thessaly, all under the suzerainty of Achilles, as the South

οἳ τ' Ἄλουν οἳ τ' Ἀλόπην οἳ τε Τρηχῖν' ἐνέμοντο,  
οἳ τ' εἶχον Φθίην ἠδ' Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,  
Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί,  
τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς. 685  
ἀλλ' οἳ γ' οὐ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος ἐμῶνόντο·  
οὐ γὰρ ἔην, ὅς τις σφιν ἐπὶ στίχας ἠγήσαιο.  
κεῖτο γὰρ ἐν νήεσσι ποδάρκης διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς  
κούρης χωόμενος Βρισηΐδος ἠυκόμοιο,  
τὴν ἐκ Λυρνησοῦ ἐξείλετο πολλὰ μογήσας, 690  
Λυρνησὸν διαπορθήσας καὶ τείχεα Θήβης,  
καδ δὲ Μύνητ' ἔβαλεν καὶ Ἐπίστροφον ἐγχεσιμῶρους,  
υἱέας Εὐηνοῖο Σεληπιάδαο ἄνακτος·

682. ΤΡΗΧῖΝ' (τρηχειν Pap. α) ἐνέμοντο Ω: τρηχῖνα νέμοντο Ar. | οἳ δὲ γράφουσιν οἳ θ' Ἄλουν οἳ θ' Ἀλιοῦνε' οἳ τε Τρ. ἐν. Strabo. 683. ΦΘΕΙΗΝ Pap. α. 684 om. P<sup>t</sup> Lips. Vr. A. || δὲ: τε Q. || καλεῦνται Q: καλοῦνται G. 685. ΤῶΝ δ' P. || αὖ: ἄρ P<sup>1</sup>. 686-694 ἀθ. Zen. 687. ἔΗΝ, ὅς τις: ἐστὶν ὅτις Q. || τίς: τι CHU. 690. ἐν λυρνησσῶι Zen. 692. μύνητα βάλεν G. || ἔβαλεν: ἔλαβε R.

was under the suzerainty of Agamemnon. In I 447 Hellas, the home of Phoinix, is clearly distinct from Phthia, the home of Achilles. But in I 395 the Achaeans seem to include the inhabitants of both Phthia and Hellas, a first step to the use of the Achaian name for all prae-Dorian Greeks. Similarly the Myrmidons are identical with the inhabitants of Hellas and Phthia in λ 496. The confusion that reigns in the use of the names is a reflexion of the intermixture consequent on the great migrations from North to South, of which the Dorian and Thesalian invasions were a part. See Bury in *J. H. S.* xv. 217 ff. This is the only case in H. where the name Hellenes occurs, except in 530 Πανέλληνες. The introductory words Νῦν αὖ are evidently used to mark a new and important section of the whole. τοὺς is used as though the poet meant to continue with ἔσπετε or ἐρέω.

682. These towns are all in the extreme south of Thessaly, round the head of the Malian gulf, in the same district as that assigned to Protesilaos (695 ff.).

686-94, athetized by Zen., are evidently added to adapt to present circumstances a passage originally describing the mustering of the whole host. So also 699-709, 721-28. ἐμῶνόντο, i.e. ἐμνάοντο = μυνήσκοντο. The only other form from this pres. stem, in the sense *remem-*

*ber*, is μυνόμενος, δ 106, ο 400; elsewhere μνάσθαι means *to woo* a wife. δυσηχέος, from ἄχος, κακὰ ἄχη περιποιῶν, the vowel being lengthened, as so often in compounds, at the point of juncture. Cf. δυσηλεγής from ἄλγος. The alternative der. from (F)ηχή, as if *horrissonius*, takes no account of the F; and even if we wrote πολέμου δυσFηχέος with van L. the epithet would not suit θάνατος (II 442, etc.).

687. ἠγήσαιο, potential opt. after ὅς τις without ἄν, as X 348. (Other instances in *M. and T.* § 241.) ἐπὶ στίχας, *into the ranks drawn up for battle*. So T 353 ἐπὶ στίχας ἄλτο, Γ 113 ἵππους ἐρυξαν ἐπὶ στίχας, *brought them into line*.

690. For the original home of Briseis see on A 184. Mynes was her husband according to the tradition, though there is nothing in H. to shew it. She was captured on the same raid as Chryseis, A 366.

692. For the termination of ἐγχεσιμῶρους see Δ 242. The anticipation of the future course of the story in 694 is paralleled in 724, but is not in the Homeric style; the Epic poet occasionally speaks of future events as prophetically known to his characters, but foreshadows them in his own words only in suspicious passages.

τῆς ὃ γε κεῖτ' ἀχέων, τάχα δ' ἀνστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.

οἱ δ' εἶχον Φυλάκην καὶ Πύρασον ἀνθεμόεντα, 695

Δήμητρος τέμενος, Ἴτωνά τε μητέρα μήλων,

ἀγχιάλόν τ' Ἀντρῶνα ἰδὲ Πτελεὸν λεχεποῖν,

τῶν αὖ Πρωτεσίλαος ἀρήϊος ἡγεμόνευε

ζῶος ἑών· τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα.

τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφῆς ἄλοχος Φυλάκῃ ἐλέλειπτο 700

καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής· τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ

νῆος ἀποθρῶσκοντα πολὺν πρότιστον Ἀχαιῶν.

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἀναρχοὶ ἔσαν, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν·

ἀλλὰ σφεας κόσμησε Ποδάρκης ὄζος Ἄρῃος,

Ἰφίκλου υἱὸς πολυμήλου Φυλακίδαο, 705

αὐτοκασίγνητος μεγαθύμου Πρωτεσιλάου

ὀπλότερος γενεῇ· ὁ δ' ἅμα πρότερος καὶ ἀρείων

ἦρως Πρωτεσίλαος ἀρήϊος· οὐδέ τι λαοὶ

δεῦνονθ' ἡγεμόνος, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἐσθλὸν εἶοντα·

τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο. 710

694. ἀνστήσεσθαι *U* (ε *supr.* over ας): ἀστήσεσθαι (or ἀ(ν)στήσεσθαι?, *MS.* ἀναστήσεσθαι) *Zen.* 697. ἀγχιάλῃν *Zen.* || ἀντρῶνα *J.* || ἠδὲ *GQ.* || ἔχεποιήν *Q.*

700. δὲ καὶ: δὲ *KEN U.* 701. δάρδανος ἀνὴρ: φαίδιμος ἔκτωρ *Dem. Skeps.*

*ap. Schol. Lykophron* 531.

707. γενεῇν *Schol. Δ* 60. || ἅμα *Ar.*: ἄρα *Ω.*

708. οὐδ' ἔτι *H Vr. a.*

709. γε μὲν: γε μὴν *G*: δέ μιν *S.*

710. τῷ ὅ *J.* ||

τεσσαράκοντα *Δ.*

696. The asyndeton shows that **Δήμητρος τέμενος** must be in apposition with **Pyraos**, and is not the town **Δημήτριον**, explained by *Ar.* as distinct from **Pyraos**. See *Strabo* ix. p. 435, and cf. 506 **Ποσιδῆϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος** in apposition with **Onchestos**. These towns surround **Alos** at the head of the **Malian gulf**.

699. **κάτεχεν**, as *Γ* 243. **Protesilaos'** ship plays a prominent part in the fighting later on, *N* 681, *O* 705, *Π* 286.

700. **ἀμφιδρυφῆς**, explained by *Λ* 393 **τοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς μὲν τ' ἀμφιδρυφοὶ εἰσι παρειαί**.

701. **ἡμιτελής** ἦτοι ἄτεκνος ἢ ἀφηρημένος τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν δεσποτῶν ἢ ἀτελείωτος· ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τοῖς γήμασι θάλαμον οἰκοδομεῖσθαι (*Schol. A*). The first explanation is best; he has only half completed his household, as, though married, he has left no son. Cf. *Soph. O. T.* 930 **παντελής δάμαρ**, 'because the wife's estate is crowned and perfected by the birth of children' (*Jebb*). The last is founded upon *Odysseus'* description of his building his own marriage-chamber, *ψ* 189 sqq.

Cf. also *Λ* 227 **γῆμας δ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο . . ἵκετο**. But **δόμος** cannot mean 'wedding-chamber.' The **Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ** was variously said to have been **Aineias**, **Euphorbos**, or **Hector**; the latter was the name given by the *Kypria*, *Demetrios* of *Skepsis* (vide *supra*), and *Soph.* (*fr.* 443); but *Ar.* held that it was certainly wrong, as **Hector** was not a **Dardanian** strictly speaking.

703. **οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ**, yet neither were they; an emphasis is thrown on the *οἱ*, which is not easily explicable, for there does not seem to be any striking contrast with some other leaderless band such as the words would imply. In 726 they come naturally, as two lost chieftains have already been mentioned. The line is simply copied here from 726.

708-9 look like a gloss intended to explain the apparently ambiguous *ὁ*, and filled up from previous lines so as to make two hexameters.

The towns following (711-5) lie *N.* and (716-7) *E.* of the head of the **Pagasaean Gulf**.



οὐ δὲ Φεράς ἐνέμοντο παρὰ Βοιβηΐδα λίμνην,  
 Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφύρας καὶ εὐκτιμένην Ἴαωλκόν,  
 τῶν ἥρχ' Ἀδμήτοιο φίλος παῖς ἔνδεκα νηῶν,  
 Εὐμηλος, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀδμήτῳ τέκε δια γυναικῶν  
 Ἄλκηστις, Πελῖαιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη.

715

οὐ δ' ἄρα Μηθώνην καὶ Θαυμακίην ἐνέμοντο  
 καὶ Μελίβοιαν ἔχον καὶ Ὀλιζῶνα τρηχέϊαν,  
 τῶν δὲ Φιλοκτήτης ἥρχεν, τόξων ἐν εἰδῶς,  
 ἐπτα νεῶν ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἐκάστῃ πεντήκοντα  
 ἐμβέβασαν, τόξων ἐν εἰδότες ἴφι μάχεσθαι.  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νήσῳ κείτῳ κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχων,  
 Δήμῳνι ἐν ἡγαθέῃ, ὅθι μιν λίπον νῆες Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἔλκει μοχθίζοντα κακῶι ὀλοόφρονος ὕδρου·  
 ἐνθ' ὃ γε κείτ' ἀχέων· τάχα δὲ μνήσεσθαι ἔμελλον  
 Ἀργεῖοι παρὰ νηυσὶ Φιλοκτήταο ἄνακτος.  
 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἄναρχοι ἔσαν, πόθεόν γε μὲν ἀρχόν·  
 ἀλλὰ Μέδων κόσμησεν, Οἰλῆος νόθος υἱός,  
 τὸν ῥ' ἔτεκεν Ῥήνῃ ὑπ' Οἰλῆϊ πτολιπόρθῳ.

720

725

οὐ δ' εἶχον Τρίκκην καὶ Ἰθώμην κλωμακόεσσαν,  
 οἳ τ' ἔχον Οἰχαλίην πόλιν Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλιῆος,  
 τῶν αὐθ' ἡγείσθην Ἀσκληπιοῦ δύο παῖδε,

730

711. παρὰ βοιβηΐδα λίμνην: κατ' ἐνίους ἰδὲ κρίνην ὑπέριαν Schol. Pind. P. iv. 125. 712. εὐκτίμενον G Harl. a. || ἰαολκὸν GPR Harl. a. 713. τῶν δ' Vr. a. 715. πελῖαιο J. 717. μελίβοιαν: πῖτυειαν Steph. Byz. || ὀλιζῶνα J. || τραχέϊαν G. 718. τῶν αὖ ἡγεμόνευε φιλοκτήτης, ἄγος ἀνδρῶν Zen. 724-5 (6 ?) ἀθ. Zen. 724. δ' ἀνστήσεσθαι H (supr. μνήσεσθαι). || ἔμελλεν Pap. α<sup>1</sup>, supr. o. 727. ἀλλὰ: τοὺς δὲ Zen. 728. ὑπὸ ἰλῆϊ J (γρ. ὑπ' οἴλῆϊ). 729. κλωμακόεσσαν A Paus. iv. 9. 2: κλωμακόεσσαν G (and R supr.): κλωμακόεσαν P. 731. τῶν αὖ G U<sup>1</sup> Vr. b. || ἡγήσθη Q. || παῖδες P.

719. Sophokles evidently follows this line (*Phil.* 1027), πλεύσανθ' ἐπτα ναυσὶ ναυβάτην.

720. For ἴφι Bentley conj. ἥδε, perhaps rightly; but see note on Z 478.

723. ὀλοόφρων is used in *Il.* only of animals (O 630, P 21), in *Od.* only of men (α 52, κ 137, λ 322). There is no other allusion in H. to the story of Philoktetes, but it must have been perfectly familiar as an essential part of the legend of Troy. Zen. athetized 724-6 on the same grounds as 686-94. Medon appears again in N 694, but there he is leader of the Phthians with Podarkes (704).

729. There is now a jump from the SE. to the W. of Thessaly, whence

came the cultus of Asklepios, which in historical times had its chief seat in Epidauros, though the temple at Trikke was always famous. (The oldest myth takes us to Lakereia on the Boiibeian lake, which we have just left, 711.) Homer does not represent him as anything more than a mortal chieftain, Δ 194. κλωμακόεσσαν (ἀπ. λεγ.), τὴν τραχέϊαν καὶ ὄρη ἔχουσιν Schol. B, πολλὰ ἀποκλίματα ἔχουσιν, κρημνώδη Hesych. Der. and reading are alike uncertain. κλωμακόεσσαν might perhaps be used of terraced hill-sides, like staircases. For Oichalia and Eurytos see on 595.

731. Ἀσκληπιοῦ: read Ἀσκληπιό, see on 518.

ιητῆρ' ἀγαθῷ, Ποδαλείριος ἡδὲ Μαχάων·

τοῖς δὲ τριήκοντα γλαφυραὶ νῆες ἐστιχόωντο.

οἱ δ' ἔχον Ὀρμένιον οἷ τε κρήνην Ὑπέρειαν,

οἷ τ' ἔχον Ἀστέριον Τιτάνοιο τε λευκὰ κάρηνα, 735

τῶν ἦρχ' Εὐρύπυλος Ἐυαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·

τῷ δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο.

οἱ δ' Ἀργισσαν ἔχον καὶ Γυρτώνην ἐνέμοντο,

Ὀρθὴν Ἠλώνην τε πόλιν τ' Ὀλοοσσόνα λευκὴν, 740

τῶν αὖθ' ἡγεμόνευε μενεπτόλεμος Πολυποίτης,

τόν ῥ' ὑπὸ Πειριθόωι τέκετο κλυτὸς Ἴπποδάμεια

ἡματι τῷ, ὅτε φῆρας ἐτίσατο λαχνήεντας,

τοὺς δ' ἐκ Πηλίου ὥσε καὶ Αἰθίκεσσι πέλασσαν·

οὐκ οἶος, ἅμα τῷ γε Λεοντεὺς ὄζος Ἀρηος, 745

υἱὸς ὑπερθύμοιο Κορώνου Καινείδαο·

τοῖς δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναί νῆες ἔποντο.

Γουνεὺς δ' ἐκ Κύφου ἦγε δύω καὶ εἴκοσι νῆας·

τῷ δ' Ἐνιήνες ἔποντο μενεπτόλεμοί τε Περαιβοί,

732. *ιατῆρ'* R : *ιητῆρε* καλῶ G. 733. *τῶν δὲ* *αρ.* Did. 735. *οἱ δ'* P.  
 737. *τεσσαράκοντα* A. 738. *ἄργεϊσαν* AGHR Pap. α : *ἄργισαν* CQ Bar. Lips.  
 Vr. α : *γρ. ἄργεϊσαν* J Eust. (*σπάνιά τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων*). 740. *τῶν δ'* S. || αὖ  
 G. 741. *ἀσάντων* Zen. 744. *αἰθίκεσσι* : *αἰθιόπεσσι* Demokrines. 747.  
*τῷ* P (*supr.* οἷς). || ἅμα : ἄρα Vr. c. || *τεσσαράκοντα* A. 748. *καὶ εἴκοσι* :  
 ] *καὶ δεκ* [ Pap. ξ. 749. *ἐνιῆνες* : *γρ. ἄρ' ὕλοι* Steph. Byz. (?).

734-5. We make another jump back to Magnesia, this group of towns being among those assigned to Eumelos, 711-5 : ἡ δ' Ὑπέρειναι κρήνη ἐστὶν ἐν μέσση τῇ Φεραίων πόλει Strabo ix. 439. See note on Z 457. For κάρηνα of cities cf. 117.

738. We now go to the N. of Central Thessaly, the home of the Lapiths (M 128), near the later Larissa. Oloösön is said to be still, under the name of Elassona, conspicuous for its white limestone rock. Strabo says (439) that all these towns were Peraibian till the Lapiths seized them. Here it is the Φῆρες who are driven out.

741 is a very clumsy line as the text stands ; 742-4 seem meant to supplant, not to follow, 741, and to bring in the later myth of the Centaurs and Lapiths, of which Athens made so much. As the fight took place at the wedding of Peirithoos and Hippodameia, clearly τέκετο = *conceived*. For the other allusions to the tale see on A 263.

742. *κλυτός*, fem., cf. ε 422, Σ 222, T 88, and even δ 442 *ὀλοώτατος ὁδμή*. H. G. §§ 116 (1), 119.

744. The Aithikes apparently dwelt in Pindos, to the W. of Thessaly. One Demokrines actually read *Αἰθιόπεσσι*, *putidissime*.

749. No Peraibian towns in Thessaly are mentioned, as they have been already given to the Lapiths. The explanation of Strabo is that these Peraibians are a portion of the tribe who had been driven out of their old homes in the plain, and lived scattered among the mountains, while the bulk of the tribe lived mixed up with the Lapiths. If this is meant, it would seem that some of them must have crossed into Aitolia, for there can be no question that it is the Aitolian Dodona which is named ; though, on the other hand, it is hard to escape the suspicion that the poet of this passage supposed it to lie in Thessaly. The Thessalian Achilles prays to the Pelasgian

οὐ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο,  
οἷ τ' ἀμφ' ἰμερτὸν Τιταρήσιον ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο,  
ὅς ῥ' ἐς Πηνειὸν προῖεῖ καλλίρροον ὕδωρ,  
οὐδ' ὃ γε Πηνειῶι συμμίσγεται ἀργυροδίηι,  
ἀλλὰ τέ μιν καθύπερθεν ἐπιρρέει ἡύτ' ἔλαιον·  
ὄρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἔστιν ἀπορρώξ.  
Μαγνήτων δ' ἦρχε Πρόθοος Τευθρηδόνος υἱός,  
οὐ περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον  
ναῖεσκον· τῶν μὲν Πρόθοος θοὸς ἡγεμόνευε,  
τῶι δ' ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαινα νῆες ἔποντο.  
οὗτοι ἄρ' ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοῖρανοι ἦσαν.

751. ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο Ω: ἔργα νέμοντο Ατ. 754. ἐπιρρεῖ Pap. ξ. 756.  
τευθρηδόνος S: τευερθδόνος L *supr.* 759. τεσσέρακοντα Α. 760. ἦσαν:  
ἔσαν C, *supr.* c over c.

Zeus of Dodona in II 233, and this may have caused the mistake. There was indeed a legend that the oracle of Dodona had been transferred there from Skotussa in Thessaly, but of this Strabo, p. 329, in an unfortunately mutilated passage, speaks with marked incredulity. There must, however, have been some early religious connexion between Thessaly and Dodona, which may have led to the legend.

751. **Τιταρήσιον**, the later *Europos*. Bentley's *Τιταρῆσόν* is most tempting, because of *Φέργα*, and of the analogy of other place-names in -*ησός*: cf. Lucan vi. 376 *Defendit Titaressos aquas*. But unfortunately it contravenes the rule that lengthening by position of a vowel short by nature is not permitted before the bucolic diaeresis. What idea the poet had in his mind about the meeting of the rivers it is hard to say. It is said that the *Europos* is a clear stream which is easily to be distinguished for some distance after it has joined the *Peneios* white with chalk; but **ἀργυροδίηι** is a strange epithet to use for a river if the emphasis is laid on its want of clearness. The connexion of the river with the *Styx* is no doubt due to the existence of some local cultus of the infernal deities of which we know nothing. **ἔργα**, *tillth*, as M 283, in a purely local sense of tilled fields. The word is of course common in Homer in the pregnant sense of *agricultural labour*.

755. **ὄρκος** here, as often, means the object sworn by, the 'sanction' of the oath. Cf. O 38 τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς

ὑδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος | ὄρκος δεινότατος τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι. For the origin of the oath by the *Styx* see Frazer *Paus.* iv. p. 253. The water was supposed to be fatal to life, so that the oath was originally 'a sort of poison-ordeal; the water would kill the man who forswore himself, but spare the man who swore truly.' In Herod. vi. 74 there is a case, the only one recorded in history, where the *Arkadians* are asked to swear by the *Styx*; so probably 'when the poets made the gods swear by *Styx*, they were only transferring to heaven a practice which had long been customary on earth.' For **ἀπορρώξ** cf. κ 514 *Κῶκυ-τός θ'*, ὅς δὴ Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἔστιν ἀπορρώξ, and see M. and R.'s note there on the rivers of the infernal regions.

756. Once more we make a jump back to the E.; and again we have a tribe, the *Magnetes*, without any cities, as the towns of *Magnesia* have been already enumerated and apportioned among various chiefs, *Philoktetes*, *Eumelos*, and *Eurypylos*. And here no theory of a separation of the tribe will help us, as these *Magnetes* are expressly located about *Pelion* and the *Peneios*, the very country that we have already been through. Strabo fairly gives up the puzzle in despair: *ἐόλκασιν οὖν (οἱ ὕστερον ἄνθρωποι) διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς μεταστάσεις καὶ ἐξαλλάξεις τῶν πολιτειῶν καὶ ἐπιμίξεις συγχεῖν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη* (ix. 442), which is a mere admission of the impossibility of any historical criticism of this part of the Catalogue.

760. The ships enumerated amount to

τίς ταρ τῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἔην, σύ μοι ἔννεπε, μοῦσα,  
αὐτῶν ἡδ' ἵππων, οἳ ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσι νύ ἐποντο.  
ἵπποι μὲν μέγ' ἄρισται ἔσαν Φηρητιάδαο,  
τὰς Εὐμήλος ἔλαυνε ποδώκεας ὄρνιθας ὥς,  
ὄτριχας οἰετέας, σταφύλῃ ἐπὶ νῶτον εἰσας·  
τὰς ἐν Πιερίῃ θρέψ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων,  
ἄμφω θηλείας, φόβον Ἄρῃος φορεούσας.  
ἀνδρῶν αὖ μέγ' ἄριστος ἔην Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,  
ὄφρ' Ἀχιλεὺς μήνιεν· ὁ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτατος ἦεν,

765

761. ταρ Α: γὰρ S Vr. b: τ' ἄρ Ω. 762. ἀτρεΐδαϊσιν G. 763. ἦσαν  
CQR. 765. ισετέας P (R *supr.*): ισοετέας Mor. Bar. 766. ἔν: καὶ Par. h. ||  
πιερίῃ: πηρείῃ Par. α, J (*supr.* εἰ over ηρ: γρ. ἐν πιερίῃ J<sup>m</sup>) Eust.: πηρίῃ  
Α (πιερίῃ A<sup>m</sup>, T.W.A.): φηρίῃ Harl. d. 768. ἀνδρῶν δ' HQ. 769.  
φέρτατος Ar. Ω: φέρτερος JQS Harl. d, Par. d e f h, Vr. b.

1186. Thuc. i. 10 suggests that by taking a mean between 120, the largest, and 50, the smallest number mentioned for a ship's crew (see 510 and 719), we may gain an approximate idea of the numbers of the Greek army. The mean being 85, the total on this plan will come to just over 100,000.

763. Φηρητιάδαο, another 'papponymic' (see on 621). Eumelos was son of Admetos, son of Pheres. It is of course possible that the poet meant that the horses were the horses of Admetos, and only lent to Eumelos by his father, or inherited, as in the case of the Νηληϊαὶ ἵπποι of Nestor, A 597; but this is not likely, cf. Ψ 376.

765. ὄτριχας οἰετέας, *one in coats and in years*. The ὀ- is the same as in ὄπατρος, A 257, but the relation of it to the commoner ὀ- (for *sm-*, short form of *sem-*, *one*) is not clear. Cf. also ὀγαστωρ· ὀμογαστωρ by the side of ἀγαστορες· ἀδελφοὶ δίδυμοι in Hesych., and ὁμός by ἄμα. The -ι- of οἰετέας presumably represents only the lengthening by ictus before F of ὀφετέας. Cf. Hesych. αὐτετῇ· τὰ αὐτοετῇ beside αετέα· τὰ τῷ αὐτῷ εἶπε γεννώμενα, and again νετῇ· ὁ αὐτοετῇ. Wackernagel's explanation οἰΦο-Φετῇς (οἰFos=*one*) leaves the other forms unaccounted for. See Schulze Q. E. p. 495. σταφύλῃ (distinguished by accent from σταφυλή, a bunch of grapes) is explained by Schol. A as λαοξοϊκὸς διαβήτης, ὅς ἄμα πλάτος καὶ ὕψος μετρεῖ, i.e. the still familiar mason's level, consisting of a plummet hanging in a T-square. The sense is that the two

mares were exactly of equal height at every point as measured by a level across their backs. Reichel remarks (*H. W.* 22) that such equality was important when horses were harnessed to the same yoke across their necks.

766. The reading here is doubtful. Πηρείῃ seems to be merely an itacistic variant; though Steph. Byz. and Hesychios mention a town of that name in Thessaly, nothing more is known of it, and it is probably only a deduction from this line, supported by the fact that the position of Pieria is clearly too far north. Besides, the horses were evidently bred by Apollo during his service with Admetos at Pherai. Hence Valckenaer conj. Φηρείῃ, which has a shade of ms. support, and would be satisfactory but for the fact that the Thessalian town is Φεραί (711), Φῆραι being in Messenia. But the patronymic Φηρητιάδης points to some variation of quantity, as it is evidently connected with the name of the town.

767. φόβον Ἄρῃος φορεούσας, *carrying the panic of war* into the ranks of the enemy. Cf. note on E 272 μῆστωρε (?) φόβοιο.

769. This and the next line are an awkward interpolation, apparently intended to bring the Catalogue into harmony with lines such as Ψ 276. Schulze Q. E. p. 349 has shewn that the scansion μῆνιε is purely Attic, the penultimate being always short in H. He suggests with great probability that 768 originally ended πῶδας ὥκῃς Ἀχιλλεύς, and was followed by 771. Euripides



ἵπποί θ', οὐ φορέεσκον ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.  
 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νήεσσι κορωνίσι ποντοπόροισι  
 κεῖτ' ἀπομηνίσας Ἀγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν  
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ, λαοὶ δὲ παρὰ ῥήγμῃνι θαλάσσης  
 δίσκοισιν τέρποντο καὶ αἰγανέησιν ἰέντες  
 τόξοισιν θ'. ἵπποι δὲ παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος  
 λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι ἐλεόθρεπτόν τε σέλινον  
 ἔστασαν· ἄρματα δ' εὖ πεπυκασμένα κείμε ἀνάκτων  
 ἐν κλισίῃσι· οἱ δ' ἀρχὸν ἀρηΐφιλον ποθέοντες  
 φοίτων ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατὰ στρατὸν οὐδὲ μάχοντο.  
 οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν, ὥς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο·  
 γαῖα δ' ὑπεστενάχιζε Διὶ ὥς τερπικεραύνωι  
 χωομένωι, ὅτε τ' ἀμφὶ Τυφωέϊ γαῖαν ἰμάσσει

772. ἀπομηνίσας Bar. Mor. || πομε[νι Pap. ξ. 773. παρὰ H: περὶ U *supr.* ||  
 ρηγμεινι Pap. α. 777. δ' εὖ: δ' αὖ PR: δὲ U. || ἀνακτος Pap. α. 778. οἱ  
 δ': ἡδ' Vr. b. 780. ἴσαν: ἔσαν P. 781. ὑπεστονάχιζε JPQRS Pap. α  
 Harl. α: ὑποστονάχιζε GH. 782. χωομένωι: ἀρίσταρχος οὕτως: τινὲς χωόμενος  
 ὡς ἀπ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς Schol. Pap. α (Did.). || τ' om. G: r' Schol. on O 17. || τυφῶνι P:  
 τυφῶα Pap. α. || ἰμάσσει CGQ(U e *corr.*) Vr. a.

*Iph. Aut.* 206–26 clearly had the passage before him, but knows of no horses fleetlier than those of Eumelos, with which Achilles competes in speed of foot.

771. **κορωνίσι**, a word recurring only in the phrase *νηοὶ κ.* No doubt the ordinary expl., *curved* (of the upward curve at bow and stern), is correct; cf. *κορώνη*, of the curved handle or hook on the door (α 441, etc.), and the tip of the bow (Δ 111). (A few ancient commentators explained 'black as crows'!)

772. **ἀπομηνίσας**: the *ἀπο*- here seems to be intensive, as in our vulgar phrase 'raging away,' giving full vent to his anger. So also H 230, I 426, T 62, π 378. Cf. Γ 415 *ἀπεχθαίρειν*, T 183 *ἀπαρέσασθαι*, I 309 *ἀποειπεῖν*, ζ 49 *ἀποθανύσασαι*, and Lat. *desoevere*, etc.

774 = δ 626. **αἰγανέησιν**, either from αἶξ, as a spear for hunting goats, or from αἶσσω: the former derivation is supported by ι 156, where they are actually used against goats.

777. **πεπυκασμένα**, *wrapped up* with covers, *πέπλοι*, as E 194, to keep them clean while not in use. In Ψ 503 the word seems to be used in a hyperbolic sense, 'hidden by its ornaments.'

780. We have two more short similes describing the march to battle, in addition to those of 459 sqq., to be followed

by others at the beginning of Π. 780 seems to be an exaggeration of 455, and to refer to light, which is as great as if the whole earth were on fire. The idea is not the same as in Δ 596 *μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰδομένοιο*. **νέμοιτο** is pass. only here. The act. means *to deal out* or *drive to pasture* (ι 233); the mid. *to feed upon* (of fire, Ψ 177), *to inhabit*, or *to possess* (Z 195).

781. The connexion of Zeus *τερπικέρανος* with the phenomena of a volcanic district has been thought to allude to the violent electrical disturbances which often accompany eruptions. **Ἀριμα** is said to be a volcanic region in Kilikia, or, according to others, in Mysia, Lydia, or Syria. The latter name suggests *Aram*, the native name of Syria. Evidently Arima or the Arimoi are best located in mythland. A, perhaps following Ar., gives *Εἰναρίμοις*, and so Virgil must have read, *Aen.* ix. 716 'durumque cubile *Inarime* Iovis imperiis imposita Typhoeo.' The metaphor of *lashing* reappears in the story of the defeat of Typhoeus by Zeus in Hes. *Theog.* 857, where he is described as a monster with a hundred snake's heads spitting fire, the son of Gaia and Tartaros. So also Pindar, in a magnificent passage of *Pyth.* i., where his birthplace is given

εἰν Ἀρίμοις, ὅθι φασὶ Τυφώεος ἔμμεναι εὐνάς·  
ὥς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγα στεναχίζετο γαῖα  
ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ' ὦκα διέπρησσαν πεδίοιο. 785  
Τρῶσιν δ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε ποδὴνemos ὠκέα Ἴρις  
παρ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο σὺν ἀγγελίῃ ἀλεγεινῇ·  
οἱ δ' ἀγορὰς ἀγόρευον ἐπὶ Πριάμοιο θύρῃσι  
πάντες ὁμηγερέες, ἡμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες.  
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἵσταμένη πρόσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις· 790  
εἶσατο δὲ φθογγὴν νῦν Πριάμοιο Πολίτηι,  
ὃς Τρώων σκοπὸς ἴξε, ποδωκείησι πεποιθώς,  
τύμβωι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ Λίσυήταο γέροντος,  
δέγμενος ὁππότε ναῦφιν ἀφορμηθεῖεν Ἀχαιοί·

783. Some add χώρῳ ἐνὶ θυρούεντι, "Τῶς ἐν πύονι θάμῳ Strabo. 784.  
στοναχίζετο CGHPRU Harl. a (with ε *supr.* over ε instead of ο). 789.  
ὁμηγερέες P Vr. a. 790. μετέφη Vr. b (and H *supr.*). 791-5 ἄθ. Ar. 791.  
ισατο Pap. a. || δέ: γὰρ S Vr. b. || εἰσαμένη Eust. || υἱέϊ AR Vr. a: υἱέϊ J Pap. a.  
792. ποδωκείαισι G. 793. αἰσινταο Pap. a. || γέροντος: ἄνακτος Pap. ξ Q  
(and γρ. J<sup>m</sup>).

as Kilikia, but his prison as beneath Cumae and Aetna.

785. διέπρησσαν πεδίοιο: for this local gen. see *H. G.* § 149; it 'expresses a vague local relation (*within, in the sphere of, etc.*).' 'This use of the gen. is almost confined to *set phrases*; accordingly it is only found with the gen. in -οιο (the archaic form).' Cf. 801, and Ω 264 ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο, and note on Α 483.

786. We now come to the Catalogue of the Trojans and allies, introduced by a short narrative.

788. The gate of the king's palace has always been the place of justice and of audience among eastern nations; a familiar example is the 'Sublime Porte.'

791-5 were obelized by Ar. on good grounds: 'if the advance of the Greeks was all that had to be announced, there was no need of the goddess; but if the Trojans lacked courage and had to be persuaded to advance, the goddess must appear in person. When the gods take human shape, they are wont to leave at their departure some sign by which they may be known. The message is not adapted to the tone of a son speaking to his father, but is intense (ἐπιταταμένοι) and reproachful; and the words of 802 do not suit Polites; it is Iris herself who should impose the command.' On the other hand, l. 798

is rather suited to a human warrior than to a goddess. But the whole passage seems forced, and out of place. 804-5 should belong to a description of the first landing of the Greeks (compare the similar advice of Nestor 362-8, and the building of the wall in H 337-43); and it has been remarked that as a matter of fact the numbers of the enemy must have been largely reduced by the tenth year of the war, especially as the Myrmidons are no longer among them. Robert (*Bild u. Lied* p. 17) has shewn that Polites was probably the Trojan sentinel in the *Kypria*, so that the whole passage probably comes thence with the rest of the Catalogue.

793. The tomb of Aisyetes is not again named as a landmark; but other barrows are mentioned in a similar manner, e.g. 811, and the σῆμα Ἴλου K 415, Λ 166, 371, Ω 349.

794. δέγμενος, apparently a perf. part. with irregular accent. So also I 191, Σ 524, υ 385, ποτιδέγμενος H 415, I 628, K 123, ὑποδέγμενος ν 310, π 189. Cobet would read δέχμενος (a form mentioned in the *Etym. M.* and found as a variant on I 191 in A) as a non-them. pres. His objection to the text, however, applies only to the ordinary view that δέγμενος is an aor. form (ἐδέγμην) which is plainly unsuitable to the sense *waiting*. For other cases of

τῶι μιν εἰσαμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις· 795  
 “ὦ γέρον, αἰεὶ τοι μῦθοι φίλοι ἄκριτοι εἰσιν,  
 ὥς ποτ’ ἐπ’ εἰρήνης· πόλεμος δ’ ἀλίαςτος ὄρωρεν.  
 ἦ μὲν δὴ μάλα πολλὰ μάχας εἰσήλυθον ἀνδρῶν,  
 ἀλλ’ οὐ πω τοιόνδε τοσόνδ’ εἰ λαὸν ὄπωπα·  
 λίην γὰρ φύλλοισιν εἰκότες ἦ ψαμάθοισιν 800  
 ἔρχονται πεδίοιο μαχισόμενοι προτὶ ἄστν.  
 Ἔκτορ, σοὶ δὲ μάλιστ’ ἐπιτέλλομαι, ὦδε δὲ ῥέξαι·  
 πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστν μέγα Πριάμου ἐπίκουροι,  
 ἄλλη δ’ ἄλλων γλῶσσα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων·  
 τοῖσιν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ σημαινέτω, οἷσί περ ἄρχει, 805  
 τῶν δ’ ἐξηγείσθω, κοσμησάμενος πολίητας.”  
 ὧς ἔφαθ’, Ἐκτωρ δ’ οὐ τι θεᾶς ἔπος ἡγνοίησεν,  
 αἶψα δ’ ἔλυσ’ ἀγορὴν· ἐπὶ τεύχεα δ’ ἐσσεύοντο.

795. **μιν** : **ς]φιν** Pap. ξ : **ςφιν** J (γρ. **μιν**). || **εἰσαμένη** Pap. α. || **προσέφη** ACP  
 Vr. a : **μετέφη** Ω (and γρ. Δ). 797. **ὥς ποτ’ ἐπ’** : **ὥς τέ ποτ** Pap. α : **ὥς τε**  
 ποτ Pap. ξ : **ὥσπερ ἐπ’** G. 798. **ἦ δὴ μὲν** Ar. (Δ *supr.*, T.W.A.) S Harl. d, Par. e  
 j, Vr. b : **ἦ δὴ μὲν** Par. h (and γρ. J<sup>m</sup>). After 798 Pap. ξ adds **ἐνθα ἰδὼν η[λειστους**  
**φρυγας α]νερας αιο[λοπωλους** = Γ 185. 799. **τοιόν τε** U. 800. **λίαν** J (γρ.  
**λίην**) : **λειην** Pap. ξ. 801. **προτὶ** Ar. Zen. Aph. (Δ *supr.*, T.W.A.) : **περὶ** Ω.  
 802. **ὦδε δὲ** Ω : **ὠδέ γε** [G]J : **ὠδέ τι** L. 803. **κατὰ** : **η[ερί?** Pap. ξ. 804.  
**πολυσπερέων** S. 806. **δ’** om. U (add. U<sup>3</sup>). || **ἐξηγείσθω** Q. 807. **εφατ** Pap.  
 α. || **ἡγνώησεν** H : **ἡγνοίησεν** Pap. α.

perf. without reduplication see *H. G.* § 23 (οἶδα, ἔρχεται, ἔσσαι, ? ἰέρεντο Ω 125, and one or two other doubtful forms). Or **δέγμενος** itself might be a syncopated present; there is probably no reason for supposing that the affection of **χ** by **μ** is confined to aor. and perfect stems. This is apparently the view taken by van L. *Ench.* p. 384; **δέχεται** may then also be a non-them. pres. = **δέχ-νται** (M 147). **ναῦφιν**: this form of **ναῦς** occurs only for an ablative gen., with a specially *locative* sense. *H. G.* §§ 154–8.

795. **μιν** in this phrase is to be taken with **προσέφη**.

796. **φίλοι** is pred., **ἄκριτοι** (*endless*, see on 246) goes with **μῦθοι**.

802. **Ἔκτορ, σοὶ δέ**: for the use of **δέ** cf. “*Ἥφαιστε, σοὶ δέ*, Aisch. *Pr. V.* 3, and notes on A 340, 540.

804. Cf. Δ 437–8, and λ 364–5 **οἳ τε πολλοὺς βόσκει γαῖα μέλαινα πολυσπερέας ἀνθρώπων**, where the epithet is more in harmony with the metaphor of men as fed by the soil; here it means no more

than *widely scattered*, and even so is not appropriately used of certain definite tribes, instead of mankind at large. But if the passage is to be saved from ludicrous weakness, we must omit both 803 and 804; the injunction then becomes, not an absurdly obvious piece of tactical advice, but a call to immediate action, such as the context requires: ‘let each commander give his men the word (to advance) and lead them against the enemy.’ As Greeks and Trojans always talk freely together, it is absurd to suppose that the Trojans and their allies had difficulty in understanding one another’s language. Cf. note on 867.

805. For **σημαινέτω** cf. A 289.

806. **πολίητας**, a Herodotean form not recurring in H.; **πολίτης** is found only O 558, X 429, η 131, ρ 206.

807. **ἡγνοίησεν**, ‘the word which led astray the interpolator of 791–5,’ according to Ar., may quite well mean ‘did not ignore,’ i.e. disobey (Schol. A).

πάσαι δ' ὀγύννυτο πύλαι, ἐκ δ' ἔσσυτο λαός,  
 πεζοί θ' ἱππῆές τε· πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει. 810  
 ἔστι δέ τις προπάροιθε πόλιος αἰπεία κολώνη,  
 ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπάνευθε, περίδρομος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
 τὴν ἧ τοι ἄνδρες Βατίειαν κικλήσκουσιν,  
 ἀθάνατοι δέ τε σῆμα πολυσκάρθμοιο Μυρίνης·  
 ἔνθα τότε Τρῶές τε διέκριθεν ἡδ' ἐπίκουροι. 815  
 Τρῶσὶ μὲν ἡγεμόνευε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ

810. ὀρυμαγδὸς CGHJPRU. 811. πόλιος J (i *sup.* over η) L<sup>2</sup>: πόλις U  
 Pap. a. 813. Βατείαν Pap. a. 814. πολυσκάρμοιο P.

809. *pāσαι* ἀντὶ τοῦ ὅλαι (and so M 340) Ar., i.e. the gates were thrown wide open; because, with the doubtful exception of E 789 *πύλαι Δαρδάνιαι*, H. does not seem to have conceived Troy as having any gates except the Skaian. But in all the other phrases (A 65, N 191, 408, 548, etc., and even ι 389) to which Ar. referred to support his theory of *pās* = ὅλος, the emphasis lies on the fact that the whole of something is affected when it might have been only a part; the difficulty here obviously is that we can hardly conceive a *part* of a gate being opened; *pāσαι* could at the most mean that both the *σανίδες* were opened, not one only, and then it would obviously be an unnatural phrase. It is better to consider the poet as conceiving Ilios, like all great towns, as many-gated, but as only naming the one gate which was specially recorded by his tradition.

811. The tomb of Myrine, like that of Aisyetes, is not again named in the *Iliad*; but both names are probably traditional, and do not look like the invention of an interpolator. Myrine is said to have been one of the Amazons who invaded Phrygia (Γ 189). She is evidently the eponym of the Aiolic town Myrina; Kyme and Smyrna equally derived their names from Amazons, Strabo 550, 623, 633. For the language of gods and men see A 403; *τὴν μὲν δημῳδεστέραν ἀνθρώποις τὴν δὲ ἀληθῆ θεοῖς προσάπτει*, Schol. B.

813. Βατίεια = Brier hill.

816. THE CATALOGUE OF THE TROJANS differs notably from that of the Greeks in the evident want of detailed knowledge of the countries with which it deals. Three groups of towns are given,

two without any tribal names (828 f., 835 f., 853 f.), all lying along the Hellespont and the south shore of the Euxine. Niese suggests that these may probably be taken from an early form of the Argonautic legend, as they all lie on the course there taken. The rest of the Catalogue contains only names of tribes with occasional mention of a single city. The arrangement of the allies is radial, not concentric, along four lines running NW. (844-50), E. (851-7), SE. (858-63), S. (864-77), the extremity of each line being marked by *τῆλε* or *τηλόθεν*. The Trojans and allied tribes form a central group (816-43). There are serious differences from the rest of the *Iliad*; for instance in K 428 ff. we have a list of Trojan allies omitting the Paphlagonians (who do not reappear in the *Iliad*) and Kikones (P 73 only, and *Od.*), but including the Leleges and Kaukones whom this Catalogue omits, though they are named again in T 96, 329, Φ 86. Ennomos (860) and Nastes and Amphimomos (875) are not slain by Achilles in the fight at the river as we have it in Φ. In Ξ 511 the leader of the Mysians is not Chromis or Ennomos, but Hyrtios. On the other hand, several lines seem to be taken from the *Iliad*, e.g. 822 from M 99 f., 837-9 from M 95-7, 831-4 from A 329-32. This all seems to point to older material worked up and partly adapted to this place. *κορυθαίολος* explained *ὁ αἰδῶλων, ὁ κινῶν τὴν κόρυθα waving the helm*, or more simply *with sparkling helm*, cf. note on E 707. Grammarians and mss. vary in the accent, many writing -αἰῶλος as in the simple adj.



Πριαμίδης· ἄμα τῷ γε πολὺ πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι  
λαοὶ θωρήσσοντο μεμαότες ἐγχείησι.

Δαρδανίων αὐτ' ἦρχεν ἐνς παῖς Ἀγχίσαο  
Αἰνείας, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίσηι τέκε δι' Ἀφροδίτη,  
Ἴδης ἐν κνημοῖσι θεὰ βροτῶι εὐνηθεῖσα,  
οὐκ οἶος, ἄμα τῷ γε δύνω Ἀντήνορος υἱε,  
Ἀρχέλοχός τ' Ἀκάμας τε, μάχης ἐν εἰδότε πάσης.

820

οἷ δὲ Ζέλειαν ἔναιον ὑπαὶ πόδα νείατον Ἴδης,  
ἄφνειοί, πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσήποιο,  
Τρῶες, τῶν αὐτ' ἦρχε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
Πάνδαρος, ὧι καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν.

825

οἷ δ' Ἀδρήστειάν τ' εἶχον καὶ δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ  
καὶ Πιτύειαν ἔχον καὶ Τηρείης ὄρος αἰπύ,  
τῶν ἦρχ' Ἀδρηστός τε καὶ Ἀμφίος λινοθώρηξ,  
υἱε δύνω Μέρποπος Περκωσίου, ὃς περὶ πάντων  
ἦιδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὖς παῖδας ἔασκε

830

817. τῷ γε: τῷδε P. 818. μεμαώτες CHJPQU. 819. αὐτ': τ' αὐτ'  
P: δ' αὐτ' U: τ' αὐ L: τ' R. 820. ἀγχειν . . ἀφροδίτη Pap. α<sup>1</sup> (-η . . -η  
Pap. α<sup>2</sup>). 821. κνήμησι Q: κνήμασι G. 823. ἀρχίλοχος R. || τ' om. Pap. ξ.  
824. νιατο[η Pap. α. 825. πείνοντες Pap. α ξ. 826. τῶν τ' P Vr. A. || αὐ  
Vr. A. 828. οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀρήστειάν PR (τινὲς ap. Eust.): οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀδρήστειάν HU:  
οἱ τ' ἀδρήστειαν J (γρ. οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀδράστειαν). || ἀδράστειαν G (om. τ'). 829.  
πίτυαν ἔχον G: πίτυαν εἶχον Strabo. || τυρείης GP. 830. ἀδραστός G:  
ἀνδρηστός S. || αμφίος Pap. α. 831. περκωσίου: κερκοπίου G. 832. οὐδ'  
έους ACGHJPQR Vr. a b A: οὐδὲ έους U Lips. Eton. Vr. c: ουδ' έους Ambr.:  
οὐδέους Pap. α.

818. μεμαότες: for the variation in quantity compared with μεμαώτες N 40 see *H. G.* § 26. The partic. is used without an infin. = *eager*, N 40, 46 (78 μαμῶσιν), O 276, etc.

819. For the Dardanians (whence 'Dardanelles') see T 215 sqq.

821. Cf. E 313; and for εἰς βροτῶι εὐνηθεῖσα II 176.

824. These Τρῶες are a separate clan who had doubtless split off from the Trojans proper, and settled a short distance away to the NE. See also note on E 105. The Αἰσέπος runs into the Sea of Marmora near Kyzikos. νείατον, *nethermost*, where Ida runs down to the sea; vide A 381.

827. τόξον, *the bow*, in the sense of skill in archery, acc. to Schol. A; for Pandaros had acquired his bow himself,

Δ 106 sqq. A similar phrase is used of Teukros, O 441.

828. These towns lie at the extreme N. of the Troad, where the Hellespont opens out into the Sea of Marmora. Pityeia is possibly the later Lampsakos. Adrasteia was a local goddess = Nemesis, and Adrastos perhaps originally a god identical with the Adrastos of Sikyon (see note on 572). It is certainly curious that he should appear here with Amphiros, apparently a short form of Amphiaraios, so closely bound up with Adrastos in the Theban legend. Amphiros of Paisos or Aipaisos is in E 612 son of Selagos. For λινοθώρηξ see 529.

831-4 = A 329-32. In both places MSS. give οὐδ' έους for οὐδὲ οὗς (σφοῦς). Merops seems to have migrated from Perkote (see 835), or rather the name points to some hero-worship common to all the district; cf. Ap. Rhod. i. 975.

στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα· τὼ δέ οἱ οὐ τι  
πειθέσθην· κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.

οὐ δ' ἄρα Περκώτην καὶ Πράκτιον ἀμφενέμοντο  
καὶ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἀβυδὸν ἔχον καὶ δῖαν Ἀρίσβην,  
τῶν αὖθ' Ὑρτακίδης ἦρχ' Ἄσιος ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν,  
Ἄσιος Ὑρτακίδης, ὃν Ἀρίσβηθεν φέρον ἵπποι  
αἰθωνες μεγάλοι, ποταμοῦ ἄπο Σελλήεντος.

Ἴππόθοος δ' ἄγε φύλα Πελασγῶν ἐγχεσιμῶρων,  
τῶν οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβώλακα ναιετάεσκον·  
τῶν ἦρχ' Ἴππόθοός τε Πύλαιός τ' ὄζος Ἄρρος,  
νῆε δ' ὡς Λήθοιο Πελασγοῦ Τευταμίδαο.

αὐτὰρ Θρηϊκάς ἦγ' Ἀκάμας καὶ Πείροος ἥρωες,  
ὅσους Ἑλλήσποντος ἀγάρροος ἐντὸς ἔεργει.

Εὐφήμος δ' ἀρχὸς Κικόνων ἦν αἰχμητῶων,  
υἱὸς Τροϊζήνοιο διοτρεφέος Κεάδαο.

835. ΠΕΡΚΩΠΗΝ G Vr. b. 837. ΤΩΝ Δ' αὐ G. 841. ΛΑΡΙΣΣΑΝ GJPV *supr.* :  
ΛΑΡΙΤΣΣΑΝ Δ (T. W. A.). || ΝΑΙΕΤΑΕΣΚΟΝ GJPQ : ΝΑΙΕΤΑΑΣΚΟΝ Ω. 842 *om.* Pap. a. ||  
ὄζω G. 844. ΠΕΙΡΩΣ J Eust. 847. ΔΙΟΤΡΟΦΕΟΣ GJ.

836. As Niese remarks, it is natural that in a *περίπλους* such as that of the Argonauts Sestos and Abydos, on opposite sides of the Hellespont, should be joined together, but not that in a geographical list they should be put under the same ruler. Sestos on the N. shore must have belonged to the Thracians (844). Acc. to Schol. B, however, Sestos was awarded to Abydos in a dispute with Athens on the authority of this line. The other towns are on the S. shore.

839. *αἰθωνες*, apparently *sorrel* or brown. The epithet is used to mean (a) *shining*, especially of iron or bronze, (b) reddish-coloured or *tawny*, of animals (cf. *fulvus* from *fulg-co*), especially the lion, the bull (II 488), and eagle (O 690). Others understand it to mean 'of fiery courage,' others (see Ameis on σ 372) 'shining' with sleek coats or feathers. It is hardly possible to decide between these; the only important argument urged is that in Θ 185, where Hector's four horses are *Ξάνθος*, *Πόδαργος*, *Αἴθων*, and *Λάμπος*, the two first clearly refer to colour; but the last name would support Ameis's interpretation.

840. *ἐγχεσιμῶρων*, see on Δ 242. The Pelasgians are introduced as though they were inhabitants of the Troad, all the preceding nations being evidently

regarded as lying within the dominion of Priam, though having their own chiefs; cf. Ω 544-5, where the limits given include all the towns hitherto named. (So Leleges and Kilikes, not named here, lived in Troas, from a comparison of T 92, Z 397, with I 329.) The Larissa should then be that known as *καθ' Ἀμαξιτόν*, only twenty-five miles from Troy (Strabo p. 620). But this does not suit P 301, where this same Hippothoos dies *τῇλ' ἀπὸ Λαρίσης*. On this ground Strabo decides for Larissa near Kyme in Aiolis. The simplest explanation is to suppose that the Catalogue speaks of the Trojan Larissa, but that the poet of P was thinking of another. This he might easily do, as no less than eleven towns of the name are recorded by Steph. Byz. and Strabo (p. 440). The name is always brought into connexion with the Pelasgians—whether as a historical fact or as a mere hypothesis we are not in a position to say.

845. *ἐντὸς ἔεργει*, of a boundary on one side only, see 617, M 201, and Ω 544. The Thracians seem to be limited to the Thracian Chersonese and neighbourhood; Pei-roos comes from Ainos, Δ 520. Iphidamas the Thracian leader (Δ 221) is not named here.

846. For the Kikones see ι 39 sqq. They lived on the coast of Thrace

αὐτὰρ Πυραίχμης ἄγε Παίονας ἀγκυλοτόξους  
τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀμυδῶνος, ἀπ' Ἀξιοῦ εὐρὺ ρέοντος,  
'Αξιοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδνεται αἶαν.

850

Παφλαγόνων δ' ἠγεῖτο Πυλαιμένεος λάσιον κῆρ  
ἐξ Ἐνετῶν, ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων,  
οἳ ῥα Κύτωρον ἔχον καὶ Σήσαμον ἀμφενέμοντο  
ἀμφί τε Παρθένιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον,  
Κρώμνάν τ' Αἰγιαλόν τε καὶ ὑψηλοὺς Ἐρυθίνους.  
αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον

855

848. Some added Πηλεγόνοσ θ' υἱὸς περιδέειοσ Ἀστεροπαῖοσ (Eust.). 849. ἄμυδῶνοσ : ἀβυδῶνοσ Steph. Byz., Suidas. 850. αἶαν : αἶη Harl. b, Par. d<sup>1</sup> (διτῶσ ἢ γραφῇ Eust.). Others wrote 'A., ὦι κ. ὕ. ἐ. Αἶησ (Strabo) or 'A. οὐ κ. ὕ. ἐ. Αἶα (Eudoxos ap. Schol. A 239. αἶαν τινὲσ οὐ τὴν γῆν ἐνόησαν ἀλλὰ τινα πηγὴν Eust.). 851. παμφλαγόνων R. || δ' om. S. || πυλαιμανέοσ R. 852. ἐξ : καὶ G. || ἐνετῆσ (or ἐνέτῆσ) Zen. 854. δώματ' ἔναιον : ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο Strabo : ἔναον J. 855. κρώμναν JR : τινὲσ Κρώμναν Κωβιάλῳ τε Strabo (cf. Ap. Rhod. ii. 942 Κρωβιάλῳ Κρώμνῳ τε). || ἐριεύνοουσ PQ : ἐρυσείνοουσ Pap. a. || Kallisthenes added after 855 Καύκωνασ <δ'> αὐτ' ἦγε Πολυκλέοσ υἱὸσ ἀμύμων, οἳ περὶ Παρέσιον ποταμὸν κλυτὰ δώματ' ἔναιον (Eust.). 856. οἳ μὲν Ἀλαζώνων, οἳ δ' Ἀμαζώνων, τὸ δ' ἐξ Ἀλύβησ, ἐξ Ἀλόπησ ἢ ἐξ Ἀλόβησ Strabo. γράφει ['Εβφοροσ] οὕτωσ αὐτὰρ Ἀμαζώνων Ὀ. καὶ Ἐ. ἥρχον, ἐλεόντ' ἐξ Ἀλύπησ, ὅσ' Ἀμαζονίδων γένοσ ἐστίν *idem*. Ὀλιζώνων and Χαλύβησ are also mentioned by Eust., but all these variants are 'conjectures in the teeth of the old mss.' (Strabo).

till the time of Herod. (vii. 59, 108, 110).

848. The Paionians are elsewhere described as spearmen and charioteers, i.e. heavy-armed soldiers, not archers (except K 428). Herod. mentions the legend that they were of Trojan lineage, v. 13 (vii. 20, 75). Asteropaioi is not mentioned among their leaders, although, according to Φ 156, he must, by a strict reckoning of days, have been in Ilios at the time which the Catalogue is made to suit. The praise given to the Axios (W. of the Strymon in Macedonia, now the Vistrizza) caused great difficulties, as it is and always was, apparently, a very dirty stream. The variants given above testify to the attempts to evade the difficulty by transferring the eulogy to 'Aia,' which was said to be the name of the main spring of the Axios, and to be clear and bright.

851. λάσιον κῆρ: cf. A 189. Plato quotes the phrase, *Theaet.* 194 E. The 'wild mules' are supposed to be *Jaggetails* of Tartary (*equus hemionus*, Linn.), a species intermediate between the horse and the ass, of which some rumours must have come westward along the coast of the Euxine. A breed of wild

'mules' in the literal sense is of course a physical impossibility. Hehn thinks that the Enetoi made a trade of breeding mules and sold them 'unbroken' to their neighbours, but ἀγροτέρα cannot = ἀδμήσ. However, the discovery of the breeding of mules is attributed to the Mysians, who were neighbours of the Paphlagonians and gave Priam his mules; see note on Ω 278. In historical times the only known Ἐνετοί (or Ἐνετοί as Strabo writes) were Illyrians (subsequently the founders of Venice). It was concluded that they must have emigrated W. from Paphlagonia very soon after the Trojan war. Mules are of course commonly mentioned in the *Il.*, though the ass is only once named (A 558, where see note).

855. The lines added by Kallisthenes (vide supra) are of course intended to remedy the omission of the Kaukonas, who appear among the Trojan allies in K 429, T 329. Other Kaukonas in Elis are mentioned in γ 366 (cf. Herod. i. 147).

856. In this line we appear to reach fairlyland. The conjectural readings of the ancients (vide supra) shew that no identification with historical regions was

τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη.

Μυσῶν δὲ Χρόμις ἦρχε καὶ Ἐννομος οἰωνιστής·

ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰωνοῖσιν ἐρύσατο κῆρα μέλαιναν,

ἀλλ' ἐδάμη ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Λιακίδαο

860

ἐν ποταμῶι, ὅθι περ Τρῶας κεράϊζε καὶ ἄλλους.

Φόρκυς αὖ Φρύγας ἦγε καὶ Ἀσκάνιος θεοειδής

τῇλ' ἐξ Ἀσκανίης· μέμασαν δ' ὑσμῖνι μάχεσθαι.

Μήιοσιν αὖ Μέσθλης τε καὶ Ἀντιφος ἡγησάσθην,

υῖε Ταλαιμέεος, τῷ Γυγαίῃ τέκε λίμνη,

865

οἷ καὶ Μήιονας ἦγον ὑπὸ Τμῶλῳ γεγαῶτας.

Νάστης αὖ Καρῶν ἡγήσατο βαρβαροφώνων,

οἷ Μίλητον ἔχον Φθιρῶν τ' ὄρος ἀκριτόφυλλον

858. χρομίος J (γρ. χρόμις). 860-1 ἀθ. Ar. 861. κεράϊζε καὶ : κεραΐ-  
ζετο G. 862. αὖ : δὲ Strabo. 863. υσμείνι Pap. a : ὑσμίνη(ι) GPQU. 864.  
μέσθλης : τινὲς Μέστρης Eust. || τε om. P. 865. πυλαιμέεος SU : πυλαιμένος Q :  
πυλαιμέεος G : γρ. τελεμενέος J (supr. αι over λεμ). || γυγαίη : τυγαίη P (and  
R supr.). ἔν τισι γυραίη Schol. Pap. a (so Mass. ap. Eust.). || λίμνηι Chairis and  
Diodoros. 866. προσγράφοισι τινὲς (ἡ κατ' Εὐριπίδην Eust.) Τμῶλῳ ὑπὸ νηφέντι,  
Ἵδης ἐν πίοσι δάμῳ Strabo, Eust. (= T 385). 868. οἷ : οἷ δὲ R. || μείλητον  
Pap. a. || φειρῶν ACG Vr. b ; φθειρῶν Ω.

possible. Ἀλύβη, as Strabo says, may be Χαλύβη : the Chalybes in historical times were famous miners, but produced iron only, not silver, Xen. *Anab.* v. 5. 1, Strabo pp. 549-51. Armenia however, close to them, was the home of silver (see O. Schrader *Sprachw. und Urgesch.* pp. 258 ff.). γενέθλη = birth-place only here. Paley compares ἀργύρου πηγή of the silver mines of Laurion in Aisch. *Pers.* 238.

858. These Mysians are Asian, and geographically, at least, distinct from those of Thrace, see on N 5. Chromis is called Chromios in P 218, 494, 534. Four others of the name are mentioned.

861. ἐν ποταμῶι, sc. Φ 15 sqq., where Ennomos is, however, not named (but see P 218); hence Aristarchos obelized 860-1.

863. The Askanian lake was in Bithynia, by the later Nikaia. This district lies close to the Propontis.

865. Γυγαίη λίμνη, near Sardis, Herod. i. 93; cf. T 391. Strabo says it was afterwards called Κολῶν. The name obviously has to do with the familiar Gyges. The mother was of course the Νηΐς or nymph of the lake. Cf. Z 22, Ξ 444, T 384. There is no other case in H. of maternity attributed to a lake,

though rivers are often fathers (e.g. Φ 159). The variant λίμνηι (locative) was meant to avoid this objection, by making Γυγαίη the name of the nymph.

867. βαρβαροφώνων seems to refer only to the harshness of the dialect, as Thuc. remarked (i. 3). H. does not make any broad distinction between Achaeans and barbarians. So Σίντιος ἀγριοφώνους θ 294. This marked reference to the days before the colonization of Asia Minor may indicate that the line is really very old; but, on the other hand, we must admit that the poet could not well have given a more effective touch to indicate the extreme remoteness of the heroic times from his own, had he lived in Miletos itself, than by this casual allusion, made as though a matter of course, to the days when the great and famous city was no more than a dwelling of the despised barbarians.

868. ἀκριτόφυλλον, i.e. with foliage massed together, so that the eye could not distinguish separate trees; see note on 246. According to the scholia the small cones of the pine were called φθείρες from some fancied resemblance to those insects; but the best ancient authority is for the reading φθιρῶν or φθίρων.



Μαιάνδρου τε ῥοὰς Μυκάλης τ' αἰπρινὰ κάρηνα·  
 τῶν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀμφίμαχος καὶ Νάστης ἡγησάσθην, 870  
 Νάστης Ἀμφίμαχός τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,  
 ὃς καὶ χρυσὸν ἔχων πολεμόνδ' ἔεν ἡύτε κούρη,  
 νήπιος, οὐδέ τί οἱ τό γ' ἐπήρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐδάμῃ ὑπὸ χερσὶ ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο  
 ἐν ποταμῶι, χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἐκόμισσε δαΐφρων. 875  
 Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἦρχεν Λυκίων καὶ Γλαῦκος ἀμύμων  
 τηλόθεν ἐκ Λυκίης, Ξάνθου ἄπο δινήεντος.

870. **ΝΑΪΣΤΗΣ** C (and *ap.* Eust.). 871. **ΝΟΜΕΙΟΝΟΣ** HR. 872. **καὶ**: δὴ G.  
 874-5 *ἀθ.* Ar. (The lines have the obelos in A—in Pap. α it is affixed to 875-6—  
 and their rejection follows on that of 860-1, but the scholion is missing.)

872. **ῥς** would naturally refer to Amphimachos as the last named, and so Ar. took it; but Schol. A says that Simonides held it to mean Nastes as the principal leader. Perhaps L. Müller is right, therefore, in thinking that Simonides did not read 870-1 at all;

they are certainly not wanted, though there is no obvious reason for their insertion. **ΧΡΥΣΟΝ** evidently means golden ornaments, such as Euphorbos wore, P 52. Neither of these leaders is named in the fight in the river in Φ; cf. on 860-1.

## INTRODUCTION

WITH the third book begins a distinct section of the *Iliad*, extending to Δ 222: the story of the duel of Paris and Menelaos, and its sequel, the treacherous wounding of Menelaos by Pandaros in spite of the treaty. The section contains two subordinate episodes: the Τειχοσκοπία or interview between Helen and Priam on the walls of Troy (121–244), and the scene between Paris and Helen after the duel (383–448).

Within itself the whole story is consistent, plain, and straightforward; it is indeed one of the most brilliant and picturesque pieces of narrative in the *Iliad*. As the second book gave us a picture of the general scenery of the poem, so the third takes us back to the causes of the war; as the second shewed us the state of things in the Greek camp, the third sets us among the Trojans. We have a whole gallery of fresh persons brought before us with extraordinary truth and vivacity; Menelaos and Paris, Priam, Pandaros and the Trojan elders, and above all, Helen, the cause of the whole war, a marvellous study of a complicated woman's heart, oscillating between repentance and love, her heart full of desire for her former home and husband, yet dominated by the power of her temptress the goddess Aphrodite. There can be little doubt that we have here a poem composed with a single aim and in one piece by a most gifted author, preserved practically intact.

But when we come to relation of the section to the rest of the *Iliad*, the question is by no means so simple. Achilles is indeed assumed to be absent from the battle, and so far the framework as already laid down is assumed. But there is no other reference to the state of affairs as pictured in the last two books. After the pompous description of the march out of the two armies which accompanied the Catalogues, it is certainly surprising to find that they no sooner meet than a truce is made, and instead of the general engagement we have been led to expect, a single combat is proposed as a settlement of the whole war. It is impossible not to feel the force of the argument that the action seems to belong rather to the first than to the tenth year of the siege. Not only would the duel be then better in place, but the whole of the Teichoscopy assumes an ignorance on the part of Priam unaccountable, according to prose and logic, after ten years of war. With regard to this, however, it is enough perhaps to say that for the hearer or reader this *is* the opening of the war; the convention to which he has to adapt himself is infinitely less than the conventions of drama which through

familiarity we accept without a murmur. More serious, however, is the fact that the breach of the truce by Pandaros is ignored throughout the rest of the *Iliad*, that we have a doublet of the duel in H, and that the purpose of Zeus to bring about the defeat of the Greeks to the glorification of Achilles passes entirely out of sight for five whole books. These points have been dealt with in the Prolegomena, and need only be briefly mentioned here. They are, however, amply sufficient to prove that this part of the *Iliad* had no place in the story of the Menis; whether it was composed for this place, as the absence of Achilles seems to imply, or was violently inserted into it from some other source, is a matter on which critics must form their own conclusions. It is not likely that any convincing arguments on such a point will ever be found, and the question must be decided only by the general view taken of the composition of the *Iliad*. My own belief is that in the natural course of the development of the story the duel between Aias and Hector, now in H, stood here, and was displaced in order to make room for the combat of Paris and Menelaos, which originally stood at an earlier point in the tale of the siege. We must at all events recognize that in the two duels we have two parallel stories which cannot have originally been meant to follow in sequence—a point which will be further discussed when we come to H.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Γ

ὄρκοι. τειχοςκοπία. Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Μενελάου μονομαχία.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν ἄμ' ἡγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι,  
 Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ' ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν ὄρνιθες ὥς,  
 ἥντε περ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει οὐρανόθι πρό,  
 αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν χειμῶνα φύγον καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,  
 κλαγγῇ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥοάων 5  
 ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι·  
 ἡέριαι δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρουσαι·

2. κλαγγῇ(ι) τ' CDJQRS: κλαγγῇ(ι) Ω. 3. οὐρανόθεν Par. b j (and *τινές*  
*ap. Apoll. de Adv.*). 5. πέτονται D: πέτανται Schol. B on E 249. 6.  
 φέροντες J (γρ. φέρουσαι). 7. δ' ἄρα: θαμὰ Vr. a<sup>1</sup>.

1. The tale is taken up from B 785 or 810. ἕκαστοι, each tribe, not 'Trojans as well as Greeks.' Cf. B 805.

3. The simile is copied by Virgil, *Aen.* x. 264 sqq.—

Quales sub nubibus atris  
 Strymoniae dant signa grues, atque aethera  
 tranant  
 Cum sonitu, fugiuntque notos clamore  
 secundo.

Cf. also vi. 311, Juvenal xiii. 167. οὐρανόθι πρό, *before the face of heaven*. πρό goes with the locative instead of the gen. in two other phrases, Θ 561 Ἰλιόθι πρό, Λ 50 ἠϊώθι πρό. *H. G.* § 225.

4. φύγον: observe the aor. in the simile—a sort of 'gnomic' aor. followed by the present. The voice of the crane in the sky is a sign of winter in Hes. *Op.* 450. 'The crane is in Greece a bird of passage only . . it breeds farther north, in Macedonia and on the Danube,' Thompson *Gloss.* p. 41. See Herod. ii. 23, where this passage is partly quoted. For ἀθέσφατος see Buttm. *Lex.*, where the word is explained as a hyperbole, 'such as not even a god could utter'; but such hyperbole is not Homeric. Rather 'not according to an

utterance of the gods, hence vaguely portentous, unblest' (Monro). But the form of the word is unexplained.

5. ἐπί with gen. = *towards*, as E 700; *H. G.* § 200 (3). The streams of ocean seem to represent the bounds of the earth, not any particular direction. Cf. Herod. ii. 23. The war of cranes and pigmies ('Thumblings') does not reappear in H., but is very common in later literature, both Greek and Latin; the refl. are collected in Thompson *Gloss.* p. 43. 'The legend of the Pigmies appears in India in the story of the hostility between the Garuda bird and the people called *Kirāta*, i.e. dwarfs . . It is quite possible that this fable has an actual foundation in the pursuit of the ostrich by a dwarfish race' (ibid.). We know from recent travels that such a dwarfish people lives in the heart of Africa; some report of them may well have reached even prehistoric Greece through the ivory trade. See also Miss Clerke *Fam. Studies* p. 145. Acc. to Eust. the pigmies lived in Britain!

7. ἔριδα προφέρουσαι, apparently our 'offer battle,' or *bring strife*; so θ 210; cf. ζ 92, and Λ 529 ἔριδα προβαλόντες:



οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί,  
ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

εὐτ' ὄρεος κορυφήσι Νότος κατέχευεν ὀμίχλην,  
ποιμέσιν οὐ τι φίλην, κλέπτῃ δέ τε νυκτὸς ἀμείνω·  
τόσσόν τις τ' ἐπὶ λεύσσει, ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ λᾶαν ἴησιν·  
ὥς ἄρα τῶν ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κονίσσαλος ὄρνυτ' ἀελλῆς  
ἐρχομένων· μάλα δ' ὦκα διέπρησσαν πεδίοιο.

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες,  
Τρῶσιν μὲν προμάχιζεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής,  
παρδαλέην ὅμοισιν ἔχων καὶ καμπύλα τόξα  
καὶ ξίφος, αὐτὰρ ὁ δοῦρε δύω κεκορυθμένα χαλκῷ  
πάλλων Ἀργείων προκαλίζετο πάντας ἀρίστους  
ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊότητι.

10. Εὐτ' Ar. Ω: ὥς τ' G: ἡύτε ὄρεος Chia Mass. al. || κορυφαῖσι G. 11.  
οὔτε L: οὐ τοι P. || ἀμείνω Ar. Ω: τινὲς ἀμείνων An. 12. ὅς(ς)ον (om. τ') DS.  
13. κονίσσαλος PR Par. d: κονισάλου Aph. || ὄρνυτ' P. 15. ἴσαν Q. 17.  
παρδαλῖν S. 18. ὁ om. Ar. Aph. Zen. al. and αἱ χαριέστεραι. 18-20 ἄθ. Zen.  
19-20 ἄθ. Ar.

see also E 506, K 479. *ἡέραι*, in early morning, A 497, ... 52, though the significance of the epithet here is not very clear. Virg. Georg. i. 375 seems to have thought, perhaps rightly, that it meant 'flying high in the air'; *aeriae fugere grues*.

8. The silence of the Achaian advance is contrasted with the Trojan clamour again, Δ 429-36, and is one of the very few signs by which H. appears to mark a national difference between the two enemies, who are always represented as speaking the same language. Compare B 810 and note on N 41. In A 50, however, clamour is ascribed to the Greeks.

10. There seems to be no choice here but to accept the vulgate εὐτ' in the sense of *ἡύτε*, like as; though the only other instance of it is T 386 (q.v.). The reading of the Massaliot, *ἡύτε* (ἡύτ') ὄρεος, introduces a non-Homeric contraction, as Ar. pointed out; the few other instances of it are very suspicious (Ἐρέβεus, θάρρεus, θέρεus, θάμβεus, see H. G. § 105. 3). The reading of G, ὥς τ', adopted by van L., is merely another instance of the passion of that ms. for the introduction of Attic forms into the text. *ἡύτε* and *εὐτε* are obviously different forms of the same word, cf. *ἡύς* by *εὐ*: there is indeed nothing to

prevent our writing *ἡύτε* at once, as in the old alphabet they were indistinguishable. And the two senses *as* and *when* pass into one another with the greatest ease, just as with ὥς. Some ancient commentators took *εὐτε* in the ordinary sense, *when*, making 12 into the apodosis; but such a form for the expression of a simile is quite without parallel in H.

12. τε . . τε, as often, indicate merely the correlation of clauses. The ἐνί, which regularly follows τόσσον and ὅσσον (see on B 615), is construed with it; but according to the canon of Ar. does not throw back the accent on account of the intervening particle.

13. ἀελλῆς seems to be the same word as ἀολλῆς, dense, lit. crowded together, root Feλ of Féλλω, Feιλῶ, etc., the variation of stem being similar to that between ἀϊκῶς and ἀεικῆς (H. G. § 125), doubtless affected by the analogy of the subst. ἀελλα. The reading κονισάλου attributed to Aph. seems to imply that he read also ἀελλα for ἀελλῆς.

19-20 were obelized by Ar. (and Zenod. included 18 also) on the ground that a warrior would not be arrayed with a bow and panther-skin if he were challenging heavily-armed foes to combat. But this objection would equally apply to προμάχιζεν above. Ar. and most of the other

τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησεν ἀρήφίλος Μενέλαος  
 ἐρχόμενον προπάροιθεν ὀμίλου μακρὰ βιβῶντα,  
 ὥς τε λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας,  
 εὐρὼν ἢ ἔλαφον κεράδον ἢ ἄγριον αἶγα,  
 πεινῶν· μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει, εἴ περ ἂν αὐτὸν 25  
 σεύωνται ταχέες τε κύνες θαλεροί τ' αἰζηοί·  
 ὥς ἐχάρη Μενέλαος Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα  
 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδὼν· φάτο γὰρ τίσεσθαι ἀλείτην.  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε.

23. ὥς τε: ὥσπερ Q. 25. μάλα: μέγα J. 26. σεύονται DJPRU. 27.  
 οεοειδᾶ C. 28. τίσεσθαι A<sup>t</sup>G: τίσασθαι Ω (and Λ<sup>m</sup>, T.W.A.): τίς\*σθαι P (α in  
 ras.). || ἀλείτας Zen.

ancient critics also omitted the *ὁ* in 18, but Didymos for once ventures to disagree, remarking that Homer frequently employs phrases like *ὁ δέ*, etc., without any change of subject. He quotes ι 374, which is not to the point; but see appropriate instances in *H. G.* § 257. 1. αὐτάρ is here merely a particle of transition; if the adversative sense is to be pressed it must mean that though he has the skin and bow of the archer, yet he has also the pair of spears of the hoplite. For the use of a skin in place of the shield cf. App. B, viii. Observe that Paris is not challenging to a duel properly speaking, but only to a combat in the midst of the general engagement; for this is the only admissible sense of *δηϊότης*.

23. The idea seems to be that the lion comes upon a quarry just killed by a hunting party, and eats it under the eyes of the hunters and hounds. Similar pictures of the intruding lion occur in Δ 480, N 198. Some of the old critics objected that the lion will not eat any animal he has not killed himself, and therefore took *σώματι* = *ζῶωι*, a living animal. But Ar. was clearly right in saying that H. never uses *σῶμα* of the living body. It is likely enough that the poet was not acquainted with this habit of the lion; or it may be that the lion's repugnance does not in fact extend to an animal out of which the life has hardly gone, as is notoriously the case with lions in captivity. Cf. Σ 161. It has also been suggested that the emphatic position of *πεινῶν* means that the lion is driven by stress of hunger to an unusual meal.

25. μάλα, *απαῖν*, as Φ 24. εἴ περ ἄν, *even if*, B 597.

28. Here, as in several similar passages (112, 366, T 85, X 118, 120, and others collected in *H. G.* § 238), the mss. vary between the aor. and fut. infin. The same phrase recurs in ν 121—mss. *τίσασθαι* only; in ω 470 they are nearly unanimous for *τίσεσθαι*. A has *τίσεσθαι* here, but *τίσασθαι* in 366. The question is an old one, as appears from the scholia on X 118, β 373, and the testimony of the mss. on such a point carries little weight. In most of these cases the fut. is the more natural, and Madvig and others would read it throughout. But the aor. is quite defensible; here the sense would be 'he thought that he had now got his revenge.' After words of *saying* (indirect discourse) there is no question that the tense of the infin. must follow that of the verb in the direct statement. In other cases there are exceptions where the idea of futurity is especially vivid—see the instances in *M. and T.* § 113. 'Verbs of *hoping, expecting, promising, swearing*, and a few others . . regularly take the fut. infin. in indirect discourse, but they also allow the aor. and even the pres. infin. (not in indirect discourse) like verbs of *wishing*,' *M. and T.* § 136. Hence the possibility of two renderings in 98, and of two readings in 112, 366, and other passages. Where the idea to be expressed so easily shades off on the one side to emphasis of the futurity of the subordinate verb, on the other to the mere thought of accomplishment, it is useless to lay down a rigid rule as the purists do.

τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς  
 ἐν προμάχοισι φανέντα, κατεπλήγη φίλον ἦτορ,  
 ἅψ' δ' ἐτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο κῆρ' ἀλεείνων.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνροσος ἀπέστη  
 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα,  
 ἅψ' δ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὦχρός τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς,  
 ὧς αὖτις καθ' ὅμιλον ἔδν Τρώων ἀγερῶχων  
 δείσας Ἀτρέος υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής.  
 τὸν δ' Ἐκτωρ νείκεσεν ἰδὼν αἰσχροῖς ἐπέεσσι·  
 “Δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἄριστε, γυναιμανὲς ἡπεροπευτά,  
 αἶθ' ὄφελος ἄγονός τ' ἔμναι ἀγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι·  
 καὶ κε τὸ βουλοίμην, καὶ κεν πολὺ κέρδιον ἦεν  
 ἢ οὕτω λῶβην τ' ἔμναι καὶ ὑπόψιον ἄλλων.  
 ἢ που καυχалоόσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί,  
 φάντες ἀριστῆα πρόμον ἔμναι, οὔνεκα καλὸν

30

35

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31. κατεπλάγη C<sup>1</sup>HJPQR Vr. b. 33. τε om. GHPQRT: γε J. 34. βῆσσαις G: βῆσσις DRT Pap. β. 35. παρειά Herod. (Ar. ?): παρηιά Dion. Sid. (i.e. fem. dual acc. to Dem. Ixion; Schol. calls it neuter). 36. αἶθις CDH Par. k. || ἔδν: ἔβη Q. 37. ἀτρέως C (supr. o) DQ. 40. ὄφελος τ' QS. Dion. Skytobrachion added μηδὲ τι γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέεσθαι φίλον υἱὸν (= I 455) (Eust.). 41. ἦεν: εἶν J (γρ. εἶεν). 42. ἐπόψιον Aph.

33. παλίνροσος, only here in H.; on account of the σ it seems distinct from root *op* of παλινόρμενος (or πάλιν δ.) A 326; Curt. conn. with root *ers-*, Lat. *err-o*; so ἄψορρος (Et. p. 556). The simile is copied in Virg. *Aen.* ii. 379.

36. For ἀγερῶχων see B 654.

38. αἰσχροῖς τοῖς αἰσχύνην ἐνεγκύν δυναμένους Hesych. So Ψ 473 αἰσχροῦς ἐνένιπεν.

39. Cf. A 385. Δύσπαρι, so μητερ δύσμητερ ψ 97, Δυσσελένα Eur. *Or.* 1388; cf. Ἰπρος Δῖρος σ 73, Κακοῖλιον τ 260, Αἰνόπαρις Eur. *Hec.* 944, and Δύσπαρις Αἰνόπαρις, κακὸν Ἑλλάδι βωτιανέριη Alkman ap. Schol. A.

40. ἄγονος should mean *childless*, and so Augustus understood the line when he applied it to his daughter Julia; but this sense does not suit the passage, for it was not through his offspring that Paris harmed the Trojans; indeed we hear of no child of his by Helen except in an obscure tradition mentioned by Schol. A, and even that is inconsistent with δ 12. The only good sense that could be got out of the word would be *cursed by heaven* (with sterility) as I 454, which is too weak and indirect

to suit the context. The alternative is to translate *unborn*; and so Eur. *Phoen.* 1598—

καὶ πρὶν ἐς φῶς μητρὸς ἐκ γονῆς μολεῖν  
 ἄγονον Ἀπόλλων Λαῖω μ' ἐθέσπισε  
 φονέα γενέσθαι πατρός.

For τε . . τε we should rather have expected ἦ . . ἦ; but as neither wish is possible of fulfilment there is a certain gain of rhetorical force, with the loss of logical accuracy, in combining both into one vehement wish.

42. ὑπόψιον, an object of contempt or hatred, lit. 'looked at from below,' i.e. with the feelings intimated by the familiar ὑπόδρα. Aph. ἐπόψιον, *conspicuous*, in the sight of all men. For a similar formation cf. Φ 397 πανόψιος.

44. Apparently ἀριστῆα is subj., πρόμον predicate; saying that a prince is our champion (only) because his favour is fair. Else it must be *deeming* (i.e. having at the first moment deemed) that it was a princely champion (whom they saw). πρόμος = *primus*, a superl. of πρό: in use it = πρόμαχος. καλόν is predicate, as its position, separated from its subst. by the end of the line (cf. on

εἶδος ἔπ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι βίη φρεσὶν οὐδέ τις ἀλκή. 45  
 ἦ τοιόσδε ἔων ἐν ποντοπόροισι νέεσσι  
 πόντον ἐπιπλώσας, ἑτάρους ἐρήρας ἀγείρας,  
 μιχθεὶς ἄλλοδαποῖσι γυναῖκ' εὐειδέ' ἀνήγες  
 ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης, νυὸν ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητῶν,  
 πατρί τε σῶι μέγα πῆμα πόλλή' τε παντί τε δῆμωι, 50  
 δυσμενέσιν μὲν χάρμα, κατηφείην δὲ σοὶ αὐτῶι;  
 οὐκ ἂν δὴ μείνειας ἀρήφιλον Μενέλαον;  
 γνοίης χ' οἴου φωτὸς ἔχεις θαλερὴν παράκοιτον.  
 οὐκ ἂν τοι χαράσμηι κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης,

45. οὔτε τις D. 47. ἀρήρας Q Bar. Eton. 51. κατηφείην Zen. Par. k.  
 53. Χ' : ο' Eton. Vr. A (and J *supr.*). 54. τοι : σοι P : τι Q Eust. || κίθαρις :  
 τινὲς κίθαρις An.

N 611), shews; but we naturally translate it as an epithet. 45 may represent the words of the Achaeans.

46. ἦ, not ἦ, is the reading of Herodian and Nikanor; but there is no opposition with what precedes. The question in 52 goes closely with that in 46-51: 'can it be that thou couldst bring . . ? and now canst not thou dare?' 53 then expresses the result, 'then wouldst thou find.' It is equally possible, however, to abolish the note of interrogation at the end of 51 (Bayfield), and to understand 'truly you were such a one (as I say, i.e. a mere flashy weakling) when you stole Helen; can you not now meet her husband?' But the sarcasm of the text is more biting: 'were you, such as you are, brave enough when it was a question of stealing a woman, and now dare not face her husband?' τοιόσδε ἔων, *hiatus illicitus*, cf. B 8, E 118, T 288, Ψ 263, γ 480, ζ 151, τ 185. It is the less justifiable because τοιόσδε (like ὅδε) regularly refers to the speaker, *such as I*; here we require *such as thou art*, τοιοῦτος (like οὗτος, *iste*) or τοῖός περ (van L. *Ench.* p. 266). Bentley conj. both, cf. 159. τοῖος δὴ P. Knight, τοιόσδ' ἄρ' Brandreth.

49. ἀπίης, see A 270. Observe the alliteration in the next line. In Greek poetry, unlike Latin, this phenomenon is sporadic and apparently accidental; some of the most marked instances in Homer occur in places where no particular effect can well be aimed at, e.g. Σ 288, T 217. ἀνδρῶν, plur. because Helen is regarded as having married into the nation; νυὸς ἡ γεγαμημένη τοῖς τοῦ γαμήσαντος οἰκείοις Ap. *Lex.*

51. Cf. P 636, ζ 185; and for κατηφείην, Π 498. The acc. vaguely expresses the result of the preceding actions; cf. Δ 207 and other instances in *H. G.* § 136. 4.

54. The correlation of subj. and opt. is the same as in Δ 386-7—

εἰ μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον σὺν τεύχεσι πειρηθείης,  
 οὐκ ἂν τοι χαράσμησι βίδος καὶ ταρφῆες ἰοί.

In both there is an apparent logical inconsistency, for the subj. expresses confident anticipation (*H. G.* § 276), which is however based upon a condition considered as less probable; we are accustomed to observe the strict rule of thought, and to make the conclusion as supposititious as the condition on which it is based. But the confidence expressed in these two passages is relative rather than absolute; if the condition be once granted, then the result is certain. See also on X 42. As far as the lines before us are concerned, indeed, we might say that Hector, though, he chooses to put the case of Paris' fall as hypothetical only, yet at any rate for rhetorical purposes clearly means to intimate that he does expect it; but this explanation would not apply so well to Δ 386. That passage proves that we must not alter the text by reading either χαράσμοι with some critics, or μυγέλης (subj.) with others. See also note on B 488. P. Knight remarked, as an illustration of the deictic use of the article, that it is added to what can be pointed at, κόμη and εἶδος, but not to κίθαρις, which Paris has not with him.



ἦ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐν κονίησι μυγείης.  
ἀλλὰ μάλα Τρῶες δευδμήμονες· ἦ τέ κεν ἦδη  
λαῖνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἔνεχ', ὅσσα ἔοργας."

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής·

"Ἐκτορ, ἐπεὶ με κατ' αἶσαν ἐνείκεσας οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν

αἰεὶ τοι κραδίη πέλεκυς ὥς ἐστιν ἀπειρής, 60

ὅς τ' εἰσιν διὰ δουρὸς ὑπ' ἀνέρος, ὅς ῥά τε τέχνη

νῆϊον ἐκτάμνησιν, ὀφέλλει δ' ἀνδρὸς ἐρωήν·

ὥς σοὶ ἐνὶ στήθεσσι νῶος ἐστὶ·

μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης·

✓ οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα, 65

ὅσσά κεν αὐτοὶ δώσιν· ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἂν τις ἔλοιτο.

νῦν αὖτ', εἰ μ' ἐθέλεις πολεμίζειν ἡδὲ μάχεσθαι,

56. **δειλῆμονες** DRTU (-ειλ- in ras.) Harl. b, Vr. a<sup>1</sup> (and P Par. g *supr.*):  
**ἐλεῆμονες** Zen. || ἦ ῥά κεν G. 57. **ἔσσο** Ar. Ω: **εἶσσο** Pap. β. 61. **ὅς τ'**:  
ὅς G. 62. **ἐκτάμνησι** T. 63. **τοι** GJPQRT. 65. **οὔτι** DGJPQS Vr. a. ||  
**ἐρικερδέα** Lips.<sup>1</sup>

57. Cf. 453. It is pretty clear from the context that the 'robe of stone' indicates public execution by stoning, such as the Chorus fear for Aias, *πεφύβημαι λιθόλευστον* "Αρη in Soph. *Aj.* 253. The phrase itself is precisely similar to one which is common in later poetry, but only as a euphemism for burial; e.g. Pind. *Nem.* xi. 16 *γὰν ἐπισσόμενος*, Ap. Rhod. i. 691 *γαῖαν ἐφέσσεσθαι*. But the two ideas come to the same, because the heap of stones by which the malefactor is slain forms his tomb as well (Studniczka *Beitr.* p. 62). Cf.—

*τρισώματός τ' ἄν Γηρῶν ὁ δεῦτερος  
πολλὴν ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω,  
χθονὸς τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἐξήνχει λαβῶν,  
ἅπαξ ἐκάστωι κατθανὼν μορφώματι.*

*Ag.* 870-3.

(F) **ἔσσο**, plpf. without reduplication, *H. G.* § 23. 5. To save the digamma Bentley conj. *λάων* for *λαῖνον*.

59. The thought is, 'Since thy rebuke is just, I will say no more than this—Cast not in my teeth the gifts of the gods' (64); the apodosis is not expressed, cf. note on Z 333. 60-63 are a parenthesis.

60. **ἀπειρής**, so *χαλκὸν ἀτ.* T 233.

61. **ὑπ' ἀνέρος**, as though *εἶσιν* were a passive verb; as often with *πίπτειν*, etc. So *κάτει τοι πρὸς τέκνων*, *thou shalt be brought back by thy children*, Eur. *Med.* 1015 (em. Porson).

62. The subject of **ὀφέλλει** is of course *πέλεκυς*. **ἐρωή**, *effort*, as N 590. Paris clearly speaks partly in anger and partly in admiration of Hector's straightforwardness, which thrusts aside without relenting (*ἀτάρβητος*) all conventional obstacles.

64. **πρόφερε**, as B 251. So Herod. i. 3 *τὴν Μηδείης ἀρπαγὴν σφι προφέρειν*, iii. 120 *εἰπεῖν τινι προφέροντα* = to speak tauntingly. **χρυσεῖς** is here the unanimous reading of mss., *χρυσῆς* being occasionally found in other places. Edd. generally read *χρυσῆς*, but (unless we are prepared to say that the quantity of the *υ* is variable, as in later lyric poetry) there is nothing gained by the change; synizesis is just as doubtful in H. as contraction.

65. **ἀπόβλητος** = *abiectus*, contemptible, as B 361.

66. Cf. *οὐκ αἰθαίρετοι βροτοὶς ἔρωτες* Eur. *Frag.* 340. The line is somewhat of a commonplace, and rather weakens the effect of the preceding; it is rejected by van L. after P. Knight, on the ground also that **δώσι** is not the Homeric form (*ἔσσι* αὐτοὶ δώσωσι Brandreth; but see *H. G.* § 81, and A 129). **ἐκὼν** too is not used in its ordinary sense; it must be taken either participially, *by wishing for them*, or better, *as a matter of choice*. This all points to the line being one of the gnomic additions of which there are so many traces in the text.

ἄλλους μὲν κάθισον Τρῶας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιοῦς,  
 αὐτὰρ ἔμ' ἐν μέσσωι καὶ ἀρηΐφιλον Μενέλαον  
 συμβάλετ' ἀμφ' Ἑλένηι καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι. 70  
 ὀππότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται,  
 κτήμαθ' ἑλὼν ἐν πάντα γυναικὰ τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω·  
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότητα καὶ ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες  
 ναίοιτε Τροίην ἐριβόλακα, τοὶ δὲ νεέσθων  
 "Ἀργος ἐς ἱππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιίδα καλλιγύναικα." 75  
 ὧς ἔφαθ', "Ἐκτωρ δ' αὐτ' ἐχάρη μέγα μῦθον ἀκούσας,  
 καὶ ῥ' ἐς μέσσον ἰὼν Τρώων ἀνέεργε φάλαγγας,  
 μέσσου δουρὸς ἐλὼν· τοὶ δ' ἰδρύνθησαν ἅπαντες.  
 τῷ δ' ἐπετοξάζοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί,  
 ἰοῖσιν τε τιτυσκόμενοι λάεσσί τ' ἔβαλλον. 80  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μακρὸν ἄυσεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 "ἴσχεσθ', Ἀργεῖοι, μὴ βάλλετε, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν·  
 στεύεται γάρ τι ἔπος ἐρέειν κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ."  
 ὧς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἔσχοντο μάχης ἀνεώι τε γέγοντο  
 ἐσσυμένως. Ἐκτωρ δὲ μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔειπε· 85  
 "κέκλυτέ μεν, Τρῶες καὶ ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,  
 μῦθον Ἀλεξάνδροιο, τοῦ εἵνεκα νεῖκος ὄρωρεν.

68. τρῶας κάθισον Pap. β. 70. ἐλένην D. 71. κρείσσω Zen. 72.  
 ἄγεσθαι H Vr. c. 74. ναίοιμεν Zen. Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 75. ἀχαΐδα LR. 77. καὶ ῥ':  
 ὁ ῥ' S. 78 om. AU<sup>1</sup>. || μέσσω G. || τοὶ δ': οἱ δ' H. || ἰδρύνθησαν HJ Pap. β.  
 80. τε om. CDGPR. || γλάεσσι J. 83. στεῦτο Q. || τι: τοι P. 86. After this  
 add ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει (= H 349) CGJ<sup>m</sup> TU<sup>m</sup> Cant.  
 Lips. Harl. a, Par. a e, Eton. (ἐν τισιν ἀντιγράφοις ὁ στίχος οὐ τίθεται T<sup>m</sup>).

72. εὔ seems to go with the verb, 'aright,' i.e. *δικαίως*. Paley quotes Aisch. *Supp.* 77, 528 *ἀλευσον ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὔ στυγήσας*. Some however take it with πάντα as though μάλα πάντα, *quite all*. There certainly seems to have been a tendency to join ἐν πάντες together, but there is no case in H, where we cannot take ἐν with the verb; in φ 369 we must (τάχ' οὐκ ἐν πᾶσι πηθήσεις, thou wilt not do well to obey the multitude).

73. The sentence begins as if οἱ μὲν or ὑμεῖς μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ were to follow in distributive apposition as in ω 483; but the change made is a very natural one. φιλότητα goes with ταμόντες by a rather violent zeugma.

74. ναίοιτε, either a concessive opt. admitting a possibility (see H. G. § 299 f), or a real opt. expressing a wish.

78. Possibly borrowed from H 56. Hector holds his spear horizontally in order to press back the advancing ranks. For the 'quasi-partitive' gen. δουρὸς see H. G. § 151 a.

80. The construction passes from the partic. to the finite verb, as though not to include stone-throwing under the general head of ἐπιτοξάζεσθαι.

83. στεύεται, has set himself to say something. See on Σ 191.

86. κέκλυτέ μεν μῦθον: this construction is used only here in the sense *hear from me*; κλύειν τι = *hear* (a sound); Δ 455, etc. The ordinary phrase is κέκλυτέ μεν μύθων, κ 189, 311, etc. We also have κλύειν τι ἀρῆς δ 767, where the dat. is ethical. Hence van L. reads here κέκλυτέ μοι, which is almost certainly right as avoiding the contracted μεν for μοι.

ἄλλους μὲν κέλεται Τρῶας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς  
 τεύχεα κάλ' ἀποθέσθαι ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ, 90  
 αὐτὸν δ' ἐν μέσσωι καὶ ἀρηΐφιλον Μενέλαον  
 οὔους ἀμφ' Ἑλένηι καὶ κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι.  
 ὀππότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται,  
 κτήμαθ' ἔλων ἐν πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω·  
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότῃ καὶ ὄρκια πιστὰ τάμωμεν."  
 ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ. 95  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος·  
 "κέκλυτε νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο· μάλιστα γὰρ ἄλγος ἰκάνει  
 θυμὸν ἐμόν· φρονέω δὲ διακρινθήμεναι ἦδη  
 Ἀργείους καὶ Τρῶας, ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέπασθε  
 εἵνεκ' ἐμῆς ἔριδος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ' ἀρχῆς. 100  
 ἡμέων δ' ὀπποτέρῳ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα τέτυκται,  
 τεθναίῃ· ἄλλοι δὲ διακρινθεῖτε τάχιστα.

89. πολυβοτείρῃ(i) DQRTU. 90. ἐς μέσσω Vt. a (γρ. Harl. a). 91. οὔους  
 δ' D. 92. κρείσσω Zen.: κρείττων L. 93. γυναῖκάδε H. 94 om. Pap.  
 β<sup>2</sup>. || τάμωμεν G. 96. δὲ om. R. 97. ἐμοῖο HPQR Cant. Vt. b. 98.  
 διακρινθήμεναι C<sup>2</sup>DGLQ Pap. β, Harl. a<sup>1</sup>. || ἦδη: ἀμφω S Harl. a (γρ. ἦδη). 99.  
 ἀργεῖοι καὶ τρῶες Zen. || πέπασθε Ar. A *supr.*: πέπονσθε Par. f: πέποισθε S:  
 πέποσθε Ω. 100. ἐμῆς: ἐμεῖο GT. || ἀρχῆς Ar. Ω: ἄτης Zen. 101. ὀππο-  
 τέρων Pap. β. 102. διακριθεῖτε GLQ Pap. β: διακρι(ν)εῖτε CP<sup>1</sup> (R *supr.*) U  
 Vt. a A, Bar. Eton.

98. φρονέω may be taken in two ways:  
 (1) 'My mind is that Argives and Tr. be  
 at once separated,' i.e. I desire to see  
 them separated; (2) 'I deem that they  
 are already separated,' i.e. I accept the  
 challenge, and think that an end has  
 thereby been put to the war. Of these  
 the former best suits the simplicity of  
 Homeric expression and the ἐπεὶ of the  
 next line; for the use of φρονέειν,  
 virtually=*to hope*, cf. P 286 φρόνεον δὲ  
 κύδος ἀρέσθαι. See note on 28.

99. πέπασθε, for πέπαυτε, see H. G.  
 § 22. 7, and compare the participle  
 πεπαυῖα, p 555; vulg. πέποσθε, which  
 Curtius takes to be for πέ-πονθ-τε (Vb.  
 ii. 165); but the strong stem is wrong  
 in the plural. The -θε is, however,  
 taken by Brugmann as a middle term.  
 for πέπαθ-σθε, Gr. ii. 1358 (?). The  
 word recurs in the same phrase only  
 κ 465, ψ 53.

100. ἀρχῆς, the unprovoked aggression;  
 a pregnant sense, for which compare  
 Herod. viii. 142 περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς

ὁ ἀγὼν ἐγένετο. So ἀρχειν = *to be the  
 aggressor*; θανάτω τίσας ἀπερ ἤρξεν Aisch.  
 Ag. 1529, Eur. Herc. 1169, Frag. 825;  
 cf. Soph. El. 553. Zenod. ἄτης, to  
 which Ar. objected ἔσται ἀπολογούμενος  
 Μενέλαος ὅτι ἄτην περιέπεσεν ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρος.  
 ἄτη, however, is often = *sin*, and regarded  
 as deserving moral condemnation; see  
 e.g. I 510-2; and certainly Achilles is  
 not 'apologising' for Agamemnon in  
 A 412. In Ω 28 Ar. himself read ἄτης  
 (though there was a variant ἀρχῆς), and  
 so Z 356. A more serious objection is  
 that ἄτη is for ἀφάτη, and that the con-  
 tracted form is found only in late passages,  
 the first syllable being usually in *thesis*.  
 See on A 412.

102. τεθναίῃ, *may he lie dead*, as  
 τέθναθι X 365, spoken to the dead  
 Hector. Compare τεθναίης Z 164. Both  
 optatives are 'pure,' expressing a wish.  
 The accent of διακριθεῖτε is due to the  
 idea that it is contracted from -εἴητε.  
 This is of course not the case; before  
 the 'heavy' endings the opt. stem is  
 formed with -ι- only, not -ιη- (H. G. § 83).

οἴσετε ἄρν', ἕτερον λευκόν, ἑτέρην δὲ μέλαιναν,  
 γῆι τε καὶ ἡελίῳ· Δὴ δ' ἡμεῖς οἴσομεν ἄλλον.  
 ἄξετε δὲ Πριάμοιο βίην, ὄφρ' ὄρκια τάμνη  
 αὐτός, ἐπεὶ οἱ παῖδες ὑπερφίαλοι καὶ ἄπιστοι·  
 μή τις ὑπερβασίῃ Διὸς ὄρκια δηλήσῃται.  
 αἰεὶ δ' ὀπλοτέρων ἀνδρῶν φρένες ἡερέθονται·  
 οἷς δ' ὁ γέρων μετέησιν, ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω  
 λεύσσει, ὅπως ὄχ' ἄριστα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι γένηται.”  
 ὧς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἐχάρησαν Ἀχαιοὶ τε Τρῶές τε,  
 ἐλπόμενοι παύσασθαι οἰζυροῦ πολέμοιο.  
 καὶ ῥ' ἵππους μὲν ἔρυσαν ἐπὶ στίχας, ἐκ δ' ἔβαν αὐτοὶ

103. Οἴσετε Pap. β<sup>2</sup> (οἴσετ' ?β<sup>1</sup>): οἴσετε δ' Ω. 104. Δ': τ' Pap. β. 105.  
 ἄξετε G: ἔξετε Pap. β. || τάμνη Q (*supr.* H): τάμη H: τάμνοι Ar. *Lex.* 108-  
 110 *ab.* Ar. 108. αἰ G. 110. λεύσει DJRQ. 112. ἐυχόμενοι H (*supr.*  
 ἔλπο). 113. ἔρυσαν S.

103. Οἴσετε and ἄξετε (105) are aor. imper. For the sigmatic aor. with the thematic vowel see *H. G.* § 41. The cases are enumerated in Curt. *Vb.* ii. 282-4, and explained as due to the analogy of the non-sigmatic (strong) aorists which prevail in Epic Greek. In Alexandrian times the converse phenomenon is found, as the non-sigmatic aorists constantly take α as thematic vowel (e.g. ἦλθα) on the analogy of the sigmatic aorists, which by that time were far commonest. The only cases of this in H. are εἶπας, εἶπατε, and ἦναικα (with its various forms). See note on 262.

ἄρν' is probably for ἄρνε, but it may be for ἄρνα. The F of *Fάρν-* is well attested (*H. G.* p. 364, van L. *Ench.* p. 163); the omission of δ' before it, proposed by Heyne, is now confirmed by the Papyrus.

104. Considerable suspicion attaches to this line. γῆ for γαῖα is a rather late form (only three times again in *Il.*, O 24, T 259, Φ 63 (cf. P 595), seven times in *Od.*, but often in Hes.). ἡμεῖς (or ἡμεῖς ?) is metrically assured in only three other places, Ξ 369, α 76, γ 81, the older form being probably ἡμέες uncontracted (Menrad *Contr.* p. 106). Finally, the mention of the third lamb on the part of the Greeks is curious; in the sequel it would seem that Trojan lambs only are used. The line may have been added because Zeus is prayed to in 276, and it was thought that he too ought to have his lamb. Without this line we should naturally suppose that the white

lamb was for the heavenly, and the black for the infernal deities in general (276-9). On the other hand, the mention of the male and female lamb suits the male and female deity (cf. A 729), and the question is not at all clear.

105. ὄρκια τάμνη, in the metaphorical sense, as elsewhere, *make the treaty*, for the actual slaughtering is done by Agamemnon.

107. For the subj. δηλήσεται with the irregular long vowel see *H. G.* § 82, and Mulvany in *C. R.* x. 27. The expression Διὸς ὄρκια is unique, and the line could well be spared.

108. ἡερέθονται, lit. 'flutter,' are blown about by the wind (B 448), i.e. cannot be trusted, the opposite of φρένες ἔμπεδοι Z 352; so ἀεσίφρων T 183. Cf. Φ 386. Ar. obelized this line and the two following; the only reason given is that ἀπολογία ἐστὶν αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν παραβάντων Πριαμίδων. This, of course, is insufficient; the lines quite suit the eminently courteous character of Menelaos. οἷς (109) is left without a very accurate reference by the change of subject to ὁ γέρων (which seems to be employed in a generic sense, not for Priam only—an Attic, not an Epic, use of the article). It is best taken as a neut. *in the case where*; cf. the analogous uses of the neut. pl. in *H. G.* § 161.

112. See note on 28. Here the mss. all read παύσασθαι, and we can translate either *hoping to win*, or *to have won*, rest. Almost all edd., however, read παύσεσθαι.



- τεύχεά τ' ἐξεδύοντο· τὰ μὲν κατέθεντ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ  
 πλησίον ἀλλήλων, ὀλίγη δ' ἦν ἀμφὶς ἄρουρα. 115  
 Ἔκτωρ δὲ προτὶ ἄστρῳ δῶα κήρυκας ἔπεμπε  
 καρπαλίμως ἄρνάς τε φέρειν Πριάμῳ τε καλέσσαι.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ Ταλθύβιον προΐει κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 νῆας ἐπὶ γλαφυρὰς ἰέναι, ἧδ' ἄρ' ἐκέλευεν 120  
 οἰσέμεναι· ὁ δ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἀπίθησ' Ἀγαμέμνονι δίωι.  
 Ἴρις δ' αὖθ' Ἑλένηι λευκωλένῳ ἄγγελος ἦλθεν  
 εἰδομένη γαλόωι, Ἀντηνορίδαο δάμαρτι,  
 τὴν Ἀντηνορίδης εἶχε κρείων Ἑλικάων,  
 Λαοδίκην Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην.  
 τὴν δ' εὖρ' ἐν μεγάρῳ· ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἰστὸν ὕφαινε, 125  
 δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους  
 Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτῶνων,  
 οὓς ἔθεν εἶνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἀρηος παλαμῶν.  
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις·  
 "δεῦρ' ἴθι, νύμφα φίλη, ἵνα θέσκελα ἔργα ἴδῃαι 130

114. ἐκδύοντο Pap. β. 116. ποτὶ Q. || ἔπεμψε CGRST Lips. Eton. Vr. a A.  
 119. ἐκέλευεν AHU Pap. β: ἐκέλευσεν Ω. 123. τὴν δ' U. 126. πορφυρέην  
 Ar. Aph. Zen. PU King's: μαρμαρέην Ω. || ἀνέπασσεν Pap. β. 130. νύμφη Q.

115. ἀλλήλων refers to τεύχεα, and ἀμφὶς means 'there was but little ground (uncovered) between the heaps of arms.' (This interpretation is clearly established by Buttm. *Lcx.* s.v. ἀμφίς, as against the tradition that ἀλλήλων referred to Trojans and Achaeans, so that ἄρουρα meant the μεταίχμιον between the armies.) See also note on H 342.

119. ἧδ' ἄρ': read καὶ Ἰάρν' (P. Knight); ἰδὲ Ἰάρν' Heyne, but see on 318.

120. οἰσέμεναι, aor. as 103. La R. strangely makes it fut., saying that the infin. of these aor. forms is not used; a very unwarrantable assertion in the face of Ψ 111, 564, Ω 663, and four or five other passages. He seems hardly to be conscious of any distinction in sense between the fut. and aor. infin.

121. Iris is introduced as acting on her own mere motion, against the usual rule that she only goes at the bidding of the gods. But cf. Ψ 199, B 786.

124. Cf. Z 252. Λαοδίκη, acc. for dat. by attraction to the case of the relative.

126. δίπλακα, large enough to be worn double; cf. K 134, Ω 230, ν 224, τ 226.

It is opposed to the smaller ἀπλοῖς Ω 230, ω 276 (see Studniczka *Beitr.* p. 73). ἐνέπασσεν, as X 441; the word is used in connexion with weaving in a way which shews that the art was so highly developed in early days as to permit of the weaving of pictures. This was presumably done by inserting coloured threads by hand as the weaving went on, as the Indian carpet-weaver makes his patterns by inserting tufts of coloured wool. One cannot but be reminded of the Bayeux tapestry, on which the ladies of Normandy embroidered their duke's victories.

130. νύμφα is the name by which a Greek woman still speaks of her brother's wife; so also *nuse* in Albanian, properly *bride*. The form is to be classed with *συβῶτα*, *ἡπεροπεντά*, *τοξότα*, etc., as an instance of the old vocative of the -a declension, which survived only in Aiolic. Sappho has ὦ Δικά fr. 78, νύμφα fr. 105. The statement of Schol. A. Ἰωνικά νύμφα τόλμα, lacks all confirmation. See *H. G.* § 92 and p. 390. *θέσκελα*, *strange*, a word of unknown origin recurring Ψ 107, λ 374, 610. Of course the old derivation *θεοῖς ἱκελος* is impossible; but we naturally think of the equally obscure *θέσφατος*.

Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων·  
οἱ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι φέρον πολύδακρυν Ἀρηά  
ἐν πεδίῳ, ὄλοοιό λιλαϊόμενοι πολέμοιο,  
οἱ δὴ νῦν ἔσται σιγῇ, πόλεμος δὲ πέπαυται,  
ἀσπίσι κεκλιμένοι, παρὰ δ' ἔγχεα μακρὰ πέπηγεν. 135  
αὐτὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος  
μακρῆς ἐγχείησι μαχῆσονται περὶ σείῳ·  
τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι φίλῃ κεκλήσῃ ἄκοιτις."

ὧς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἕμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ  
ἀνδρός τε προτέροιο καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ τοκῆων. 140  
αὐτίκα δ' ἀργεννήσι καλυψαμένη ὀθύνῃσιν  
ὠρμᾶτ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο τέρεν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα,  
οὐκ οἴη, ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δὺ' ἔποντο,

133. πτολέμοιο S. 134. πόλεμός τε U. 135. ἀσπίδι R. 137. μακροῖς  
GR. || ἐγχείοις G. || σοῖο PQ. 138. κε: γε P. || φίλῃ: γυνῇ H (γρ. φίλῃ).  
143. τῇ γε: τῇ(i) δε QS.

133. This is a 'Leonine' verse, with a rime in the middle.

134. ἔσται for εἴσται=ῆσται (ῆσ-νται), with shortening as in κέσται for κείσται, νέας for νῆας, χρύσεος for χρύσειος, and other cases in van L. *Ench.* p. 85. So *εἶπτο* H 414. Cf. on 153.

138. κε goes with κεκλήσῃ (fut. indic.); to him who conquers thou shalt (then) be assigned. The order of the words is the same as in H 41 οἱ δὲ κ' ἀγασσάμενοι . . (42) ἐπόρσειαν. It seems unnatural to us here, because we are accustomed to the Attic use of the art. with the participle, where no word from another part of the sentence can be interposed. But here τῷ is still an independent pronoun, lit. 'to him, having conquered,' etc. The difficulty arises of course from the reference being not to one definite person, but to either of two (cf. *H. G.* § 260). This shews that the Attic use has practically been reached in all but the stereotyped order, cf. τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπηνέος, etc. There are very few other instances in H., perhaps only Φ 262, Ψ 325, 663, 702, beside the parallel 255 below (q.v.). It has been proposed, on the analogy of ὀππότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ (71), to take κε with the participle here; but in practice the κε (ἄν) is inseparable from the relative in such sentences for H. as for later Greek, and no analogous case has been quoted. At best we could refer to the instances

of a repeated ἄν where the first often attaches itself to a participle representing a conditional clause, but is not construed with it (instances in *M. and T.* § 224). There seems to be no case of ὁ νικήσας ἄν, and even if it were found it could only mean 'the man who would have conquered.' Van Leeuwen evades the difficulty by reading γε for κε, with P; but this is intolerable. κεκλήσῃ, i.e. κεκλήσε'(αι).

140. ΤΟΚῆΩΝ, Leda and Tyndareos, though Helen is Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα, see 199, 426, ὁ 184; the legends vary as to the paternity of the children of Leda, see λ 298 (*M. and R.*'s note), and on 238 below.

141. ὀθόνη, linen veil, see Σ 595. ΚΑΛΥΨΑΜΕΝΗ: this reflexive use of the middle, in which the agent is the direct object of the action, is comparatively rare; *H. G.* § 8 (2).

142. ΤΕΡΕΝ, round; Lat. *ter-es*. The word is used by H. (1) of flesh, Δ 237, N 553, Ξ 406; (2) of tears, here, Π 11, T 323, π 332; (3) of leaves, N 180, μ 357; (4) ἄνθεα ποίης ι 449. The ordinary explanation, 'tender,' does not suit either (1) or (2), for the flesh to which it is applied is always that of stalwart warriors, not of women or children; it rather indicates the firm rounded muscles (cf. Lat. *tor-us*). As applied to leaves and bloom it means 'swelling with sap,' full of fresh life.

Αἶθρη Πιτθῆος θυγάτηρ Κλυμένη τε βοῶπις.

αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανον, ὅθι Σκαιαὶ πύλαι ἦσαν.

145

οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Πρίαμον καὶ Πάνθοον ἠδὲ Θυμοίτην

Λάμπόν τε Κλυτίον θ' Ἴκετάονά τ' ὄζον Ἄρῃος,

Οὐκαλέγων τε καὶ Ἀντήνωρ, πεπνυμένω ἄμφω,

εἶατο δημογέροντες ἐπὶ Σκαιήσισι πύλῃσι,

γῆραϊ δὴ πολέμοιο πεπανμένοι, ἀλλ' ἀγορηταὶ

150

ἐσθλοί, τεττίγεσσιν εἰκότες, οἳ τε καθ' ὕλην

δένδρει ἐφεζόμενοι ὅπα λειριόεσσαν ἰεῖσι·

144 ἀθ. Ar. (see below). 145. ἵκανον P. 147. λάμποντα G. || τ' ὄζον :  
ε' ὄζον T. 148. τε om. G. || πεπνυμένω T. 149. σκαιαῖσι πύλαισι G.  
150. γῆραϊ : γέροι S : γρ. καὶ γῆρεϊ ὡς οὐδεὶς A. || δῆ : δὲ G. 152. δένδρει  
Zen. : δένδρῳ Ar. Ω : δένδρῳ P Par. k (post ras.). || ἐζόμενοι S. || λυριόεσσαν  
G. || ἵκανον (?) Pap. β<sup>2</sup> : ἕσαν β<sup>1</sup>.

144. This line is a clear case of interpolation of a later myth. The story was that Aithra, daughter of Pittheus, was the mother of Theseus. Theseus having stolen Helen while yet a child, her brothers, the Dioskuri, invaded Attica during his visit to Hades, and recovered Helen, carrying off Aithra to be her slave. At the taking of Troy, the sons of Theseus, Demophon and Akamas, found their grandmother there among Helen's handmaids, and took her back to Athens. The legend was dealt with in the 'Ιλίου πέρις ascribed to Lesches (Paus. x. 25. 5), and is at least as old as the Chest of Kypselos, see Paus. v. 19. Αἶθρα δὲ ἡ Πιτθῆος ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλένης τοῖς ποσὶν εἰς ἑδαφος καταβεβλημένη μέλαιναν ἔχουσα ἐστὶν ἐσθῆτα. ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπος τε ἐξάμετρον, καὶ ὀνόματός ἐστιν ἐνδὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξάμετρῳ προσθήκη·

Τυνδαρίδα Ἑλέναν φέρετον, Αἶθραν δ'  
ἐλκείτον

Ἀθάναν.

The recovery of Aithra was a regular episode of the Ilupersis on Attic vases of the fifth century (Robert *Bild u. Lied* c. ii), and was painted by Polygnotos in the Lesche at Delphi (Paus. x. 25), where the two handmaids of Helen were named Elektra and Panthalis. But Homer is, of course, ignorant of the Theseus myth in all its branches. The Alexandrine critics were troubled by the chronological difficulty of the age which must be assigned to Aithra: ἀπιθανὸν γάρ ἐστιν Ἑλένης ἀμφίπολον εἶναι τὴν οὕτως ὑπεραρχαίαν, ἣν οὐκ ἐκποιεῖ (it is

not possible) ζῆν διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου (Schol. A). That, however, must be put to the account of the myth-maker. More serious indications of interpolation here are the fact that Homer does not name handmaids on similar occasions (σ 182 is the only case), and that the epithet βοῶπις belongs to Hera alone, H 10 and Σ 40 being the only exceptions. The latter, at least, is a doubtful passage. The line was evidently composed at a date when the old tradition had died out, if it is true that the epithet originally came from the time when gods were worshipped in animal form, and was no mere *epitheton ornans*. Cf. on γλανκῶπις A 206.

146. οἱ ἀμφὶ Πρίαμον, the party consisting of Priam and the rest. The idiom by which a man is included in 'those about' him is familiar in H. as well as in Attic; see B 445, Δ 295, Z 436, O 301, etc. The change to the nominative in 148 is merely for the sake of convenience, and does not indicate that Ukalegon and Antenor were in any way different from the rest. The three names in 147 are acc. to T 238 those of sons of Laomedon, and therefore brothers of Priam.

149. ΔΗΜΟΓΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ: the word recurs only A 372, where it is applied to Ilos, the eponym of Ilios. There is no reason to suppose that it is in any way different from the simple γέρον: it means merely *member of the council of elders of the δῆμος* or community. Cf. the γερούσιος ὄρκος X 119 note.

152. ΛΕΙΡΙΟΕΣΣΑΝ: so Hes. *Theog.* 41, and cf. ὅπα λείριον Ap. Rhod. iv. 903;

τοῖοι ἄρα Τρώων ἡγήτορες ἦντ' ἐπὶ πύργῳ.  
οἱ δ' ὥς οὖν εἶδονθ' Ἑλένην ἐπὶ πύργῳ ἰοῦσαν,  
ἦκα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον. 155  
"οὐ νέμεσις Τρώας καὶ ἐκνημίδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
τοιγῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.  
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆσι εἰς ὧπα ἔοικεν.  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς, τοίη περ ἔοῦσ', ἐν νηυσὶ νεέσθω,  
μηδ' ἡμῖν τεκέεσσιν ἵπ' ὀπίσσω πῆμα λίποιτο." 160  
ὧς ἄρ' ἔφην, Πρίαμος δ' Ἑλένην ἐκαλέσσατο φωνῇ.  
"δεῦρο πάροιθ' ἐλθοῦσα, φίλον πέκος, ἔξεν ἐμεῖο,  
ὄφρα ἴδῃς πρότερόν τε πόσιν πηοὺς τε φίλους τε.  
οὐ τί μοι αἰτὶν ἔσσι, θεοὶ νύ μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν,  
οἳ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν." 165

153. τοῖσιν G. || εἶντ' G. || πύργῳ Q (*supr.* ω): πύργων Schol. *ad* O 10.  
154. εἶδον GQT: εἶδονε' RS Harl. a: ἴδονε' D: ἴδον Pap. β. 155. ἦκα :  
ὦκα Zen. Krates: τινὲς ὦκα Par. a. 156. τρώας τε καὶ HPQR. 158. ἀθα-  
νάτοις P. || θασις G. || ἑώκει P Eust. 159. νηῖ Vr. A. 160. λίπνται P (γρ.  
καὶ πᾶμα λίποιτο). 162. τέκνον J. || ἴζου G. || ἔμοιο PQRS Vr. b. 163.  
ἴδῃς Zen. CGJRS' Pap. β, Harl. a b, Par. d e<sup>1</sup> f h j: ἴδῃ Ar. Ω. 165. ἐφώρ-  
μῃσαν Lips.: ἐφώρμῃσαν P. || ἀχαιῶν: ἄρνος Pap. β<sup>1</sup>.

but it is hard to say how a voice can be 'lily-like,' or, to be literal, 'full of lilies.' Commentators generally are content to say that the idea of delicacy is transferred from the flower to the sound. The schol. explain ἐπιθυμητήν, ἡδεῖαν. The Greeks felt particular pleasure in the voice of the cicada (cf. particularly the charming lines in *Scut. Her.* 393 ff.), and we can understand the 'chirruping' of the old men being compared to it; but that does not bring us nearer to the meaning of the epithet. *Λειριβεῖς* is applied to the skin in N 830, but the lily is not elsewhere mentioned by H., and appears first in *Hymn. Cer.* 428. It looks as though some different word of forgotten meaning had been corrupted into a more familiar form; but it is hardly safe to trust to the gloss of Hesych., who explains *Λειρός* by *ισχνός* (Paley). *Λειρίων* ὀμμάτων in Bacchylides (xvii. 95) cannot be said to throw any fresh light on the question. *δένδρεα*, so Zen. The form is well attested in Attic and Herod. vi. 79. *δένδρεον* is certain in N 437, δ 458; but here the simultaneous synizesis and shortening in the vulg. *δενδρέω* are intolerable. (In A 15 χρυσέωι ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ we may read either *ἄν* with Lehrs

or *σκήπτρῳ* ἀνὰ χρυσέωι with Brandreth.) The other Homeric forms, *δένδρεα* and *δενδρέων*, are ambiguous. *δενδρέω* ἐξόμενοι is possible, but ill attested.

153. *ἦντο*, a unique form for *εἶατο*, ἦατο, due to the similarity of *ἦμαι* (ἦσ-μαι) to the vocalic stems, which admit both -ντο and -ατο after η (βεβλή-αται—ξύμβλη-ντο H. G. i. 5).

Lessing, in a well-known passage of the *Laokoön* (ch. xxi.), quotes the admiration of the old men as a supreme instance of the manner in which poetry can convey the idea of exceeding personal beauty without any attempt to describe a single feature.

156. οὐ νέμεσις, 'there is no place for indignation that,' as E 80, α 350, just as we say 'Small blame that'; so νεμεσσητόν Γ 410, etc.

160. *λίποιτο*, *remain*, as I 437. *πᾶμα*, in apposition, as 51, etc.

162. The order is *δεῦρο ἐλθοῦσα ἔξεν πάροιθ' ἐμεῖο*, and *ὧς* (166) is co-ordinated with *ὄφρα ἴδῃς*, 164-5 being parenthetical. *πῆους*, kinsfolk by marriage, explained in θ 582 *γαμβρὸς ἢ πενθερός*, οἳ τε μάλιστα | κῆδιστοι τελέθουσιν μεθ' αἰμά τε καὶ γένος αὐτῶν.



ὥς μοι καὶ τόνδ' ἄνδρα πελώριον ἐξονομήνης,  
ὅς τις ὅδ' ἐστὶν Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνὴρ ἡὺς τε μέγας τε.  
ἦ τοι μὲν κεφαλῇ καὶ μείζονες ἄλλοι ἔασι,  
καλὸν δ' οὕτω ἐγὼν οὐ πῶ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν  
οὐδ' οὕτω γεραρόν· βασιλῇ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔοικε.”

170

τὸν δ' Ἑλένη μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο, δῖα γυναικῶν·  
“ αἰδοῖός τέ μοι ἐσσι, φίλε ἑκυρέ, δεινός τε·

ὥς ὄφελεν θάνατός μοι ἀδεῖν κακός, ὅπποτε δεῦρο  
νίει σῶι ἐπόμην, θάλαμον γνωτούς τε λιποῦσα  
παῖδά τε τηλυγέτην καὶ ὀμηλικὴν ἐρατεινήν.

175

ἀλλὰ τά γ' οὐκ ἐγένοντο· τὸ καὶ κλαίουσα τέτηκα.

τοῦτο δέ τοι ἐρέω, ὃ μ' ἀνείρεαι ἡδὲ μεταλλᾶσι·  
οὐτός γ' Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
ἀμφότερον, βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής·  
δαῖρ αὐτ' ἐμὸς ἔσκε κυνώπιδος, εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε.”

180

169. εἶδον ὀφθαλμοῖς H. 170. γεραόν Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. || γὰρ : δὲ Athen. xiii. 566.  
174. γνωστοῦς DU. 176. τὰ γ' : τὰ κε, γρ. δὲ καὶ τὰ γε Schol. A. || κλείουσα  
Pap. β. 178. γ' om. G Pap. β : τ' U.

168. καὶ μείζονες, *even greater*, not merely equal. κεφαλῇ, *by* (the measure of) the head.

172. φίλε ἑκυρέ: the σF of (σF)εκυρέ lengthens the ε as in οὐδὲ (σF)ούς B 832.

173. θάνατος . . ἀδεῖν, a curious phrase apparently founded on the familiar ἥρδανε βουλή. The neglect of the F of ἀδεῖν (*sua-*) is very rare; ὥς μ'(οι) ὄφελεν θάνατος φαδέειν is a clearly right correction required by the order of the words (Monro; *H. G.* p. 337). Yet even so the verb is a curious one to use, and there is no exact parallel. ἐλέειν, λαβέειν were not likely to be corrupted.

175. παῖδα, sc. Hermione, δ 14. τηλυγέτην: the explanation of this much disputed word which now seems to be the most generally accepted is that given by Savelsberg in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1853, p. 441. It is explained at length by M. and R. on δ 11. The conclusion there arrived at is that the word means *adolescens*, lit. 'grown big,' from \*τῆλως = *great*, and that it indicates an age of from thirteen to twenty or thereabouts. This suits the statement of Sophokles as quoted by the schol. on δ 4, and Eustath., who say that Hermione was given in marriage while Helen was in Troy, so that she could not have been

very young when her mother left her. But it is only an uncertain guess.

178. οὗτος is 'anaphoric,' not 'deictic'; in other words it means 'he of whom you ask,' while Priam (167) uses ὅδε, 'this warrior whom I see.'

179. This was a favourite line of Alexander's, *Plut. Mor.* i. 331. See also *Xen. Mem.* iii. 2. 2. ἀμφότερον, exactly our idiom, 'both a good king and.' So Pindar *O.* vi. 17 ἀμφότερον μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάρνασθαι.

180. εἴ ποτ' ἔην γε: this phrase occurs in five other places, viz. A 762, Ω 426, ο 268, τ 315, ω 289. It is always, except in Ω and ω, preceded by some form of εἶναι. It is commonly taken to mean 'if indeed it is not all a dream,' *si unquam fuit quod non est amplius*, i.e. *si recte dici potest fuisse quod ita sui factum est dissimile ut fuisse nunquam credas*, G. Hermann. The doubt whether then be a rhetorical way of emphasizing the bitter contrast between the past and the present. Monro compares εἴ ποτε in prayers (e.g. A 39, 394), where there is no doubt expressed; 'the effect is that of an assurance that the past to which the speaker looks back was once really present; "if there was an Agamemnon [as there was], he was my

ὥς φάτο, τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων ἡγάσσατο φώνησέν τε·  
 “ὦ μάκαρ Ἀτρεΐδῃ, μοιρηγενές, ὀλβιόδαιμον,  
 ἦ ῥά νύ τοι πολλοὶ δεδμήατο κούροι Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἦδη καὶ Φρυγίην εἰσήλυθον ἀμπελόεσσαν·  
 ἔνθα ἴδον πλείστους Φρύγας ἀνέρας αἰολοπώλους,  
 λαοὺς Ὀτρῆος καὶ Μύγδονος ἀντιθέοιο,  
 οἳ ῥα τότ' ἐστρατόωντο παρ' ὄχθας Σαγγαρίοιο·  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπίκουρος ἐὼν μετὰ τοῖσιν ἐλέχθην  
 ἡματι τῷ, ὅτε τ' ἦλθον Ἀμαζόνες ἀντιάνειραι·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' οἱ τόσοι ἦσαν ὅσοι ἐλίκωπες Ἀχαιοί.”  
 185  
 190  
 δεύτερον αὐτ' Ὀδυσῆα ἰδὼν ἐρέειν' ὁ γεραίός·  
 “εἴπ' ἄγε μοι καὶ τόνδε, φίλον τέκος, ὅς τις ὄδ' ἐστί,  
 μείων μὲν κεφαλῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο,  
 εὐρύτερος δ' ὥμοισιν ἰδὲ στέρνοισιν ἰδέσθαι.  
 τεύχεα μὲν οἱ κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πούλυβοτείρῃ,  
 195  
 αὐτὸς δὲ κτίλος ὥς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν·  
 ἀρνεῖωί μιν ἐγὼ γε εἴσκω πηγεσιμᾶλλωι,  
 ὅς τ' οἶων μέγα πῶν διέρχεται ἀργεννῶν.”

186. λαοὺς τ' J. 187. ἐστρατεύοντο JP<sup>1</sup> (-όντο P<sup>2</sup>). 188. ἐγὼν: ἐών  
 Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. || ἐλέγμην Strabo. 189. τ' om. GR. 190. οὐδ' οἱ: οὐ δὲ Q.  
 191. αὐθ' C. 193. κεφαλῇ Ar. H Par. g<sup>2</sup>. 194. ἡδὲ GPQ. 195. τεύχεα  
 οἱ μὲν JR. || πολυβοτείρῃ DT Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 196. ἐπιπωλεῖτο Pap. β. 197. μιν:  
 μὲν S.

brother-in-law.” But the phrase belongs to a class of sentences in which *εἰ* is not conditional at all, but merely calls attention to a concomitant circumstance, of which the so-called ‘protasis’ is independent. See note on Δ 321. The sense is rather ‘Do not forget that he was’ than ‘if he was.’ To bring out this sense Curtius would read ἢ ποτ' ἔην γε, ‘surely once he was,’ which is needless.

182. μοιρηγενές, *child of fortune*, born to a happy fate. Döderlein explains ‘born for destruction (of enemies),’ on the ground that μοῖρα means *evil* fate. But this is only the case in phrases like μοῖραι θανάτῳ and others; in ν 76 it is opposed to ἀμμορίη, and clearly means ‘good fortune’; μοῖρη γενόμενος would answer to the κακῇ αἵσῃ τέκον of A 418.

183. δεδμήατο, i.e. ‘are, as I now see, subject to you’; the plpf. being used like the imperf. in ἡμελλον, ἦν (ἀρα), etc. Cf. ἐτένυτο Θ 163, M 164.

185. The rhythm shows that Φρύγας ἀνέρας go closely together. αἰολοπώλους:

cf. πόδας αἰόλος ἵππος T 404, with *nimble* horses. πλείστους is predicate, with ἴδον.

188. ἐλέχθην, either ‘was numbered among them’ (λεγ-) or ‘lay down (bivouacked) among them’ (λεχ-). The same ambiguity is found in Θ 519, I 67. H. mentions the Amazons once again, Z 186; cf. also B 811.

193. κεφαλῇ, as 168. Ar.’s κεφαλῇ follows the analogy of 227.

196. κτίλος, the ram who leads the flock, ‘bell wether’; the simile is given again, at full length, in N 492. In later Greek the word seems to be used only as an adj. = *tame*. Cf. Pind. P. ii. 17 ἱερέα κτῆλον Ἀφροδίτας.

197. πηγεσιμᾶλλωι, *thick-fleeced*; cf. πηγὸς of horses and waves, I 124, ε 388. The formation of the word is hard to explain; the analogy of τανυσίπτερος, ἐλκεσίπεπλος, ταμεισίχροος, ἀερσίποδες, and many others, shews that it must be derived from the verb-stem πηγ-, not from πηγός (cf., however, Πρωτεσίλαος). H. G. § 124 c.

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειθ' Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγανῖα·  
 “οὗτος δ' αὖ Λαερτιάδης πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ὃς τράφη ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης κραναῆς περ ἐούσης  
 εἰδὼς παντούλους τε δόλους καὶ μῆδεα πυκνά.” 200

τὴν δ' αὖτ' Ἀντήνωρ πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἦδα·  
 “ὦ γύναι, ἦ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος νημερτὲς ἔειπες·  
 ἦδη γὰρ καὶ δεῦρό ποτ' ἤλυθε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 σεῦ ἔνεκ' ἀγγελίης, σὺν ἀρηϊφίλῳ Μενελάῳ· 205

τοὺς δ' ἐγὼ ἐξείνισσα καὶ ἐν μεγάροισι φίλησα,  
 ἀμφοτέρων δὲ φυὴν ἐδάην καὶ μῆδεα πυκνά.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν,  
 στάντων μὲν Μενέλαος ὑπείρεχεν εὐρέας ὤμους,  
 ἄμφω δ' ἐζομένῳ, γεραρώτερος ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς. 210

203. αὖ P Lips. 204. ἔειπας GL Vr. a<sup>1</sup>, Lips.<sup>1</sup> 206. cās Zen. Par. b.<sup>1</sup>  
 207. τοὺς δ': τοῦδε δ' P. || ἐγὼν ἐξείνισσα J. || ζείνισα PQ. || μεγάροις ἐφίλησα  
 Pap. β. 211. ἐζομένῳ Zen. DTU Harl. a<sup>1</sup> c d, King's, Par. c, Eton.

201. δῆμῳ, 'realm' in local sense, see B 547. περ: the idea seems to be, 'poor though the soil of Ithaka be, yet it has succeeded in producing a great man.' Cf. δ 605, ι 27 τρηχεῖ' ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος. τράφη, read τράφεν or τράφ' ἐνί, though here the MSS. are unanimous; see on B 661.

206. ἀγγελίης ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀγγελος, Ar., a much disputed doctrine. In the present passage we may well take ἀγγ. as governed by ἔνεκα (as π 334 τῆς αὐτῆς ἔνεκ' ἀγγελίης) and σεῦ as an objective gen. after it (as κ 245 ἀγγελίην ἐτάρων ἐρέων). So Δ 384 ἀγγελίην ἐπὶ Τυδῇ στείλαν Ἀχαιοί is ambiguous, for ἐπὶ may be taken with the verb (see note there); and Δ 140 Μενέλαον . . ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα, with the analogy of ἐξεσίην ἐλθόντι Ω 235, φ 20 (hence Bentley, followed by van L., read ἀγγελίην here). But in Ν 252 ἡέ τευ ἀγγελίης μετ' ἔμ' ἤλυthes, O 640 ὃς Εὐρύσθης ἀέθλων ἀγγελίης οἴχνησκε βίηι Ἡρακλείη, we must either make the word a nom. with Ar., or read ἀγγελίην with Zenod., or extend the 'causal' use of the genitive beyond all analogy, even in the freedom of Homeric usage. The termination -ίης recurs only in νεηνίης, ταμνίης, in the latter case with the fem. ταμνὴ beside it, though this is not an abstract noun. For the formation of such masculines of the -a declension from abstract feminines see H. G. § 116 (2). There is, therefore, a certain amount of analogy

for the doctrine of Ar., establishing at least the possibility of it; the conclusion in the last resort depends on the tradition of the text in N and O. (See also Delbrück *Gr.* iii. pp. 111, 368.) There can be no doubt that on the whole the nom. masc. gives the best sense here, 'an envoy concerning thee.' The gen. would rather mean *to get* (or more naturally *to bring*) *a message of thee*, which is not what is required. Odysseus and Menelaos came as envoys from Greece, to obtain the surrender of Helen by peaceful means before the opening of the war, as was related in the *Kypria*. This is again alluded to in Δ 138, q.v. σῆς, the reading of Zen., is no improvement on σεῦ, and would have to be taken in the same objective sense, cf. T 336 ἐμὴν ποτιδέγμενον αἰεὶ | λυγρὴν ἀγγελίην.

209. ἀγρομένοις, sc. when they first made their appearance in the ἀγορά.

210. στάντων seems to refer to the whole multitude; the dignity of Odysseus is emphasized by his being more stately, when they sat down, even than the man whose shoulders stood out not only above his, but above all the Trojans. Bentley read σάντες on the analogy of ἐζομένῳ below. ὑπείρεχεν is probably intrans., with gen. as ἥλιος ὑπερέσχεθε γαίης Δ 735; ὑπερέχεν in the trans. sense means 'to hold over,' e.g. B 426, which is possible here, but seems less natural.

211. There is an anacoluthon here;

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μύθους καὶ μῆδεα πᾶσιν ὕφαινον,  
 ἦ τοι μὲν Μενέλαος ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγόρευε,  
 παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως, ἐπεὶ οὐ πολὺμυθος,  
 οὐδ' ἀφαρματοεπής, εἰ καὶ γένει ὕστερος ἦεν. 215  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολύμητις ἀναΐξειεν Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 στάσκειν, ὑπαὶ δὲ ἶδεσκε κατὰ χθονὸς ὄμματα πῆξας,  
 σκῆπτρον δ' οὐτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπρηνὲς ἐνώμα,  
 ἀλλ' ἀστεμφὲς ἔχεσκειν, αἰδρεῖ φωτὶ ἐοικώς·  
 φαίης κε ζάκοτόν τέ τιν' ἔμμεναι ἄφρονά τ' αὐτως. 220  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ὅπα τε μεγάλην ἐκ στήθεος εἶη

215. εἰ: Ἡ AT Eton. (γρ. Harl. a): Ἡ Pap. β<sup>1</sup>: Ἡ or Ἡ Nik. 219. αἶθρι  
 D<sup>3</sup>ST Vr. b, Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 220. ΤΕ ΤΙΝ': ΤΙΝΑ S (γρ. J): ΤΙΝ' Q. || ε' αὐτως JQ.  
 221. εἶη ADU: ἵει GP Harl. a: ἵει CHJL: ἵη Lips.

the construction is just like K 224 σύν τε δὴ ἐρχομένω, καὶ τε πρὸ ὁ τοῦ ἐνόησεν. In both cases the sentence begins as if ἀμφω (δύο) were to be continued in distributive apposition (ἀπὸ ὅλου εἰς μέρη) by an ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ δέ (as σ 95 δὴ τὸτ' ἀνασχομένω ὁ μὲν ἤλασε δεξιὸν ὦμον | Ἴρος, ὁ δ' αὐχέν' ἔλασεν, H 306, M 400, etc.). But here the second member is forgotten altogether; in K the two are run together into πρὸ ὁ τοῦ. Cf. also μ 73 οἱ δὲ δὴ σκόπελοι ὁ μὲν . . . followed by τὸν δ' ἔτερον 101. Zenod. read ἐξομένων, apparently regarding ἀμφω as indeclinable (it is not found in H. except in nom. and acc.).

212. For ὕφαινον Casaubon conj. ἔφαινον, cf. Σ 295, θ 499. But the metaphor of weaving speeches is too natural to be objected to. For the dat. πᾶσι cf. τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη (locatival).

213. ἐπιτροχάδην, *fluently* (as σ 26), not stumbling for want of words; it is explained by the whole of what follows, παῦρα being taken up by οὐ πολὺμυθος, and λιγέως (which seems to mean *clear* in utterance) by οὐδ' ἀφαρματοεπής, 'no stumbler in words either' (cf. λ 511 οὐχ. ἡμάρτανε μύθων, and N 824 ἀμαρτοεπής). I.e. Menelaos spoke concisely, but what he did say he said clearly and without stumbling, cf. ἀσφαλὲς ἀγορεύει θ 171. In the fragment of Menelaos' speech on this occasion, as conceived by Bacchylides (xv.), it can hardly be said that the Homeric character, οὐ πολὺμυθος, is observed.

215. Though the ms. testimony is strong in favour of εἰ here, the scholia only discuss ἦ and ἧ as variants. The

latter is inadmissible here; the former, preceded by a colon, may be defended by passages where it introduces short parenthetical sentences, as H 393, Δ 362, X 280 (H. G. § 338). All these cases are, however, so far different that ἦ retains its original force of strong affirmation, and in none of them could εἰ be substituted without detriment to the sense. Here, however, there is no need of asseveration about the relative age of Menelaos, and if ἦ is right, it means no more than εἰ, which it is therefore better to retain.

217. ὑπαί, *from under* as usual (H. G. § 201), not *down*, which is κατά. So ὑπόδρα of the glance of a man from under eyebrows contracted in anger. Here ὄμματα refers to the face rather than the eyes; Odysseus keeps his face turned to the earth and looks up from under his brow, ὑπὸ βλεφάρων T 17. Cf. Ovid Met. xiii. 125 *Laertius heros Adstitit atque oculos paululum tellure moratos Sustulit ad proceres*. ἀναΐξειεν, *rose to speak*, cf. ἦσσον Σ 506. The opt. is iterative.

220. ζάκοτος: the idea seems to be what we call 'sulky'; κότος implies resentment rather than open anger, and is thus contrasted with χάλος in Δ 82. Odysseus, by not employing the outward signs of appeal and persuasion, looks like a man who in deep resentment chooses to hold aloof from his fellows. ΤΕ ΤΙΝ': τινά F' Brandreth (see the variant). The caesura is insufficient in any case. For φαίης κε = *dicerēs, crederēs*, cf. 392, Δ 429, O 697, etc. αὐτως, a mere simpton; A 133.

221. We can choose between εἶη and



καὶ ἔπεα νιφάδεσσιν εἰκότα χειμερίησιν,  
οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆϊ γ' ἐρίσσειε βροτὸς ἄλλος.  
οὐ τότε γ' ᾧδ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀγασσάμεθ' εἶδος ἰδόντες."

τὸ τρίτον αὐτ' Αἴαντα ἰδὼν ἐρέειν' ὁ γεραίος.  
"τίς ταρ ᾧδ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνὴρ ἡὺς τε μέγας τε,  
ἔξοχος Ἀργεῖων κεφαλὴν ἡδ' εὐρέας ὤμους;"  
τὸν δ' Ἑλένη τανύπεπλος ἀμείβετο, διὰ γυναικῶν.  
"οὗτος δ' Αἴας ἐστὶ πελώριος, ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν.  
Ἴδομενεὺς δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐνὶ Κρήτεσσι θεὸς ὥς  
ἔστηκε, ἀμφὶ δέ μιν Κρητῶν ἀγοὶ ἡγερέθονται.  
πολλάκι μιν ξείνισσεν ἀρηΐφιλος Μενέλαος  
οἴκῳ ἐν ἡμετέρῳ ὅποτε Κρήτηθεν ἵκοιτο.  
νῦν δ' ἄλλους μὲν πάντας ὁρῶ ἐλίκωπας Ἀχαιοὺς,  
οὓς κεν ἐν γνοίην καὶ τ' οὔνομα μυθησαίμην.  
δοιῶ δ' οὐ δύναμαι ἰδέειν κοσμήτορε λαῶν,  
Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πύξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα,

225

230

235

222. καὶ ῥ' T<sup>2</sup>. || χειμερίοισι Q Vr. c. 226. ταρ A: γὰρ Trypho G: τ' ἄρ'  
Ω. || ἀχαιοὺς ᾧδ' ἄλλος Q. || μέγας δὲ R. 227. ἡδ': τε καὶ Ar. Aph.: καὶ Q  
(and this the Schol. of Did. implies as a variant). 229. δ' om. RT. 230.  
κρήτεσσι: ἐρήκεσι Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 231. ἡγερέθονται ACJPRU Harl. a: ἡγερέθοντο  
DGH (post ras.) LQST Vr. a b: ἡερέθονται Pap. β. 234. ὁρῶ πάντας Q. ||  
ἐλίκωπας: καὶ πάντας Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 235 om. Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. || καὶ τοῦνομα CH: καὶ κ'  
οὔνομα C (sic La R; G?) T. 236. δύω P<sup>1</sup>QS (δυῶ? T<sup>1</sup>). 237. πολυδεύκηνη CS.

ῖει (ῖη) even apart from ms. variation; but the opt. in 216 is evidently in favour of the former.

224. The line was condemned by Bentley. It is most awkward as well as tautological, and the digamma of root *Fid* is twice violated. Giseke remarks that it would come better after 220; but it seems to be only a variant of 223, added by way of recapitulation of the whole speech. ᾧδε must then mean 'so much as we did before'; whereas the proper sense is 'so much as we do now.'

227. ἡδ': the reading of Ar. *τε καὶ* introduces the forbidden trochaic caesura in the 4th foot (cf., however, P 719). Ahrens thought that the old reading was *καὶ* (vide supra), the length being preserved by the bucolic diaeresis.

228. τανύπεπλος seems to mean nearly the same as ἐλκεσίπεπλος (Z 442, etc.), with long (or wide) robe (lit. stretched out), cf. ἐκταδίη K 134. See Studniczka *Beitr.* p. 116, Helbig *H. E.* p. 205.

229. It is remarkable that Aias should

be dismissed in one line (cf. on B 557), and Diomedes altogether omitted; the name of the latter indeed does not occur at all before Δ 365, except in the Catalogue, B 563, 567, and he drops entirely out of the action after Λ, except in the games in Ψ and one speech in Ξ (109 sqq.). It is not impossible that Idomeneus, who is frequently the object of disproportionate praise, has here supplanted the description of the more famous warriors.

235. γνοίην, 'I could recognise and name,' a sort of assimilation of the first clause to the second, for 'whom I recognise and could name' (Monro). Or, in other words, γνοίην καὶ = γνοῖσα: cf. 'whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose,' Aisch. *Sept.* 272 *ἰκέσθαι καὶ* = *ἰκομένους* (M. A. B.).

237. For another (and later?) legend of Kastor and Polydeukes see λ 300 sqq., the only other place where they are mentioned in H. That passage is clearly inconsistent with 243-4, as they are said to have shared immortality

αὐτοκασιγνήτω, τώ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ.  
 ἢ οὐχ ἑσπέσθην Λακεδαίμονος ἐξ ἑρατεινῆς,  
 ἢ δεῦρο μὲν ἔποντο νέεσσ' ἐνι ποντοπόροισι, 240  
 νῦν αὖτ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσι μάχην καταδύμεναι ἀνδρῶν,  
 αἴσχεα δειδιότες καὶ ὀνειδέα πόλλ', ἃ μοι ἔστιν."  
 ὧς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἦδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα  
 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὖθι, φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.  
 κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεῶν φέρον ὄρκια πιστά, 245  
 ἄρνε δύω καὶ οἶνον ἐύφρονα, καρπὸν ἀρούρης,  
 ἀσκῶι ἐν αἰγείῳ· φέρε δὲ κρητῆρα φαεινὸν  
 κήρυξ Ἰδαίος ἠδὲ χρύσεια κύπελλα·  
 ὦτρυνεν δὲ γέροντα παριστάμενος ἐπέεσσιν·  
 "ὄρσεο, Λαομεδοντιάδῃ, καλέουσιν ἄριστοι 250

239. ἑσπέσθην [A]R[S]T: εἰπέσθην P: ἐπέσθην Ω. 240. δεῦρο HJP<sup>1</sup>QRTU<sup>2</sup>  
 (in ras.) Harl. a (γρ. ρω) b c d, King's, Par. a<sup>1</sup> b (?) h j: δεύρω ACG[L]S] Vr. a<sup>2</sup>,  
 Par. c d e f g: δεῦρω D. 241. νῦν δ' CGPRS. || αὖ Vr. a. || μάχην: πόνον  
 Eust. 242. ὀνειδέ' ἃ πολλὰ J (γρ. καὶ ὀνειδέα πολλὰ μοι). 243. ἤδη om.  
 P. || κατέχε(ν) J (γρ. κάτεχε) PQ. || φυσίζωος DP. || αἶα: ἄρουρα Q. 244.  
 φίλῃ ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν D. || φίλῃ: ἐαί Zen. 247. δὲ: δὴ Lips. || κρατῆρα  
 GR. 249. ὦτρυνεν Vr. a.

after death by alternate days. The synzesis in Πολυδεύκεα is suspicious; perhaps the variant Πολυδεύκην is right. Zen. explained the absence of the brothers from Troy by supposing that they had been left as regents of Greece (διοικητὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος Schol. T). But their death was related in the *Kypria*.

238. αὐτοκασιγνήτω according to the grammarians means 'whole brothers'; we have not evidence enough of the early forms of the Dioskuri myth to say if Homer regarded them both as children of Zeus; in λ they are distinctly made sons of Tyndareos, and it is probable that Helen herself may have been to H. really his daughter, and only in a more distant degree descended from Zeus. But see on 140. μία = ἡ αὐτῇ as T 293; μοι goes with it, 'the same as me.'

240. δεῦρο has the last syll. lengthened by ictus. The δεύρω of a few mss. is an imaginary form not elsewhere found. If we write ἤ . . ἤ with Nikanor, the two suppositions take the form of alternative assertions; Herodotus preferred ἤ . . ἤ, when we must put a note of interrogation after ἔστιν. See H. G. § 340.

241. αὐτε = δέ, αὐτάρ, A 237, etc.

242. αἴσχεα, ὀνειδέα, in objective sense, the *insults* and *revilings* of men.

243. Observe the way—to our idea inappropriate—in which the conventional epithet φυσίζωος is introduced; cf. Φ 63, note.

244. αὖθι, there, i.e. in their own place. For φίλῃ Zenod. read ἐῆ, 'their,' see App. A.

245. ὄρκια here and 269, *oath-offerings*, including wine as well as victims, the epithet πιστά being curiously transferred from the abstract sense. In the phrase ὄρκια τάμνειν, 252, the victims alone are signified, properly speaking; but the original signification of the phrase became so conventional that ultimately ὄρκια = a *treaty*, cf. 94, 256, Δ 269, and even the sing. ὄρκιον is found, Δ 158. Buttmann has an excellent article on the Greek conception of oaths (*Lexil.* s.v.). The significance of the verb τάμνειν may be well illustrated by the note in Frazer *Paus.* iii. 367, where it is shewn that in many oaths, Greek as well as savage, the actual division of the animal into two or more parts is an essential element of the ceremony.

Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων  
 ἐς πεδίον καταβῆναι, ἦν ὄρκια πιστὰ τάμητε·  
 αὐτὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἀρηΐφίλος Μενέλαος  
 μακρῆς ἐγχείησι μαχήσονται ἄμφι γυναικί·  
 τῷ δέ κε νικήσαντι γυνὴ καὶ κτήμαθ' ἔποιτο·  
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φιλότῃτα καὶ ὄρκια πιστὰ ταμόντες  
 ναίοιμεν Τροίην ἐριβώλακα, τοὶ δὲ νέονται  
 Ἄργος ἐς ἵππόβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιίδα καλλιγύναικα."

ὥς φάτο, ῥίγησεν δ' ὁ γέρον, ἐκέλευσε δ' ἐταίρους  
 ἵππους ζευγνύμεναι· τοὶ δ' ὀτραλέως ἐπίθοντο.  
 ἂν δ' ἄρ' ἔβη Πρίαμος, κατὰ δ' ἡνία τείνεν ὀπίσσω·  
 παρ δέ οἱ Ἀντήνωρ περικαλλέα βήσατο δίφρον.  
 τῷ δὲ διὰ Σκαιῶν πεδίονδ' ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἵκοντο μετὰ Τρώας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς,  
 ἐξ ἵππων ἀποβάντες ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν  
 ἐς μέσσον Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐστιχόωντο.

251. *θ' om.* P. 252. *ἐν πεδίῳ* U. || *τάμναι* DHJS. 254. *μακροῖς ἐγχεί-*  
*οισι* G. 257. *νεέσων* GJP (-έσων app. *man.* 2 *in ras.*) QRS Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 258.  
*ἀχαιίδα* P. 259. *ἐταίρους* GJPSU Pap. β (and Am, T.W.A.): *ἐτάρους* Q:  
*ἐταίροις* Ar. Zen. Ω. 262. *βήσατο* Ar. (see below) A *supr.* CGJQ: *βήσατο* H:  
*βήσετο* Ω. 263. *πεδίον* Lips. 264. *ἵκοντο*: *ἵκανον* Pap. β. 265. *πολυ-*  
*βότειραν* PT<sup>1</sup> Pap. β.

255. See note on 138.

259. *ἐταίρους* is better than *ἐταίροις* as avoiding the rare dat. in -οις for -οισι. *κελεύειν* takes both constr. in H., but the dat. is less common; it is found oftener in *Il.* than *Od.*, and survived in Attic only as a rarity.

261. *τείνεν*, *drew back*, taking them from the front rail to which they were attached when no one was in the car; E 262, etc.

262. *βήσατο*: *προκρίνει μὲν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ε γραφὴν βήσετο*, πλὴν οὐ μετατίθησιν ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ α γράφει ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, Did. The statement is highly important, as evidence of a variation in Ar.'s authorities which he did not feel at liberty to disregard, in spite of his desire for uniformity. Our mss. bear abundant testimony to the uncertainty as to the correct form of these sigmatic aorists; e.g. they constantly vary between *δύσετο* and *δύσατο*. In ο 475 *ἀναβησάμενοι* is causal, but there is no other evidence of such a use of the aor. mid., which, indeed, does not seem to occur elsewhere

in Greek, except in the variants now under consideration. (The subj. *καταβήσεται* (O 382) is, however, from the -σα- form.) The wisest course is to admit the variation in our texts, as the uncertainty goes back to a period as remote as our current text itself. At the same time we may, with Ar., prefer the forms in -ε, on the ground that the tendency of analogy must always have been to change them into the more familiar -α- forms of the ordinary sigmatic aorist. A is the only ms. which consistently follows Ar.; the -α- forms have generally invaded the rest, spreading no doubt since Alexandrian days (note on 103). See more in *H. G.* § 41, van L. *Ench.* § 152, *Caner Grundr.* p. 27.

263. *Σκαιῶν* without *πυλῶν* only here. The suspiciously contracted -ῶν recurs in 273. *ἔχον*, *drove*, as often.

265. *ἐξ ἵππων*, *out of the chariot*. *ἵπποι* is continually used in this sense, even with adjectives which properly apply only to the horses; e.g. P 504 *ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος καλλιτρίχε βήμεναι ἵππω*.

ὄρνυτο δ' αὐτίκ' ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 ἂν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς πολύμητις· ἀτὰρ κήρυκες ἀγαυοὶ  
 ὄρκια πιστὰ θεῶν σύναγον, κρητῆρι δὲ οἶνον  
 μίσγον, ἀτὰρ βασιλεῦσιν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχεναν, 270  
 Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος χεῖρεσσι μάχαιραν,  
 ἣ οἱ παρ' ξίφους μέγα κουλεὸν αἰὲν ἄορτο,  
 ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τρίχας· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 κήρυκες Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νεῖμαν ἀρίστοις.  
 τοῖσιν δ' Ἀτρεΐδης μεγάλ' εὐχέτο χεῖρας ἀνασχών· 275  
 "Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἴδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε,  
 ἡέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφοραῖς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις,  
 καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα, καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας

267. ὄρνυτο P: ὠρνυτ' Q (om. δ'). 268. αὐτὰρ PQ. 270. ἔχεναν Ar. CHPST (A<sup>2</sup> *supr.*) Lips. Vr. c, Ven. B. 272 om. Pap. β<sup>t</sup>. || ἄορτο DGLQ and κατὰ τινος Eust.: ἄωρτο Ω. 273. ἀρνέων Zen. || κεφαλῶν JQR. 274. νεῖμον T Lips. Eton.: νεῖμεν Pap. β. 276. zeῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, αἰδέρι ναίων Herakl. *All.* 3 and 23. 277. ἡέλιος δ' Schol. μ 374. || ἐφοραῖ Pap. β<sup>2</sup>. || ἐπακούει Pap. β. 278. καμόντες Herakleides, Pap. β<sup>2</sup>, Par. j *supr.*

270. The wine used in treaties was not mingled with water (see B 341, Δ 159). The scholia explain that here the Trojan and the Achaian wine is all mixed in one bowl, and the obvious typical significance of such an act renders the explanation most probable. Compare the scene of the oath in Virg. *Aen.* xii. 161 sqq. ἔχεναν, read here by Ar., must have been taken for another instance of a mixed aor. (or imperf., to agree with μίσγον? *H. G.* ut *supra*).

271. μάχαιρα, the sacrificial knife, never mentioned by H. as a weapon, and not to be confused with the sword, ξίφος or φάσγανον. See note on Σ 597.

272. ἄορτο is clearly the correct form, not the entirely anomalous ἄωρτο (cf. ἀορτήρ; root ἀφέρω for the sense hang down cf. παρήρθη II 341). It appears to be a plpf. without redupl., though the -o- stem is very rare in the pass. Cf. *H. G.* § 25 (ἐπ-ώχ-ατο?).

273. This cutting off a lock of hair from the victims' heads is called τρίχας ἀπάρχεσθαι in the parallel pass., T 254; cf. § 422 ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλεν. The hair is regarded as a foretaste of the victim, and was no doubt a devotion of the whole body to the gods (see 310, and note on Ψ 135). It is not burnt here, because no fire is used in the oath-sacrifice. Every one of the chieftains takes a portion of the hair in order to

participate in the sacrifice. Zen.'s ἀρνέων he explained as an adj. = ἀρνείων (cf. ἱππέων A 536).

276. Zeῦ . . ἡέλιος is often quoted as an instance of a rule, found in Skt. also, that 'where two persons are addressed connected by τε, the second name is put in the nominative,' *H. G.* § 164. But τ 406 is an exception, if the text is right, γαμβρὸς ἐμὸς θυγατέρ τε, and there are some instances of voc. in -ος, e.g. φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε (*H. G.* *ibid.*); where this elasticity is possible the metrical difficulty of ἡέλιε may well be decisive (see Gildersleeve in *A.J.P.* ii. 88). For the oath compare T 258. Here Zeus is named the god of Ida, and the Rivers, which are local divinities, are included, no doubt because the Trojans are parties.

278. καμόντας used to be explained 'those that have passed through the toil of life,' as though *κεκμηκότες*, *laboribus functi*; or 'men outworn,' *ἀμειννοί*, of the feeble shadows of the dead; Nägelsbach, 'those that endured ill in life' = *δειλοὶ βροτοὶ* as opposed to the happy gods. But Classen explains 'those that grew weary, succumbed to the toils of life' = *θανόντες*: so *κοπιάσας*, *C. I.* 6509. This best suits the aor. part., and is now generally accepted; see M. and R. on λ 476. The phrase recurs also Ψ 72, ω 14. οἱ . . τίνυσσον must mean *Zeús τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια* (I



ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόςσῃ,  
 ὑμεῖς μάρτυροι ἔστε, φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πιστά· 280  
 εἰ μὲν κεν Μενέλαον Ἀλέξανδρος καταπέφνη,  
 αὐτὸς ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην ἐχέτω καὶ κτήματα πάντα,  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν νήεσσι νεώμεθα ποντοπόροισιν·  
 εἰ δέ κ' Ἀλέξανδρον κτείνει ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,  
 Τρῶας ἔπειθ' Ἑλένην καὶ κτήματα πάντα' ἀποδοῦναι, 285

279. ΤΙΝΥΣΘΕ H *supr.*: ΤΙΝΝΥΣΘΑΙ *Rhet. Gr.* viii. 659. 17. || ὅτις AJ Harl. a  
 (p. ras.): ὅστις Ω. || Κ' *om.* T Eton. 280. μάρτυρες Zen. Par. e (*supr.* οι).  
 282. ἐχέτω: ἀγέτω Plut. *Symp.* 742 A. || κτήματ' ἅμ' αὐταῖ Pap. β<sup>2</sup>? 283 *om.*  
 C1T1 Lips. Eton. 284. κτείνει QR.

457). We should have expected the Ἑρινύες, as in the parallel passage, T 259 Ἑρινύες αἱ θ' ὑπὸ γαίαν ἀνθρώπους τίννυνται, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόςσῃ (the whole of that passage, with the notes, should be compared with this). Zenod., who regarded the dual and plural as identical, said that the avengers were Minos, Rhadamanthos, and Aiaikos, but this is certainly not Homeric. And if the Erinyes are to come in, we must read τίνυσθε. It seems very probable indeed that τίνυσθε ὅτις is original, and τίνυσθον ὅτις, τίνυσθ' ὅστις (v. *supra*) two different resources to remove the hiatus. But Nitzsch, in his note on λ (*Erkl. Anm.* iii. p. 184 sqq.), raises a more serious question as to this present passage. He says that the idea of punishment after death is entirely alien to Homer's conception of the under-world; vengeance for sins is taken by the gods in this life only. The punishments of Tityos, Tantalos, and Sisyphos (λ 576-600) occur in an interpolated passage. The two oaths (here and in T) are the only inconsistent places; and in T he would take ὑπὸ γαίαν with αἱ τε, not with the verb, *they that, dwelling beneath the earth* (for which see I 568), *punish men*, a possible construction, though a very harsh one (it would be better to excise T 260 entirely). If this be so, it follows that καμόντας in this passage cannot be right. 'Expectatur fere μένοντες' van L.; but here again no remedy short of omitting 278-9 removes the difficulty. The lines may be an interpolation from the period of the spread of the religion of the mysteries in Greece, in the 7th cent. (see W.-M. H. U. 206 ff.). Rohde, however (*Psyche* p. 60), finds here as elsewhere in H. traces of two distinct systems

of belief. The older regards the spirits of the dead as active and often malignant agencies, to be appeased by the living (cf. note on B 302); the later, that generally prevalent in the poems, as poor harmless shadows, neither punished nor punishing. As he says, an oath-ritual is exactly the place where an obsolete belief might be expected to survive. If this is right, we clearly should read καμόντες . . τίνυσθε, the powers appealed to being all the world of spirits.

285. Τρῶας ἀποδοῦναι: compare the cases of acc. and infin. in prayers, as B 413, H 179, p 354. It is evidently a case here of the 'infin. for imper.' though in that idiom the subject when in the 2nd person is in the nom., E 124 θαρσῶν μάχεσθαι, X 259 ὥς δὲ σὺ βέξῃ, and once even in the 3rd person, Z 87-92 ἡ δὲ . . θείναι (in Ψ 247 λίπησθε shews that the 2nd person is in the speaker's mind). Whatever the origin of the constr. it is clear that, while a person directly addressed is vividly present to the speaker's mind as the *subject* of the verb, and hence naturally is in the nominative, when he is only spoken of indirectly in a prayer he becomes in a sense the *object* of the prayer. Thus the Trojans here are regarded virtually as *objects* in relation to the gods of the oath, who are called upon to be the active parties. Hence we can see that even if the nom. was the original constr. it was certain to be attracted by the commoner class of accusatives with the infin. In the case of prayers the constr. is commonly explained as due to an 'ellipse of ὁός,' or acc. to Ar. of εἶη or γένοιτο. *H. G.* § 241, *M. and T.* §§ 784-5, van L. *Ench.* § 124.

τιμὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ἀποτινέμεν, ἣν τιν' ἔοικεν,  
 ἣ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.  
 εἰ δ' ἂν ἐμοὶ τιμὴν Πρίαμος Πριάμοιο τέ παῖδες  
 τίνειν οὐκ ἐθέλωσιν Ἀλεξάνδροιο πεσόντος,  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ἔπειτα μαχήσομαι εἵνεκα ποιυῆς 290  
 αὐθι μένων, εἴως κε τέλος πολέμοιο κιχέω."

ἦ καὶ ἀπὸ στομάχους ἀρνῶν τάμε νηλεῖ χαλκῶι.  
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἀσπαίροντας,  
 θυμοῦ δεινομένους· ἀπὸ γὰρ μένος εἴλετο χαλκός·  
 οἶνον δ' ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφυσσόμενοι δεπάεσσιν 295  
 ἔκχεον, ἡδ' εὖχοντο θεοῖς αἰειγενέτησιν.  
 ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε·  
 "Ζεῦ κύδιστε μέγιστε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,  
 ὅππότεροι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια πημήνεια,  
 ὦδέ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι, ὥς ὅδε οἶνος, 300

286. **ΤΙΜΗΝ Γ'** DHJQS Mosc. 1 3. 287. **ΚΑΙ : ΚΕΝ** Lips. Cant. 288. **ΠΡΙΑ-**  
**ΜΟΣ ΤΙΜΗΝ** Vr. a. 289. **ΤΕΙΝΕΙΝ** U. || **ἑθέλουσιν** GQ Pap. β. 290. **ΜΑΧΕ(Σ)ΟΜΑΙ**  
**GHJPQRTU.** 292. **ΑΠὸ** Ar. Ω : **ἐπὶ αἱ πλείους αρ.** Did. 295. **Θ' ἘΚ :** δὲ Harl.  
 a. || **ἈΦΥΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΙ** Ar. CHJRT Harl. a, Lips.<sup>1</sup> Eton. Mosc. 1 (and A *supr.*) : **ἈΦΥΣΣΑ-**  
**ΜΕΝΟΙ** Ω. 297. **ἈΧΑΙΩΝ ΤΕ ΤΡΩΩΝ ΤΕ :** ἰδὼν εἰ(ς) οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν H (γρ. ἄχ.  
**ΤΕ ΤΡ. ΤΕ)** JQ and γρ. Vr. b. 299. **ΠΗΜΗΝΕΙΑΝ : ΘΗΛΗΣΑΝΤΟ** (corr. to **ΘΗΛΗΣΑΙΝΤΟ**)  
 Mosc. 1. 300. **ῬΕΟΙ** Q<sup>1</sup> (corr. Q<sup>2</sup>).

287. **ΠΕΛΗΤΑΙ** goes closely with **μετά**, lit. 'go about among men.' Cf. **κλαγγή** **πέλει οὐρανόθι** πρό Γ 3, **σέο δ' ἐκ τάδε πάντα πέλονται** N 632, **αἰσχος λῶβη τε μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλοιτο** σ 225, where the nouns are subjects, as here, not predicates. See also Z 358 **ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ' αἰοίδιμοι**. For the subj. in a relative final clause see *H. G.* § 322, *M. and T.* § 568 ; it is very rare without **κε** (460, E 33, σ 335 only ?). We might of course read **κεν** for **καί**, but **καὶ ἐσσομένοισι** is the regular phrase.

289. Observe the very rare use of **οὐ** after **εἰ ἂν** (**κεν**) with subjunctive ; the negative goes very closely with the verb, as **οὐκ εἰῶσι** T 139. *H. G.* § 316 ad fin. **Ἀλεξάνδροιο πεσόντος** does not seem to be quite a gen. absolute, though it nearly passes into one ; it depends on **τιμὴν**, though the connexion is rather loose, 'pay me the price arising from the fall of A.'

295. **ἈΦΥΣΣΟΜΕΝΟΙ**, so Ar. ; al. **-άμενοι** : but the pres. (imperf.) participle better expresses the continued repetition of the act by many people. They take the

wine in small cups from the *κρητήρ* of 269.

299. **ὑπὲρ ὄρκια**, by transgressing the oaths (cf. **ὑπερβασία** 107, and **ὑπὲρ αἶσαν**) : **ΠΗΜΗΝΕΙΑΝ**, the object is seen to be 'the other party,' from Δ 66 **Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπὲρ ὄρκια δηλήσασθαι** : so also Δ 236. mss. here and in Δ give **ὑπερόρκια** as an adv. ; but this is not a likely compound, in spite of the analogy of **ὑπέρμορα**. The opt. shews that the infraction of the treaty is regarded as an unlikely case (or possibly there may be an attraction to the following opt. **ῥέοι**, the *prayer* being the uppermost thought in the speaker's mind. Cf. **ὥς ἀπόλοιο καὶ ἄλλος ὅτις τοιαυτὰ γε ῥέζοι** α 47, and Z 59).

300. The original symbolism of the libation was merely that of drink given to the gods to please them, e.g. H 480. The occasion here suggests a different thought, which, however, we can hardly suppose to have been inherent in the libation at an oath. Cf., however, Liv. i. 24 *si prior defecit publico consilio dolo malo, tu illo die Iuppiter populum*

αὐτῶν καὶ τεκέων, ἄλοχοι δ' ἄλλοισι μιγεῖεν.”  
 ὧς ἔφαν, οὐδ' ἄρα πῶ σφιν ἐπεκράαινε Κρονίων.  
 τοῖσι δὲ Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπε·  
 “κέκλυτέ μεν, Τρῶες καὶ ἐκνημίδες Ἀχαιοί·  
 ἦ τοι ἐγὼν εἰμι προτὶ Ἴλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν 305  
 ἄψ, ἐπεὶ οὐ πῶ τλήσομ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρᾶσθαι  
 μαρνάμενον φίλον υἱὸν ἀρηϊφίλῳ Μενελάῳ·  
 Ζεὺς μὲν που τό γε οἶδε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι,  
 ὀπποτέρῳ θανάτοιο τέλος πεπρωμένον ἐστίν.”  
 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἐς δίφρον ἄρνας θέτο ἰσόθεος φῶς, 310  
 ἂν δ' ἄρ' ἔβαιν' αὐτός, κατὰ δ' ἡνία τείνεν ὀπίσσω·  
 πὰρ δέ οἱ Ἀντήνωρ περικαλλέα βήσето δίφρον.  
 τῷ μὲν ἄρ' ἄψορροι προτὶ Ἴλιον ἀπονέοντο·

301. **ΜΙΓΕΙΕΝ** : δαμείεν AT Harl. b, Par. e, and γρ. Harl. a. 302. **ἔφατ'** Q Pap. β. Par. d, Eust. **ἐπεκράαινε** : ἐπεκράανε Pap. β : ἐπεκράαινε Ω : γρ. ἐπεκρήνηε J (see note on B 419). 305. **ΠΟΤΙ** JQR Mori. 306. **ΤΛΗΣΟΜ' ΕΝ** : τλήσομαι Eust. 308. **ΜΕΝ** : γάρ Eust. || **ΤΟ ΓΕ** : τότε DQ Pap. β, Par. j. 310. **ΕΙΣ** Q Pap. β. 311. **ἄρ' ἔβαιν'** : ἀνέβαιν' R. 312. **ΒΗΣΑΤΟ** CGJQRT. 313. **ΠΟΤΙ** JQR.

*Romanum sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam, and similarly xxi. 45 proccatus deos ita se mactarent quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset ; compare also the oath 'by the stone,' si sciens fallo tum me Diespiter salva urbe arceque bonis eiciat uti ego hunc lapidem (Roscher Lex. 1187).*

301. **ΑΥΤΩΝ** after σφι, as λ 75, μοι . . ἀνδρὸς δυστήνοιο. The construction is common with participles, e.g. Ξ 26, ζ 157. See *H. G.* § 243. 3 d, and for the dat. **ἄλλοισι** with the pass. verb, *H. G.* § 143. 5. The variant **δαμείεν** looks like the prudery of a more fastidious age.

305. On **ἡνεμόεσσαν** Prof. Virchow (App. to Schliemann's *Ilios* p. 682) makes the following comment: 'Our wooden huts (at Hissarlik) which had been put up at the foot of the hill, well below the level of the old city, looked straight down upon the plain from a height of at least 60 feet, and the winds blew about us with such force that we often felt as if our whole settlement might be hurled down the precipice.' **ἡνεμόεσσαν**, i.e. ἀνεμόεσσαν. So ἡγερέθονται, ἡμαθόεις, and one or two more (van L. *Ench.* § 21). But the change to η is irregular; see App. D.

306. **οὐ πῶ** = οὐ πως, *in no wise*. The

two forms were of course originally identical (cf. οὐτῶ by οὐτως), and their differentiation is not complete in Homer. It is only by great violence that the sense 'not yet' can be brought in. Cf. also M 270, ι 102, etc. Some would always read πῶς in this sense, but the tradition is strongly in favour of maintaining the difference; later usage would tend to abolish, not to introduce it.

310. The taking away of the victims is strange; the scholion says **ἔθος ἦν τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις γιγνόμενα ἱερεῖα τοὺς μὲν ἐγχωρίους γῆνι περιστέλλειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἡλυσσας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ῥίπτειν**. This is probably only a deduction from the present passage and T 267, q.v. Perhaps the victims were supposed to carry with them the power of vengeance, and were kept at hand to watch over the fulfilment of the oath.

311. Observe **ἔβαινε** here compared with **ἔβη** 261 and **βήσето** 312. It seems hypercritical to attempt to draw a distinction here between the two tenses. See the excellent remarks in *M. and T.* § 57.

313. The scholion on this line is a delicious specimen of the spirit in which Porphyrios and his school invented and solved their 'Homeric problems.' **διὰ τί χωρίζεται ὁ Πρίαμος ; καὶ οἱ μὲν φασιν**

Ἐκτωρ δὲ Πριάμοιο πάϊς καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 χῶρον μὲν πρῶτον διεμέτρεον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα 315  
 κλήρους ἐν κυνέῃ χαλκῆρεϊ πάλλον ἐλόντες,  
 ὅπποτερος δὴ πρόσθεν ἀφείη χάλκεον ἔγχος.  
 λαοὶ δ' ἠρήσαντο, θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον·  
 ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε·  
 “Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε, 320  
 ὅπποτερος τάδε ἔργα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔθηκε,  
 τὸν δὸς ἀποφθίμενον δύναι δόμον Ἀῖδος εἶσω,  
 ἡμῖν δ' αὖ φιλότητα καὶ ὄρκια πιστὰ γενέσθαι.”  
 ὧς ἄρ' ἔφαν, πάλλεν δὲ μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ  
 ἄψ ὀρόων· Πάριος δὲ θοῶς ἐκ κλήρος ὄρουσεν. 325  
 οἱ μὲν ἔπειθ' ἴζοντο κατὰ στίχας, ἦχι ἐκάστωι  
 ἵπποι ἀερσίποδες καὶ ποικίλα τεύχε' ἔκειτο·  
 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἀμφ' ὅμοισιν ἐδύσετο τεύχεα καλὰ  
 δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑλένης πόσις ἠυκόμοιο.  
 κνημῖδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε 330  
 καλὰς, ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπισφυρίοις ἀραρυίας·

317. ἀφείει DJQRT<sup>2</sup> Vr. a b, Mosc. 1 (H *supr.*). 318. θεοῖς· ἰδέ Nik. CS Lips.  
 Vr. c: θεοῖς, ἡδὲ G. 319. εἶπεσκεν: ὑπέσχεον Vr. a. 323. δ' om. Pap. β  
 326. ἐκάστου Ar.: ἐκάστων R. 327. ἔκειντο CS Schol. T: τεύχεα κείτο Bar.  
 328. ὃ γ': ὅχ' G. || ἐδύσετο A<sup>t</sup>: ἐδάκατο T: ἐδύσατο Ω (and A<sup>m</sup>, T.W.A.)  
 (cp. on 262). 331. ἀργυρίοι J: ἐπὶ σφυρίοις DPR (-οῖσιν).

ὅτι ἵνα ἀφ' ὧνους κρείσσον θεωρήσῃ ἀπὸ  
 τῆς πύλεως τὴν μονομαχίαν, οἱ δέ, ἵνα  
 φυλάξῃ τὰ τεύχη. ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν Ὀμηρικὴν  
 λύσιν προτίσχονται, τὸ “οὔπω τλήσομ’  
 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀρᾶσθαι.” ὅπερ ἄμεινον.

316. πάλλον: the actual shaking up  
 of the lots, which is always done by one  
 person, comes in 324; hence it has been  
 proposed to read βάλλον from H 176,  
 but there is no authority for the change,  
 which is not necessary. The line is in  
 fact a formal one, recurring Ψ 861, κ  
 206.

317. ἀφείει seems to represent a de-  
 liberative subj. of the *ov. recta*. We  
 might be inclined to read here ἀφείη or  
 ἀφήη, but for ι 331 πεπαλάσθαι ἄνωγον  
 | ὅς τις τολμήσειεν.

318. Nikanor read ἠρήσαντο θεοῖς, ἰδέ,  
 but only the frivolous reason is given  
 that the text would imply that they  
 were praying to others than the gods to  
 whom they lift their hands: ὡς ἑτέροις  
 ἔσονται θεοῖς ἀνατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας. The  
 phrase recurs H 177 (cf. Z 257, Θ 347,  
 T 254, and Bacchylides xv. 45 θεοῖς δ’

ἀνίσχοντες χεῖρας ἀθανάτοισιν εὐχοντο παύ-  
 σασθαι δυνάμιν). A serious argument against  
 Nikanor's reading is that ἰδέ occurs  
 practically only after trochaic caesura  
 in the 3rd foot, as an iambus. The  
 only exceptions are Ξ 175, Σ 589, T 285  
 (for a suggested explanation of this rule  
 see van L. *Ench.* p. 556).

325. Πάριος, the only instance of a  
 case from this stem except nom. and acc.;  
 the gen. and dat. are elsewhere always  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου -ωι.

327. ἔκειτο belongs to τεύχεα only,  
 both in syntax and sense; with ἵπποι  
 supply ἦσαν. Cf. K 407 ποῦ δέ οἱ ἔντεα  
 κείται ἀρήϊα. ποῦ δέ οἱ ἵπποι, Φ 611, ξ 291,  
 etc., and see note on E 356.

330 sqq. Cf. A 17 sqq., Π 131 sqq.,  
 T 369 sqq. The six pieces of armour  
 are always mentioned in the same order,  
 in which they would naturally be put  
 on, except that we should expect the  
 helmet to be donned before the shield  
 was taken on the arm. For the arming  
 generally and for ἐπισφύρια see App. B.



δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδυνεν  
 οἷο κασιγνήτοιο Λυκάονος, ἥρμοσε δ' αὐτῷ.  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὥμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον  
 χάλκεον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα σάκος μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε· 335  
 κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἰφθίμῳ κυνέην ἐτύκτον ἔθηκεν  
 ἵππουριν· δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν.  
 εἶλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ὃ οἱ παλάμῃφιν ἀρήρει.  
 ὥς δ' αὐτῶς Μενέλαος ἀρήϊος ἔντε' ἔδυνεν.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκάτερθεν ὀμίλου θωρήχθησαν, 340  
 ἐς μέσσον Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐστιχώοντο  
 δεινὸν δερκόμενοι· θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας,  
 Τρώας θ' ἵπποδάμους καὶ ἐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς.  
 καὶ ῥ' ἐγγὺς στήτην διαμετρητῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ  
 σείοντ' ἐγχείας, ἀλλήλοισιν κοτέοντε. 345  
 πρόσθε δ' Ἀλέξανδρος προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,  
 καὶ βάλεν Ἀτρεΐδαο κατ' ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' εἰσην·

334-5 *abh.* Zen., reading ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὥμοισιν βάλετ' ἀσπίδα *τερσανόεσσαν* after 338. 338. *παλάμῃφιν* J. || ὅ . . ἀρήρει: ἐν ἄλλῳ ἀκαχμένον ὀξεί' χαλκῷ A. 339. δ' *om.* Pap. β. 342. ἔσχεν G. 345. *σεῖον* δ' Pap. β. || *κοτέοντες* Q Pap. β. 347. *πάντοσε* Ὑχην AC DU (the variation is constantly found, and will not be again recorded).

333. Lykaon's cuirass, because Paris himself is light-armed; l. 17. *ἥρμοσε* probably trans., 'he made it fit himself.' It may, however, possibly be intrans.; there are two other ambiguous passages, P 210, T 385, q.v.

334. It will be seen that Zen. (*supra*) left out the sword, perhaps on the ground that Paris, unlike Menelaos, does not use it in the sequel. It is more natural too that the ponderous shield should be taken last of all. The word *τερσανόεσσαν* is not known elsewhere; it may be a mistake of the ms. arising from a confusion between *τερμύεσσαν* (see II 803) and *θυσανόεσσαν*, the latter being, however, only applied elsewhere to the aegis.

336. *κυνέην*, simply *helmet*, nothing being implied as to the material; see on K 258.

340. *ἐκάτερθεν*, explained by the glossaries ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους, ἐκατέρωθεν, *on either side* of the throng, i.e. either combatant retiring to the rear of his own army.

346. *δολιχόσκιον* has caused difficulty both to ancient and modern critics, and the idea of *shadow* does not seem particularly appropriate to a spear.

Autenrieth quotes in defence of this interpretation from a German review of an edition of the *Makamat-ul-Hariri*, 'the Arabs declare that the shadow of the lance is the longest shadow. Before the first morning light the Arabian horseman rides forth, and returns with the last ray of evening; so in the treeless level of the desert the shadow of his lance appears to him all day through as the longest shadow.' But this loses all special significance for the Greek; moreover, as Mr. Rouse has remarked (*C. R.* iv. 183), the epithet is almost always used of spears brandished or hurled, not standing upright. Hence various alternative explanations have been proposed, -*σκι-* being compared to our *ash*, or *ἔσχος* (this, however, does not suit either form or sense). Rouse (*ibid.*) better compares Zend *daregha-arstaya*, from *arsti* = *spear, shaft*, an epithet in the Avesta of Mithra and his worshippers. There are obvious phonetic difficulties in the equation, but an entirely antiquated *δολιχ-ο(ρ)στιος* may have been changed by popular etymology to make an intelligible compound.

347. *πάντοσ' εἰσῆν*: see on A 306.

οὐδ' ἔρρηξεν χαλκός, ἀνεγνάμφθη δέ οἱ αἰχμὴ  
 ἀσπίδ' ἐνὶ κρατερῇ. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ὠρνυτο χαλκῶι  
 Ἀτρεΐδης Μενέλαος, ἐπευξάμενος Διὶ πατρί· 350  
 “Ζεῦ ἄνα, δὸς τίσασθαι, ὅ με πρότερος κάκ' ἔοργε,  
 δῖον Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ἐμῇσι ὑπὸ χερσὶ δάμασσον,  
 ὄφρα τις ἐρρίγησι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων  
 ξεινοδόκον κακὰ ῥέξαι, ὅ κεν φιλότητα παράσχη.”  
 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἄμπεπαλὼν προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, 355  
 καὶ βάλε Πριαμίδαο κατ' ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' εἵσην.  
 διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε φαεινῆς ὄβριμον ἔγχος,  
 καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαϊδάλου ἡρήρειστο·  
 ἀντικρὺ δὲ παρὰ λαπάρην διάμησε χιτῶνα  
 ἔγχος· ὁ δ' ἐκλίνθη καὶ ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν. 360  
 Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον  
 πλῆξεν ἀνασχόμενος κόρυθος φάλον· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῇ  
 τριχθὰ τε καὶ τετραχθὰ διατρυφὲν ἔκπεσε χειρός.

348. χαλκός Ar. AD<sup>2</sup>QSTU<sup>1</sup> Vr. a: χαλκὸν Ω. || ἀνεγνάμφη R: ἀνεκάμφθη  
 D: ἀνεγνάμφη H. 349. ἀσπίδ' ἐνὶ L Mor. Bar.: ἀσπίδι ἐνὶ JPQRT Cant.  
 Mosc. 1: ἀσπίδι ἐν ACDGH Pap. β Eton. || ὠρνυτο Q. 351. ὅ: ὅς GR || με:  
 μου P. 352 ἀθ. Ar. || ἐμαῖς G Pap. β. || δαμῆσαι Ar. and γρ. T. 354.  
 ΞΕΙΝΟΔΟΚΟΥ J. || ὅς κεν D. 357. ὀβριμον CGHJQ<sup>1</sup> Pap. β. 359. παρὰ  
 DT Vr. a. 360. ἐκκλίνθη J: ἐκκλίνθη Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 361. χείρεσσι μάχαιραν Q.  
 362. Αὐτῇ Ar. and αἱ χαριέστεραι, A syr. (T.W.A.): αὐτοῦ L: αὐτῶι Ω. 363.  
 διατρυφὲν CGHPRT Lips. Vr. a (La R.'s διαδρυφὲν is a misprint).

The form *εἵση* is established in several other phrases, particularly B 765, and it is impossible to decide between the two forms *πάντοσ' εἵ(F)ίσην* and *πάντοσε (F)ίσην* (see, however, Platt in *J. P.* xviii. 128).

348. χαλκός is better than χαλκόν, because the word by itself is regularly used of weapons of offence, not of the shield; e.g. 349, Δ 528, E 292, etc. (Cf. however H 267.) The same question arises in H 259, P 44.

351. ἔοργε (*FéForγen*): ἔρεξε Bentl.

352. Obelized by Ar. on the ground that it is not necessary, and that Menelaos should not apply the word *δῖον* to his foe. But the epithet is purely conventional, see X 393, Z 160, γ 266, and cf. ἀμύμων α 29. For δάμασσον Ar. read δαμῆναι, which Ameis supports mainly on the ground that it gives more force to M.'s words that he should pray to be himself the conqueror, not a mere tool in the hands of Zeus.

357. διά: the lengthening of the ι is due to the ictus in the first foot; see

Appendix D, H. G. § 386, and notes on A 205, Δ 155. mss. vary as usual between ὄβριμον and ὀβριμον: the weight of evidence is for the former, though Heyne considers ὀβριμον antiquius, horridius et potentius. Cf. note on Δ 453.

358. ἡρήρειστο, forced its way. ἐρείδεν properly = to press; the sense 'to lean' one thing upon another is secondary.

360. ἐκκλίνθη, better ἐκκλίνθη, bent aside (from the coming blow). As Reichel remarks (p. 83), this implies that no breastplate was worn, and 358 must be a later interpolation (see App. B).

362. ἀνασχόμενος, lifting his hand; so X 34 κεφαλὴν δ' ὅ γε κόψατο χερσὶν | ὑψόσ' ἀνασχόμενος, and of two boxers 'squaring up,' Ψ 660 πύξ μάλ' ἀνασχομένοω, and Ψ 686. φάλον: see App. B vii. 2. αὐτῇ, the body of the κόρυς as opposed to the φάλος. The vulg. αὐτῶι is a very natural corruption, caused by the proximity of the masc. φάλος, but by Homeric usage it would rather mean the man himself, Paris.

Ἀτρείδης δ' ὠιμῶξεν ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν.  
 "Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὐ τις σείῃ θεῶν ὀλοώτερος ἄλλος."  
 ἦ τ' ἐφάμην τίσασθαι Ἀλέξανδρον κακότητος.  
 νῦν δέ μοι ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἄγη ξίφος, ἐκ δέ μοι ἔγχος  
 ἡίχθη παλάμηφιν ἐτώσιον, οὐδ' ἔβαλόν μιν."

365

ἦ καὶ ἐπαΐξας κόρυθος λάβεν ἵπποδασείης,  
 ἔλκε δ' ἐπιστρέψας μετ' ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοῦς.  
 ἄγχε δέ μιν πολύκεστος ἱμᾶς ἀπαλὴν ὑπὸ δειρήν,  
 ὅς οἱ ὑπ' ἀνθερεῶνος ὀχεὺς τέτατο τρυφαλείης.  
 καὶ νύ κεν εἵρυσσέν τε καὶ ἄσπετον ἦρατο κύδος,  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη,  
 ἣ οἱ ῥῆξεν ἱμάντα βοὸς ἱφι κταμένοιο.  
 κεινὴ δέ τρυφάλεια ἅμ' ἔσπετο χειρὶ παχείῃ.  
 τὴν μὲν ἔπειθ' ἦρως μετ' ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοῦς  
 ῥίψ' ἐπιδινύσας, κόμισαν δ' ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἄψ' ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων

370

375

364. εὐρύν: αἰῖν Zen. 365. σοῖο PQ. || ὀλοώτερος DP. 366. τίσεσθαι U. 367. ἄγει. A. 368. Apparently Ar. in one ed. had ἐδάμασσα for ἐβαλόν μιν (v. Ludw. *ad loc.*). 369. ἀναΐξας P. || λάβεν: φάλον Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 370. εἶλκε Pap. β. 371. ἀπαλῆς ἀπὸ [δειρής] Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 373. εἵρυσσέν τε: ἐσεῖρυσσε Aph. 379. ὁ om. Q. || ἐπούρουσε Q.

365. For similar chiding of the gods in momentary ill-temper cf. M 164, N 631, v 201; and for ὀλοώτερος = more baneful, mischievous, ἔβλαψάς μ', ἐκάεργε, θεῶν ὀλοώτατε πάντων X 15.

366. τίσεσθαι: see on 28. Either aor. or fut. is equally suitable, the former meaning 'I thought, when dealing the blow, that I had (now) got my vengeance.'

368. παλάμηφιν: abl. gen., H. G. § 156. The variant οὐδ' ἐδάμασσα seems to be due to the apparent contradiction οὐδ' ἐβαλον with 356. It is, however, defended by Ameis-Hentze.

369. κόρυθος, *by the helmet*, as if a part of the man; cf. II 406 ἔλκε δὲ δουρὸς ἐλών.

371. πολύκεστος for πολὺ-κεντ-τος "ὁ πολυκέντητος: ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ ποικίλος δηλοῦται (leg. δηλονότι) διὰ τὰς ῥαφάς," Ariston., *embroidered*. Cf. *κεστός* of the girdle of Aphrodite, Ξ 214; and ἡκέστας Z 94.

372. τρυφαλείης: properly an adj., sc. κόρυθος. Generally explained as = having a peak *pierced* for the eyes, a sort of fixed

vizor. But the quantity of τρυ is against this. The word may possibly = τετρά-φαλος, from τ(ε)τρυ = *quadru-*, cf. τράπεζα for τετράπεζα.

373. ἦρατο seems to be another case of the invasion of α- forms in the aor. (cf. on 262), on the analogy of αἶρω, which of course is a different word; so ἡράμεθα X 393, ἦρα'(ο) ω 33. All other forms are thematic, ἀρόμην ἀρέσθαι, etc. (Cobet M. C. p. 400, van L. *Ench.* p. 373). Hence Brandreth rightly read ἦρετο. So also Ξ 510, Σ 165, δ 107, etc.

375. ἱφι κταμένοιο, because such leather would be better than that of an animal which had died of disease. 'Hence in Hes. *Opp.* 541 shoes are ordered to be made of the hide βοὸς ἱφι κταμένοιο' (Paley). ἱφι looks like an instrumental of *Fis* = *vi-s*; but the stem in Greek seems to be *Fuv-* (plur. *ives*). Moreover ἱφι never requires, and often (6 times) will not admit an initial *F*, while the adj. *Fifios* requires and always admits it, and *Fis* itself rejects it only twice (P 739, Φ 356). Thus ἱφι like ἱφθιμος (see on A 3) remains a puzzle. See note on Z 478.

ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ· τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξ' Ἀφροδίτη 380  
 ῥεῖα μάλ', ὥς τε θεός, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἥρι πολλῇ,  
 καὶ δ' εἰς' ἐν θαλάμῳ ἐνώδεϊ κηώνεντι.  
 αὐτὴ δ' αὖθ' Ἑλένην καλέουσ' ἔ· τὴν δ' ἐκίχανε  
 πύργῳ ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ, περὶ δὲ Τρωαὶ ἄλλισ' ἦσαν.  
 χειρὶ δὲ νεκταρέου ἑανοῦ ἐτίναξε λαβοῦσα, 385  
 γρητὶ δέ μιν εἰκυῖα παλαιγενεῖ προσέειπεν  
 εἰροκόμῳ, ἧ οἱ Λακεδαῖμονι ναιεταοῦσῃ  
 ἦσκειν εἷρια καλά, μάλιστα δέ μιν φιλέεσκε·  
 τῇ μιν ἐισαμένη προσεφώνεε δι' Ἀφροδίτη·  
 “δεῦρ' ἴθ', Ἀλέξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι. 390  
 κείνος ὅ γ' ἐν θαλάμῳ καὶ δινωτοῖσι λέχεσσι  
 κάλλει τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν· οὐδέ κε φαίης  
 ἀνδρὶ μαχεσσάμενον τόν γ' ἔλθειν, ἀλλὰ χορόνδε  
 ἔρχεσθ' ἧὲ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίζειν.”  
 ὥς φάτο, τῇ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι ὄρινε· 395

381. θεός γ' Vr. a. 382. εἶς' ἐν : ἱς' ἐν Apoll. *Synt.* : εἶτε(ν) S Mosc. 1 :  
 εἶσεν ἐν T. 383. αὖ L. || καλέουσ' P. 387. εἰροπόκῳ T (γρ. εἰροκόμῳ). ||  
 ΝΑΙΕΤΑΟῦΣΗ(I) P : ΝΑΙΕΤΑΩΣΗ(I) Ω : ΝΑΙΕΤΑΩΣΑ Bar. 388. ἥκει D<sup>1</sup>GHPQ (p.  
*ras.*) R Lips.<sup>2</sup> || καλά : πολλὰ S Vr. b. || φιλέεσκε : καλέεσκει Pap. β.<sup>1</sup> 391.  
 ΔΙΝΩΤΟῖΣΙ AG. || ΛΕΧΕΕΣΣΙ HR. 393. ΜΑΧΗΣΣΑΜΕΝΟΝ Ar. Vr. a<sup>2</sup> (A has μαχεσσ-  
 T.W.A.). || ΤΟΝ Γ' : ΤΟΝ Δ' HQ Pap. β Vr. a.

380. ἔγχεϊ : apparently a second spear (cf. l. 18), though only one is named in the arming of Paris, 338; but the Homeric warrior regularly carries a pair (A 43, etc.).

381. ὥς τε θεός, as being a goddess, as may be expected of a goddess. Cf. Σ 518.

382. ΚΗΩΝΕΝΤΙ : apparently from \*κῆFos = incense (καίω), i.e. *fragrant*, cf. κηώδης Z 483. But the tautology ἐνώδεϊ, κηώνεντι, has led some to derive it from \*καFos = *canus*, as if = 'vaulted.'

383. καλέουσα : fut., of which only the part. is found in H.

385. νεκταρέου, *fragrant*, like ἀμβρόσιος, cf. B 19.

388. ἥκειν : so Ar. apparently; but there is no other case in H. of the parag. ν in the contracted form of the third sing. imperf. It is sometimes found, however, in mss. in the analogous third sing. plupf., e.g. E 661, 899. But of course the original reading was ἦσκειν. The subject of φιλέεσκε is Helen, not γράψ.

391. κείνος, as though pointing to ἦν; T 344, etc. ΔΙΝΩΤΟῖΣΙ : cf. τ 56

κλισίην δινωτῶν ἐλέφαντι καὶ ἀργύρῳ. Ariston. explains ἦτοι διὰ τὸ τεταρνεῦσθαι (turned in a lathe) τοὺς πόδας, ἧ διὰ τὴν ἔντασιν τῶν ἱμάντων (i.e. apparently, that the leathern straps—for which see ψ 201—were tightened by twisting or winding them). But this latter does not suit the chair in τ, while the idea of 'turning' is not easily connected with ivory and silver ornament. In N 407 a shield is βενούσι βοῶν καὶ νώροπι χαλκῷ | δινωτῶν where the circular plates of the shield are meant. The most probable explanation of the word here is 'adorned with circles or spirals' of silver or the like, inlaid. This pattern is of high antiquity, being found e.g. by Dr. Schliemann at Mykenai in profusion. See the illustrations in Murray *Hist. Gr. Sculp.* pp. 38–40, 'the forms which most naturally arise from copper working are spirals and circles, into either of which a thread of this metal when released at once casts itself.' The use of ἀμφιδεδίνηται is similar in θ 405, Ψ 562.

395. θυμὸν ὄρινε, *stirred her anger*, as elsewhere. Ar. explained παρώρμησε,



καί ῥ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε θεᾶς περικαλλέα δειρὴν  
 στήθεά θ' ἰμερόεντα καὶ ὄμματα μαρμαίροντα,  
 θάμβησέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
 “δαιμονίη, τί με ταῦτα λιλαίει ἡπεροπεύειν;  
 ἦ πῆι με προτέρω πολλῶν ἐν ναιομενάων  
 ἄξεις ἢ Φρυγίης ἢ Μηιονίης ἐρατεινῆς,  
 εἴ τίς τοι καὶ κείθι φίλος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
 οὐνεκα δὴ νῦν δῖον Ἀλέξανδρον Μενέλαος  
 νικήσας ἐθέλει στυγερὴν ἐμὲ οἴκαδ' ἄγεσθαι·  
 τοῦνεκα δὴ νῦν δεῦρο δολοφρονέουσα παρέστης.  
 ἦσο παρ' αὐτὸν ἰούσα, θεῶν δ' ἀπόειπε κελεύθους

400

405

396. ῥ' added above the line Pap. β. 396-418 ἀθ. Ar. 398. θάμβησέν  
 τ' ἄρ' : θάμβησεν δ' ἄρ' P Pap. β : θάμβησ' αὐτὰρ Vr. a. || ἔπειτα δ' ἔπος  
 ἔφατ' G. 400. προτέρων R Pap. β Eust. 401. ἄξις G. 402. καὶ κείθι  
 Ar. ACHT : κάκειι Ω. 403. δὴ om. P. 404. ἐσέλοι G. | οἴκαδ' : οἶκον  
 Pap. β<sup>1</sup>. 405 om. Pap. β<sup>t</sup>. || δὴ ΝΥΝ : ΝΥΝ δὴ U : δὴ om. C. 406. ἀπόειπε  
 κελεύθους Ω : ἀπόεικε κελεύθους Ar. (v. *infra*).

excited her to love, holding that the following passage (see next note) was interpolated from a misunderstanding of the words. But there is clearly no reason for departing from the usual sense of the phrase.

396. Aristarchos rejected 396-418 on the grounds (1) that the goddess could not in the person of an old woman have the outward beauty described in 396-7, (2) that 406-7 are βλάσφημα, (3) that 414 is εὐτελής κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, beneath the dignity of the goddess. These arguments are not weighty enough to prevail against lines which are spirited and thoroughly Homeric. With regard to (1) it may be remarked that the goddess takes a disguise primarily in order to remain unknown to the bystanders, not to Helen; the gods in such cases often give some sign which reveals them to those to whom they speak, see N 72 ἀρίγνωτοι δὲ θεοὶ περ, where Poseidon has appeared in the character of Kalchas. 396 was apparently before the author of *Hymn. Ven.* 182 ὥς δὲ ἶδεν δειρὴν τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' Ἀφροδίτης. It is, however, true that this intimate converse of a goddess with a mortal, even after recognition, is such as we find only in the later strata of the *Il.* (Cauer *Grundr.* 233).

399. For the double acc. with ἡπεροπεύειν cf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 7. 6 τοῦτο ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι, ὥς.

400. πολλῶν may be a partitive gen. after πῆι, but it is more in accordance with Homeric use to take it in the vague local sense, lit. 'lead me any farther on in the region of cities, whether of Phrygia or Maionia.' These regions of course are mentioned as being farther eastward, away from home.

400-5. The punctuation is that of Lehrs and Ameis. Most editors follow Nikanor and put notes of interrogation after ἀνθρώπων and παρέστης, and a comma after ἄγεσθαι. But οὐνεκα regularly follows the clause of which it gives the explanation; Lehrs (*Ar.* p. 57 n.) denies that two clauses correlated by οὐνεκα . . . τοῦνεκα occur in Homer; he would also put a full stop after ἔργα in N 727-9, q.v., and cf. A 21-3. εἰ by itself with indic. also appears not to occur in an interrog. sentence (Hentze, *Anh.*). Thus the victory of Menelaos is made a reason for supposing that Aphrodite will immediately wish to take further measures for removing Helen. As Lehrs says, after the removal of the notes of interrogation, *multo acerbior evadit ironia*.

406. All mss. give ἀπόειπε κελεύθους, renounce the paths of the gods. But Didymos says 'Ἀρίσταρχος ἀπόεικε διὰ τοῦ κ, καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σ κελεύθους. θανμάσει δ' ἂν τις ἢ ἐτέρα διὰ τοῦ π πόθεν παρέδν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς Ἀρισταρχείοις οὔτε ἐν ἐτέραι τῶν γούν μετρίων ἐπιφερόμενον

μηδ' ἔτι σοῖσι πόδεσσιν ὑποστρέψειας "Ολυμπον,  
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ περὶ κείνον δῖ' ὕε καὶ ἐ φύλασσε,  
 εἰς ὃ κέ σ' ἡ ἄλοχον ποιήσεται ἢ ὃ γε δούλην.  
 κείσε δ' ἐγὼν οὐκ εἶμι, νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη, 410  
 κείνου πορσανέουσα λέχος· Τρῳαὶ δέ μ' ὀπίσσω  
 πᾶσαι μωμήσονται, ἔχω δ' ἄχ' ἄκριτα θυμῶι."  
 τὴν δὲ χολωσαμένη προσεφώνεε δι' Ἀφροδίτη·  
 "μή μ' ἔρεθε, σχετλίη, μὴ χωσαμένη σε μεθείω,  
 τῶς δέ σ' ἀπεχθήρω, ὥς νῦν ἔκπαγλα φίλησα, 415  
 μέσσωι δ' ἀμφοτέρων μητίσομαι ἔχθεα λυγρά,  
 Τρώων καὶ Δαναῶν, σὺ δέ κεν κακὸν οἶτον ὄλῃαι."

407. τοῖσι G. 408. παρ' ἐκείνον P. || φύλασσαν H. 409 ἀθ. Ar. || Κέ  
 c' ἢ: κε μὲν G: κεν ἢ Vr. a<sup>1</sup>, Mosc. 1. || ποιήσει P. 410. ἐγὼ U. || εἴην J.  
 411. πορσανέουσα Ar. ADSTU Vr. b A, Mosc. 1: πορσυνέουσα Ω (γρ. πορσαν-  
 έχουσαν R). 412. ἄκριτα θυμῶι: ἀκριτόμωα D. 413. προσεφώνει H.  
 415. ἔκπαγλα φίλησα Ar. T Bar. Lips. Eton.: ἔκπαγλ' ἐφίλησα Ω. 416.  
 μέ(ς)ον D<sup>H</sup>. ἔχθεα: ἄχθεα Ar. CD: ἄχθεα (αἵτχεα Schol. T), ἄλγέα, διχῶς τινὲς  
 ἄλγέα Schol. A.

πέφκεν. καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἐκδόσεσιν  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν (the  
 dissertations of Ar.) ἀπαξάπαντες οὕτως  
 ἐκτίθενται. This very vehement asser-  
 tion, it will be seen, applies only to the  
 'editions' and dissertations, not to the  
 mss. of Ar., of which Did. had plainly  
 no knowledge. It is clear that the  
 vulgate tradition was ἀπόειπε, not merely  
 from the consensus of our own mss. but  
 also from the fact that An. quotes it in  
 his schol. on 396. In other words, we  
 have to deal with a case of critical  
 opinion on the one hand, and ms.  
 tradition on the other, though what we  
 know of Ar. will induce us to believe  
 that the reading of the critics had a  
 foundation in the mss. which has not  
 survived. The critical objection to  
 ἀπόειπε κελεύθους was presumably that  
 the verb, in the sense *renounce*, is else-  
 where used only of a thing which is re-  
 nounced in words (T 35, 75 μῆνιν) not in  
 deeds; and further, that the plur. of  
 κελεύθος is usually κελεύθα (but see K 66,  
 N 335, ε 383, η 272 ?, κ 86). Neither of  
 these has very great weight. For the  
 use of κελεύθος cf. πάτον ἀνθρώπων Z 202.

407. ὑποστρέψειας: intrans., as M 71,  
 θ 301, etc. "Ολυμπον: acc. of the  
*terminus ad quem*, H. G. § 140. 4.

408. δῖ' ὕε κακοπάθει ταλαιπῶρει Schol.  
 D; i.e. *suffer anxiety*. So ἡς (Τροίης)

εἶνεκ' οἰζύομεν κακὰ πολλά Ξ 89, and δ  
 152, ψ 307.

409. ὃ γε might seem to emphasize  
 the second clause, 'or even his slave.'  
 But in other passages it merely resumes  
 the original subject, as β 327 ἢ τινὰς ἐκ  
 Πύλου ἄξει . . ἢ ὃ γε καὶ Σπάρτηθεν:  
 so γ 214, M 239, etc.; 'nunc dextra  
 ingeminans ictus, nunc ille sinistra,'  
 Virg. *Aen.* v. 457. The scholia on δ 12  
 note δούλη as a suspicious word for the  
 regular δμωή. It occurs only in these  
 two places (but δούλιον ἡμαρ Z 463, ξ 340,  
 ρ 323, δούλειον ω 252, δουλοσύνη χ 423).

411. mss. here (as in Pindar, etc.)  
 vary between πορσανέουσα and πορσυνέ-  
 ούσα: in γ 403, η 347 they give only  
 the form with -ύνα, but Ar. read πόρσαινε  
 in the last passage, and this is found  
 also in *Hymn. Cer.* 156, and Ap. Rhod.  
 For the phrase see M. and R.'s note on  
 γ 403, where the origin of it is deduced  
 from the fact that 'no one but the wife  
 had free access to the husband's chamber,  
 and so she actually "prepares" his bed  
 for the night's rest.' Of course it passed  
 into the sense of 'sharing' the bed.

414. σχετλίη: the short syll. before  
 τλ is Attic, not Homeric.

417. σὺ δέ κεν κτλ.: an independent  
 clause, the κεν showing its original  
 force, 'and in that case thou wilt  
 perish.' Aphrodite means that she

ὥς ἔφατ', ἔδδεισεν δ' Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,  
 βῆ δὲ κατασχομένη ἐανῶι ἀργῇτι φαεινῶι  
 σιγῇ, πάσας δὲ Τρωιάς λάθεν· ἦρχε δὲ δαίμων. 420  
 αἱ δ' ὅτ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο δόμον περικαλλέ' ἵκοντο,  
 ἀμφίπολοι μὲν ἔπειτα θοῶς ἐπὶ ἔργα τράποντο,  
 ἡ δ' εἰς ὑπόροφον θάλαμον κίε διὰ γυναικῶν.  
 τῇ δ' ἄρα δίφρον ἐλοῦσα φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη  
 ἀντί' Ἀλεξάνδροιο θεὰ κατέθηκε φέρουσα. 425  
 ἔνθα καθίζ' Ἑλένη κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,  
 ὅσσε πάλιν κλίνασα, πόσιν δ' ἠνίπαπε μῦθωι.  
 "ἦλυθες ἐκ πολέμου· ὥς ὠφελος αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι

418. ἐγγεγαυῖα T Pap. β. 419. κατασχομένη: καλυψαμένη Q. 421.  
 οἷ δ' P. 423-6 om. Zen., writing αὐτὴ δ' ἀντίον ἴξεν Ἀλεξάνδροιο ἄνακτος.  
 424. φιλομειδῆς Q. 426. διὸς αἰγιόχοιο ἐκγεγαυῖα G: διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα Vr. a.  
 428. πολέμοιο Pap. β. || ὥς: εἴ ο' G.

will embitter the strife between Trojans and Achaeans, so that Helen, 'Troiae et patriae communis Erinnyes,' will become intolerable to those around her. But the phrase seems weak after ten years of war, and the line might well be spared. 416 will then mean 'I will stir up hatred instead of love between you both,' i.e. Paris and Helen.

419. κατασχομένη, covering herself, like καλυψαμένη 141, and cf. ἥρι γὰρ κατέχονται = are hidden, P 644.

420. δαίμων: only here of a feminine goddess; nor does it appear to be used anywhere else of a definite god present in his own person. The plur. is used as = θεοί in general, A 222, Z 115, Ψ 595; in T 188 we have the phrase πρὸς δαίμονος ἐπισηκῶ, and similarly ο 261, ε 396 (where no god has been specified); and in all other cases it is used either in the yet more general sense of 'the will of heaven' or 'fate' (cf. δαίμονα δῶσω Θ 166), or in the metaphor ἐπέσσντο δαίμονι ἴσος. See M. and R. on β 134, where, however, the singularity of the present passage is not brought out. If it were not for the presence of Aphrodite in the following lines, it would indeed, by Homeric usage, be necessary to translate 'her destiny, the divine power, led her on,' as in ἀγάγοι δὲ ἐ δαίμωνι φ 201.

423-6. Zenodotus rejected these lines, writing instead "αὐτὴ δ' ἀντίον ἴξεν Ἀλεξάνδροιο ἄνακτος": ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ αὐτῶι ἐφαίνετο τὸ τῇ Ἑλένῃ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δίφρον βαστάζειν. ἐπιλέλθεται δὲ ὅτι γραι εἰκασται, καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ μορφῇ τὰ προσή-

κοντα ἐπιτηδεύει, Ariston. Cobet has an amusing chapter on the question of propriety as it appeared to the Alexandrian critics, *Misc. Crit.* 225-39. (Schol. T quotes τ 34, where Athene carries a lamp for Odysseus.) Römer suggests that Zen. may have considered that Aphrodite, being disguised as an ἀμφίπολος, must have gone off with the rest in 422.

426. The title κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο is elsewhere reserved for Athene alone.

427. ὅσσε πάλιν κλίνασα, the *aversa tuetur* of *Aen.* iv. 362. This is a most instructive piece of Homeric psychology, shewing the struggle of the weak human mind against the overpowering will of the gods. From the outward point of view, as distinct from the presentation of such secret springs of action, Helen is depicted to us, Nägelsbach says, as the counterpart of Paris—vacillating between repentance and love, as he between sensuality and courage. 432-6 were obelized by Ar. as πεζότεροι καὶ τοῖς νοήμασι ψυχροὶ καὶ ἀκατάλληλοι. With this judgment it is impossible to agree. 432 is spoken in bitter irony. The sentence beginning with ἀλλά σ' ἐγώ γε may be taken in the same tone as a bitter taunt; 'but no, you had better take good care of yourself—you might be killed'; or we may take it as seriously meant, as marking the point at which the old love suddenly resumes its sway, in fear lest the taunt may really drive Paris to another duel. The former is more consonant with the reply of Paris,

ἀνδρὶ δαμείς κρατερῶι, ὃς ἐμὸς πρότερος πόσις ἦεν.  
 ἦ μὲν δὴ πρίν γ' εὖχε' ἀρηϊφίλου Μενελάου 430  
 σῆι τε βίῃ καὶ χερσὶ καὶ ἔγχεϊ φέρτερος εἶναι.  
 ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν προκάλεσσαι ἀρηϊφίλον Μενέλαον  
 ἐξαυτίς μαχέσασθαι ἐναντίον. ἄλλὰ σ' ἐγὼ γε  
 παύεσθαι κέλομαι, μηδὲ ξανθῶι Μενελάωι  
 ἀντίβιον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν ἥδὲ μάχεσθαι 435  
 ἀφραδέως, μὴ πως τάχ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δουρὶ δαμῆης."  
 τὴν δὲ Πάρις μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπε·  
 "μὴ με, γύναι, χαλεποῖσιν ὀνείδεσι θυμὸν ἔνιπτε.  
 νῦν μὲν γὰρ Μενέλαος ἐνίκησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ,  
 κείνουν δ' αὖτις ἐγώ· παρὰ γὰρ θεοὶ εἰσι καὶ ἡμῖν. 440  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ φιλότῃτι τραπέομεν εὐνηθέντε·  
 οὐ γάρ πώ ποτέ μ' ὦδε ἔρος φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν,  
 οὐδ' ὅτε σε πρῶτον Λακεδαίμονος ἐξ ἑρατεινῆς  
 ἔπλεον ἀρπάξας ἐν ποντοπόροις νέεσσι,  
 νῆσωι δ' ἐν Κρανάῃ ἐμίγην φιλότῃτι καὶ εὐνῇ, 445

429. πρότερον Q Eust.. 430. γ' om. CD. || εὔχου G. || ἀρηϊφίλω μενελάω Q. 431. σῆι: τῇ G. 432-6 ἀθ. Ar. 433. ἐξαυτίς C. || μαχέσεσθαι Cant. 434. παύεσθαι Ar. CHP Bar. Mosc. 1, Eton.: παύσεσθαι R Cant. Lips.: παύσεσθαι Ω. 436. δαμῆης Ar.: δαμασεῖς AU Pap. β, Par. g (King's *supr.*): δαμασεῖς King's<sup>1</sup>: δαμείης Ω. 438. χαλεποῖσιν: μύθοισιν T. || θυμὸν: μῦθον D. || ἔνιπτε DGPR Pap. β, Vr. a, Mosc. 1: ἔνιπε HQ Lips. 440. αὖτις C. 441. φιλότῃτα GP. || εὐνηθέντες DHQ(?)TU Vr. a, Mosc. 1. 442. ὦδε or ὦδ' DJHPQRT Pap. β, Par. d f g j k: ὦδέ γ' A (the reading of CGS is left uncertain by La R., but is probably ὦδε without γ'). || ἔρος (κατὰ τινας φρένας ἔρος Eust.): ἔρωσ Ω. 443. πρῶτον: πρότερον CRT. 444. ἀρπάσας DJ. || ἐν: ἐνὶ Vr. a.

but it cannot be said that either is 'prosy, frigid, and inconsistent.'

435. ἀντίβιον by Homeric use must be an adverbial nout., not agreeing with σέ or πόλεμον.

436. La R. considers that ὑπό goes with δουρί, αὐτοῦ being simply 'his,' comparing ἐμῶι ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμῆναι E 653, etc. But this use of αὐτοῦ as a simple possess. gen. is very rare (see II 405), and it is more natural to construe 'by him with his spear.'

438. ἐνίπτειν always takes a *person* only as object elsewhere, except v 17 κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μυθῶι.

440. αὖτις, 'some day,' sc. νικήσω.

441. τραπέομεν: metathesis from τραπεῖομεν, *let us take our pleasure*. So Ξ 314, θ 292 λέκτρονδε τραπεῖομεν εὐνηθέντες, where see M. and R. A converse metath. seems to take place in

τερπικέρανος, from τρέπω. Other instances are abundant, e.g. καρδίη κραδίη, καρτερός κρατερός, θάρσος θρασύς, etc., either *ar* or *ra* being the Greek representative of vocalic *r*.

442. ἔρος: MSS. ἔρως, and so Ξ 294; but we must read ἔρος in Ξ 315 (though even there most MSS. have ἔρως), and as the cases are always formed from this stem (ἔρωι σ 212, ἔρον *passim*) there can be little doubt that Bothe and Heyne are right in restoring it here after Eustath. The earliest trace of ἔρος seems to be the acc. ἔρωτα in the Homeric *Hymn. Merc.* 449. So γέλος, not γέλως, is the Homeric form, generally disguised by the MSS. See note on A 599.

445. Κρανάη according to Pausanias (iii. 22. 1) lay in the Laconic gulf opposite Gytheion. Others made it Kythera, as



ὥς σεο νῦν ἔραμαι καί με γλυκὺς ἴμερος αἶρεί.”  
 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἄρχε λέχοσδε κιών· ἅμα δ' εἶπετ' ἄκοιτις.  
 τὼ μὲν ἄρ' ἐν τρητοῖσι κατεύνασθεν λεχέσσιν,  
 Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἀν' ὄμιλον ἐφοῖτα θηρὶ εὐκῶς,  
 εἴ που ἐσαθρήσειεν Ἀλέξανδρον θεοειδέα. 450  
 ἀλλ' οὐ τις δύνато Τρώων κλειτῶν τ' ἐπικούρων  
 δεῖξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τότ' ἀρηϊφίλωι Μενελάωι.  
 οὐ μὲν γὰρ φιλότῃ γ' ἐκεύθανον, εἴ τις ἴδοιτο·  
 ἴσον γάρ σφιν πᾶσιν ἀπήχθετο κηρὶ μελαίνῃ.  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων. 455  
 “κέκλυτέ μεν, Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἦδ' ἐπικούροι·  
 νίκη μὲν δὴ φαίνεται ἀρηϊφίλου Μενελάου·  
 ὑμεῖς δ' Ἀργείην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἅμ' αὐτῇ  
 ἔκδοτε, καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν, ἣν τιν' εἴοικεν,  
 ἦ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.” 460  
 ὥς ἔφατ' Ἀτρεΐδης, ἐπὶ δ' ἦνεον ἄλλοι Ἀχαιοί.

447. δ' : τ' Pap. β. 448. μὲν : γὰρ P. || κατεύνασθε DJQ. 450. θεοειδῆ  
 PT<sup>2</sup> Mosc. 1. 451. κλυτῶν G. || τ' : δ' Pap. β. 453. γ' om. G Pap. β. ||  
 ἐκεύθανεν Pap. β. 456. δάρδανοι ἦδ' ἐπικούροι : εὐκνήμιδες ἄχαιοι G.  
 459. ἀΠΟΤΙΝΕΜΕΝ : ἀΠΟΤΙΝΕΤΟΝ Zen. || ἦν τιν' εἴοικεν : ἦν ἐπέοικεν P : ἦν τ'  
 ἐπέοικε Mosc. 1 : γρ. καὶ ἦν περ εἴοικεν J. 461. ἀχαιῶν D.

the dwelling of Aphrodite. These of course are mere guesses; the island was unknown, and some read *κραναῆι* as adj.

448. *τρητοῖσι*: see M. and R. on α 440, where it is explained to mean *morticed*, on the strength of Plat. Pol. 279 E τῶν δὲ συνθετῶν τὰ μὲν τρητά, τὰ δὲ ἀνευ τρήσεως σύνδετα. But Plato can hardly be quoted as a decisive authority on Homeric archaeology; and the following passage from ψ 196–201 is strongly in favour either of the interpretation ‘pierced with holes through which straps were passed to support the bedding,’ or still better ‘pierced with holes by which to rivet on the ornamental plates or disks’ (v. on δινωτοῖσι 391):—

κορυὸν δ' ἐκ βίξης προταμῶν ἀμφέξεσα  
 χαλκῶι  
 εὐ καὶ ἐπισταμένως, καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνα,  
 ἐρμῶν ἀσκήσας· τέτρηνα δὲ πάντα  
 τερέτρωι.  
 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχόμενος λέχος ἔξεον, ὅφρ'  
 ἐτέλεσσα,  
 δαιδάλλων χρυσῶι τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἦδ' ἐλέ-  
 φαντι·  
 ἐν δ' ἐτάνυσσ' ἱμάντα βοὸς φοῖνικι φαεινόν.

453. *Not for love were they trying to hide him, should any see him.* ‘The line represents in narrative form the thought οὐ κευθάνουσιν, ἦν τις ἴδῃται, *they are not for hiding (will not hide) him, if any shall see him*’ (M.A.B.). γὰρ explains the use of δύνато, ‘for it was a matter of *power*, not of *will*.’ This is satisfactory grammatically; but the violation of the F of ἴδοιτο and the form κευθάνω (instead of \*κευθάνω) for κεύθω have raised grave suspicions against the couplet. Various remedies have been proposed; one fault is cured by Heyne’s ἐκευθον ἄν, the other by Brandreth’s εἴ τις ὄρατο or van Herwerden’s εἴ Fe Fιδοντο. But all these conjectures are far from satisfactory.

457. φαίνεται, with gen., as we say ‘is declared for M.’ The construction with the gen. is essentially the same as with adjectives (ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή, etc.).

459. For ἀΠΟΤΙΝΕΜΕΝ Zen. read ἀΠΟΤΙΝΕΤΟΝ, on his theory of ‘dual for plural.’ We might easily read ἀποτίνετε, as the hiatus is ‘*licitus*’ in the bucolic diaeresis; but see A 20.

## INTRODUCTION

Book IV. falls obviously into three divisions : (1) the wounding of Menelaos by Pandaros (1-219) ; (2) the review of the Greeks by Agamemnon (220-421) ; (3) the beginning of the general battle (422-544).

The first episode is clearly a continuation of the story of the preceding book. It can never have stood alone, nor can the third book well have ended as it does without some such continuation to enable the battle to begin after the truce. There is no serious difficulty within the story itself, though the relation of it to the rest of the *Iliad* is fraught with many thorny questions.

In the first place, the colloquy of the gods with which the book opens is cryingly inconsistent with the intention of Zeus and his promise to Thetis in A. Here the course of the war seems to be an open question, and vengeance for Achilles is never thought of. Again, it is strange that the flagrant crime of the Trojans should never again be mentioned in the course of the *Iliad*, except in a few lines patently interpolated for the purpose of bringing it in (see E 206-8, H 69, 351). Some allusion seems imperatively demanded in the case of the death of the arch-traitor Pandaros (E 286-96), which so soon follows his offence.

The whole story, in fact, from Γ 1 to Δ 219, admirable as it is in narrative, cannot belong to the original *Iliad*. More perhaps than any other part, with the exception perhaps of K, it produces the impression of a distinct poem, composed for its own sake, and without any regard to the place it would hold in a continuous tale of the fall of Troy ; suited, too, rather to the first than to the tenth year of the war. An unconscientious compiler might have adapted it to this place by stopping at the end of Γ, and simply saying that, as the duel had not been brought to the proposed conclusion by the death of either champion, the truce was simply at an end. But we could ill afford to lose such a famous passage as the account of the bow-shot ; and there can be little doubt that the whole episode was originally composed as a single piece. To hold, as some have done, that the Pandaros episode is a later extension of the duel, leads to the obvious question, 'Why should a compiler or continuator have introduced a new motive which must infallibly lead to all the difficulties in the sequel which have been pointed out ?'

The second portion, the ἐπιώλῃσις, is in some ways puzzling. The allusions to the breach of the treaty shew that it was composed to follow

the duel ; on the other hand, the way in which the simple and modest character of Diomedes displays itself under severe provocation can hardly be meant for anything but a preparation by contrast for his exploits in the next book. The whole episode, though not without considerable vivacity, prolongs beyond measure the delay in the opening of the battle, at a point where rapidity seems essential to the story, and the speeches are unreasonably prolix in the crisis of the attack. The gratuitous insults which Odysseus, like Diomedes, has to undergo are strangely at variance with the services he has rendered in B, nor do they accord with the character of Agamemnon. The clear allusion in I 34-36 to 370-400 here shews that the episode is certainly earlier than that book ; it may well be by the same hand. It would seem, therefore, that it was composed at a time considerably earlier than the Attic recension, in order to join the duel to the rest of the exploits of Diomedes.

About the last portion of the book there is little to be said. It consists mainly of battle 'vignettes' of no unusual interest, such as could no doubt be turned out impromptu to any extent by the practised bard. The similes with which it opens are incomparably the best portion of it.

# ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Δ

ὀρκίων κύγχυσις. Ἀγαμέμνωνος ἐπιπόλῃσις.

οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἡγορόωντο  
χρυσέῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ, μετὰ δὲ σφισι πότνια Ἥβη  
νέκταρ ἔωινοχόει· τοὶ δὲ χρυσεῖς δεπάεσσι  
δειδέχατ' ἀλλήλους, Τρώων πόλιν εἰσορόωντες.  
αὐτίκ' ἐπειράτο Κρονίδης ἐρεθιζέμεν Ἥρην  
κερτομίῳ ἐπέεσσι, παραβλήδην ἀγορεύων.  
“δοιαὶ μὲν Μενελάῳ ἀρηγόνες εἰσὶ θεάων,  
Ἥρη τ' Ἀργεῖη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενῆς Ἀθήνη.

5

2. ἀνδραπέδω J.  
Vr. a: δειδίχατ' H.

3. ἔωινοχόει Zen. ? (τινὲς Schol. T).  
6. παρακλήδην Lips.

4. δειδέκατ'

1. ἡγορόωντο, *held assembly*, as B 337 παισὶν εὐκότες ἀγοράσθε. Ar. acc. to Porphyrios in Schol. B explained the word by ἡθροίζοντο, but it implies debate as well as mere gathering together.

2. Ἥβη reappears only in E 722, 905, and the post-Homeric passage λ 603, where, as in the later legends, she is the wife of Herakles. For the golden floor see Helbig *H. E.*<sup>2</sup> 115-7, where 1 Kings vi. 30 is compared.

3. ἔωινοχόει: of course a false form for ἔωινοχόει, cf. ἐήρδανε, and see A 598.

4. δειδέκατο: generally referred to δεικνύμαι, v. I 196 δεικνύμενος (*H. G.* §§ 23 (6), 24. 3), 'pledging'; in that case it must be a secondary sense derived from the custom of pointing to the person whose health is to be drunk. But both form and meaning present difficulties, and the word may be independent. Cf. δεικνύωντο O 86, δεκανᾶται ἀσπάζεται Hesych., and the Odyssean δειδίσκομαι, which may point to a root δφικ (van L. *Ench.* p. 345, Schulze *Q. E.* p. 155).

6. παραβλήδην: variously explained *maliciously* (with a side meaning); *by way of retort* (so Ap. Rhod. ii. 60, 448,

etc., seems to have taken it); *by way of invidious comparison* between Aphrodite and the two goddesses. None of these is satisfactory; I would suggest *by way of risking himself* ('drawing her fire' in modern metaphor), i.e. wilfully tempting her to retort upon himself; hence *provokingly* (cf. παραβόλα κερτομέουσιν of teasing boys, *Hygm. Merc.* 56). This sense of παραβάλλεσθαι is (with the exception of the purely literal meaning) the only one which occurs in H. (see I 322), and remained attached to the word throughout Greek literature (v. L. and S. s.v.).

8. Ἀλαλκομενῆς: Pausanias (ix. 33. 5) testifies to a cultus of Athene at Alalkomenai, near the Tritonian lake in Boiotia, down to the times of Sulla. The local hero was Ἀλαλκομενεύς, and the name is evidently connected with some very primitive cult; cf. the interesting fragment in Bergk *P. L.*<sup>3</sup> frag. adesp. 83 (Pindar ?) χαλεπὸν δ' ἐξευρεῖν εἴτε Βοιωτοῖς Ἀλ<αλ>κομενεύς ὑπὲρ Λίμνης Κηφισίδος ἀνέσχε πρώτος ἀνθρώπων εἴτε κτλ. (followed by a list of local myths about the origin of man). The local fem. form is Ἀλαλκομενία, one of a trio of local



- ἀλλ' ἦ τοι ταὶ νόσφι καθήμεναι εἰσορόωσαι  
 τέρπεσθον· τῶι δ' αὖτε φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη 10  
 αἰεὶ παρμέμβλωκε καὶ αὐτοῦ κῆρας ἀμύνει,  
 καὶ νῦν ἐξεσάωσεν οἴόμενον θανέεσθαι.  
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι νίκη μὲν ἀρηϊφίλου Μενελάου·  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ φραζώμεθ' ὅπως ἔσται τάδε ἔργα, 15  
 ἦ αὖτις πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν  
 ὄρσομεν, ἦ φιλότητα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι βάλωμεν.  
 εἰ δ' αὖ πως τόδε πᾶσι φίλον καὶ ἡδὺ γένοιτο,  
 ἦ τοι μὲν οἰκέοιτο πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος,  
 αὖτις δ' Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην Μενέλαος ἄγοιτο.”  
 ὧς ἔφαθ', αἰ δ' ἐπέμυξαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη, 20  
 πλησίαι αἷ γ' ἦσθην, κακὰ δὲ Τρώεσσι μεδέσθην.  
 ἦ τοι Ἀθηναίη ἀκέων ἦν οὐδέ τι εἶπε,  
 σκυζομένη Δὺ πατρί, χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος ἦρει·  
 Ἥρηι δ' οὐκ ἔχαδε στήθος χόλον, ἀλλὰ προσηύδα·  
 “αἰνότατε Κρονίδη, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες; 25  
 πῶς ἐθέλεις ἄλιον θεῖναι πόνον ἡδ' ἀτέλεστον,  
 ἰδρῶ θ' ὃν ἰδρωσα μόγῳ, καμέτην δέ μοι ἵπποι

10. φιλομῆδης Q. 15. Ἡ (Ἡ) P Pap. γ: Ἡ ῥ' Ω. || αὖτε C. 17. αὖ  
 πῶς Ar.: αὖ τῶς Aph.: οὕτως Par. d: αὕτως (αὔτως) Ω. || γένοιτο Aph. Ω:  
 πέλοιτο Ar. (? v. Ludwig): γένηται Par. f. 19. αὖτε C. 20. ἔφατ' Pap. γ.  
 21. πλησίον Eton. *supr.* || αἶ γ': αἶ δ' O. 22. Ἡ τοι: ἡ μὲν G. 23.  
 σκυζομένη Pap. γ. 24. οὐ κέχαδε HT (and ἡ πλεῖων χρήσις τῶν ἀντιγράφων  
 Eust.). 25. ἔειπας N Vr. a. 27. καμέτην: ἡ ἔκαμον Eust. || ἵππω S.

(chthonian?) goddesses, absorbed as usual by the Olympian (Paus. *ibid.*). The name becomes here attributive rather than local, meaning 'the guardian.' It recurs in literature only E 908 (the only other place in H. where Hera is called Ἀργεῖη) but is found in Chios on an inscr. Hence also the Boiotian month Ἀλακομένιος.

11. παρμέμβλωκε=παρμέμλωκε from (μ)βλώσκω (μλο=μολ, from ml-). αὐτοῦ: the usual construction of ἀμύνειν is τί τινι, not τινος. But M 402 Ζεὺς κῆρας ἄμυνε | παιδὸς ἐοῦ, Φ 539 Τρώων ἵνα λοιγὸν ἀλάλκοι. And the cases where ἀπό is added are essentially similar, νεῶν ἀπὸ λοιγὸν ἀμύνων II 80, etc. *H. G.* § 152.

18. οἰκέοιτο . . ἄγοιτο: potential optatives, but illustrating how the 'wishing' opt. shades off into this sense without ἄν: ναίετε Γ 74, in the mouth of one

who desires peace, is a little nearer the pure idea of 'wish.' We exactly express the ambiguity in translating 'then *may* the city of P. be a habitation.' Zeus is here not expressing a wish, but only putting as a possibility the result of his second alternative in l. 16.

20. μύζειν, to 'mutter,' 'murmur,' a family of words derived onomatopoeically from an imitation of the sound of the voice when the lips are closed. 20-5=Θ 457-62.

22. ἀκέων is indeclinable here and Θ 459, and φ 89 ἀκέων δαίνυσθε καθήμενοι. Elsewhere it is always declined like a participle, and it is hard to see what else it can be. Of course ἀκέουσ' could easily be restored here, with Brandreth, or, as van L. and Agar (*J. P.* xxiv. 273) suggest, μὲν ἀκῆν, but there is nothing to explain how such a corruption could have originated.

λαδὸν ἀγειρούσῃ, Πριάμῳ κακὰ τοιῷ τε παῖσιν ;  
ἔρδ'· ἀτὰρ οὐ τοι πάντες ἐπαινέομεν θεοὶ ἄλλοι."

τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς· 30

"δαιμονίη, τί νύ σε Πριάμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες

τόσσα κακὰ ῥέζουσιν, ὃ τ' ἀσπερχές μενεαίνει

Ἰλίου ἔξαλαπάξαι ἐνκτίμενον πτολίεθρον ;

εἰ δὲ σύ γ' εἰσελθοῦσα πύλας καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ

ὤμῳ βεβρώθοις Πριάμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας 35

ἄλλους τε Τρῶας, τότε κεν χόλον ἔξακέσαιο.

ἔρξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις· μὴ τοῦτό γε νείκος ὀπίσσω

σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ μέγ' ἔρισμα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι γένηται.

ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆμισιν·

ὅππότε κεν καὶ ἐγὼ μεμαῶς πόλιν ἔξαλαπάξαι 40

τὴν ἐθέλω, ὅθι τοι φίλοι ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάσι,

μὴ τι διατρίβειν τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον, ἀλλὰ μ' ἔασαι·

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σοὶ δῶκα ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ.

αἶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἡελίῳ τε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἀστερόεντι

ναιετάουσι πόλῃες ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων, 45

29. ἔρδ'· ἀτὰρ: ἔρδε ἄρ G. || οὔτι JMNQ. | ἐπαινέομεν Mosc. 1: ἐπαινοῦμεν J.  
35. βεβρώθοις QR (*supr.* οι) Mor. 38. ἔρισμα D<sup>1</sup>Q. 41. ἐγγεγάσι(ν) AJQT  
Vr. b, Mosc. 1 3 (*e corr.*): ἐκτεγάσι(ν) Ω. 42. ἔασον G. 43. ἐγὼ τοι S. ||  
δῶκ' ἀέκων Trypho. || γε: τε O (*supr.* γε). 44. ὑπ': ἐπ' Q. || τε om. Q.  
45. ναιετάουσι D.

28. κακά, accusative, 'in apposition to the sentence,' as it is generally called; i.e. 'expressing the sum or result of an action' (*H. G.* § 136. 4); so l. 207 ὅν τις ἔβαλεν . . . τῷ μὲν κλέος, ἄμμι δὲ πένθος: Ω 735 ῥίψει χειρὸς ἐλὼν ἀπὸ πύργου, λυγρὸν δλεθρον. The construction is only found after a verb governing an accus. 'of the external object' either expressed or implied, and may be regarded as an extension of the construction ῥέζειν τινά τι. For κάμνειν τι = *to make* cf. 216, etc. The peculiarity here is that in the principal clause the verb is used intransitively—a sort of zeugma.

29. πάντες is the emphatic word. It is indifferent as to the sense whether we take ἐπαινέομεν as fut. or pres.; but it must be the latter according to Cobet's canon, that in verbs where ε is not changed to η, if the preceding syllable is long, the fut. takes σ, but where the antepenult. is short the σ always disappears; thus αἰδέσομαι, ἀρκέσω, νεκέσω, but τελέω, γαμέω, κορέω, etc. (*M. C.*

p. 307). Moreover, the simple αἰνέω makes αἰνήσω in H. (π 380, 403), cf. ἐπήνησαν Σ 312.

32. ὃ τε implies 'as I must conclude they do, because,' etc. ἀσπερχές: apparently for ἀσπερχές, σπέρχω 'to press,' lit. *hastening, pressing on* (so Curt. *Et.* no. 176 b, and Clemm in *C. St.* viii. 95).

35. For similar expressions v. X 347, Ω 212, and the words of Xenophon to his soldiers, *Anab.* iv. 8. 14 τούτους, ἦν πως δυνάμεθα, καὶ ὤμους δεῖ καταφαγεῖν (and *Hist.* iii. 3. 6). βεβρώθοις seems to be a perf. in -θα like ἐγρηγόρθασι, v. *H. G.* § 22 (10), and note on (9). The more usual form βεβρωκός is found in X 94, χ 403, where it may have supplanted the rarer βεβρωθός.

43. ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ, not under compulsion, but yet not of my own liking, as the Schol. explain: πολλὰ παρά προαίρεσιν τῆς ψυχῆς πράττομεν πρὸς τὸ κεχαρισμένον τῶν πέλας.

45. ναιετάουσι, have their place, see B 626.

τάων μοι περὶ κῆρι τίεσκετο Ἴλιος ἱρή  
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο·  
οὐ γάρ μοί ποτε βωμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐίσης,  
λοιβῆς τε κνίσης τε· τὸ γὰρ λάχομεν γέρας ἡμεῖς.”

τὸν δ' ἡμέιβετ' ἔπειτα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη·

50

“ἦ τοι ἐμοὶ τρεῖς μὲν πολὺν φίλταταί εἰσι πόλῃες,  
Ἄργος τε Σπάρτη τε καὶ εὐρυάγυια Μυκῆνη·  
τὰς διαπέρσαι, ὅτ' ἂν τοι ἀπέχθωνται περὶ κῆρι·  
τάων οὐ τοι ἐγὼ πρόσθ' ἴσταμαι οὐδὲ μεγαίρω.

εἴ περ γὰρ φθονέω τε καὶ οὐκ εἰὼ διαπέρσαι,  
οὐκ ἀνύω φθονέουσ', ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺν φέρτερός ἐσσι.  
ἀλλὰ χρὴ καὶ ἐμὸν θέμεναι πόνον οὐκ ἀτέλεστον·

55

46. ΤΑΩΝ: ἐκ τῶν G.	47. ἐνμμελίου L.	48. βωμὸς: θυμὸς Eust.
51. φίλτατοι N Vr. a.	53. διάπερον G.    τοι: τι Q.    ἀπέχθονται DR.	
54. οὔτοι: οὔτι GMQS.	55-6 ἀθ. Ar.	56. φέρτατος DP (and A <sup>m</sup> ).

46. περὶ κῆρι: on this disputed phrase see *H. G.* § 186. 2, where the evidence is fully given. Monro takes the dat. as a locative, *in the heart*; and with much hesitation περὶ as = *exceedingly*; ‘περὶ κῆρι may have been meant in the literal sense,—the feeling (fear, anger, etc.) being thought of as *filling* or *covering* the heart. On the whole, however, the evidence is against this view—unless indeed we explain περὶ κῆρι as a traditional phrase used without a distinct sense of its original meaning.’ The sense *exceedingly* is obviously suitable here, but less so in 53; and περὶ = *inside* is supported by A 317, q.v.

47. ἐνμμελίῳ, *with good spear of ash*, τοῦ εἰ ποτε τῇ μελῇ χρησαμένου, πολέμικου, Schol.; a somewhat strange epithet to apply to Priam, who is not represented as a warrior in Homer (except I<sup>1</sup> 188); hence van L. writes ἐνμμελῆς here and in the three repetitions of the line (165, Z 449, [Θ 552]), thus also removing the contracted gen. -ω for -εω. The epithet is also applied to the sons of Euphorbos in P (9, 23, 59), and to Peisistratos, γ 400.

52. The clear mention here of the city of Argos, like the epithet Ἀργεῖη applied to Hera in l. 8, marks this passage as composed after the Dorian conquest—one of the few cases in Homer where the traditional prae-Dorian character of the poems has been forgotten. It was, of course, that invasion which created the city of Argos at the expense of

Mykenai; the two can never have existed side by side as they are represented here. The hearer is naturally expected to apply the words only to the fall of Mykenai, represented as the price paid for the conquest of Troy.

55. φρονέω and εἰὼ are taken by Ameis as subj.; he compares a 167 οὐδέ τις ἡμῖν | θαλπωρή, εἴ περ τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων | φῆσιν ἐλεύσεσθαι, but this is essentially different, as it refers to a repetition of anticipated cases; so Δ 261 εἴ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοι . . δαιτὸν πίνωσιν. Hera is here stating a fact which she admits, in order to base another statement upon it, and for this the indic. is the proper mood; cf. H 117 εἴ περ ἄδειξς τ' ἐστί, and note on Δ 321. It is also more natural to find οὐ after εἴ with the indic. than the subj.; *H. G.* § 316, and v. on B 349, Δ 160, though it is true that we do find εἴ οὐ with subj., e.g. T 139 οὐκ εἰδῶσι, where the neg. coheres closely with the verb. In the next line ἀνύω may be either pres. or fut., *I shall do no good*. 55-6 were obelized by Ar., ὅτι τὴν χάριν ἀναλύουσιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προσηθεῖς δύναται τοῦτ' ἔχειν, i.e. Hera is not doing Zeus a favour if Zeus can work his will without asking her. But this ground is quite insufficient; the turn of thought is natural enough, ‘have your way; you know I cannot prevent it.’ The ἀλλά following (57) also clearly refers to 56, ‘though you are more mighty, yet I am not to count for nothing.’

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ θεός εἰμι, γένος δέ μοι ἔνθεν ὅθεν σοί,  
καί με πρεσβυτάτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,  
ἀμφοτέρων, γενεῇ τε καὶ οὐνεκα σὴ παράκοιτις 60  
κέκλμαι, σὺν δὲ πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσεις.

ἀλλ' ἢ τοι μὲν ταῦθ' ὑποείζομεν ἀλλήλοισι,  
σοὶ μὲν ἐγώ, σὺν δ' ἐμοί· ἐπὶ δ' ἔφονται θεοὶ ἄλλοι  
ἀθάνατοι. σὺν δὲ θάσσον Ἀθηναίη ἐπιτεῖλαι  
ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπιν αἰνὴν, 65  
πειρᾶν δ' ὥς κε Τρῶες ὑπερκύδαντας Ἀχαιοὺς  
ἄρξωσι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια δηλήσασθαι."

ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθῃσε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε·  
αὐτίκ' Ἀθηναίην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
"αἶψα μάλ' ἐς στρατὸν ἐλθὲ μετὰ Τρῶας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, 70  
πειρᾶν δ' ὥς κε Τρῶες ὑπερκύδαντας Ἀχαιοὺς  
ἄρξωσι πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὅρκια δηλήσασθαι."

ὥς εἰπὼν ὥτρυνε πάρος μεμαυῖαν Ἀθήνην,  
βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων αἴξασα.  
οἶον δ' ἀστέρα ἦκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω, 75

59. με : μοι H. || ἀγκυλόμητις Mor. 60. σὴ : σοί Q. 61. κέκλμαι Pap. γ.  
62. ταῦτ' ἀποείζομεν J (γρ. ταῦθ' ὑποείζομεν) : ταῦτ' ἐπιείζομεν Apoll. Synt. : ταῦτ' ὑποείζομεν Pap. γ. 65. εἰς O. 66. δ' om. P. 67. πρότερον JQ. 68. ἔφατ' : φάτ[ο] Pap. γ. 71-2 om. J. 72. πρότερον O.

59. πρεσβυτάτην, *senior* in dignity, not merely *eldest*, as the second clause of 60 clearly shews; cf. the use of πρέσβα, πρεσβήιον Θ 289, *sign of honour*, etc. So γέρων, *councillor*, is used without respect of age, like *seigneur, sir*. According to the legend in Hes. *Theog.* 454 Hera was actually older than her brothers, and thus γενεῇ here probably means *age*, though it may equally well be taken to mean *parentage*.

66. ὑπερκύδαντας: probably an adj. like ἀκάμας ἀδάμας, from stem κυδ (not κυδεσ) like κυδ-ρός. It recurs only Hes. *Theog.* 510. Cf. μεγακύδαντος (?) in a Cyprian inser. (Collitz 31).

67. See Γ 299. It is clear here that ὅρκια is governed by ὑπέρ, not by δηλήσασθαι. Here also MSS. give ὑπερόρκια.

75. ἀστέρα ἦκε: so MSS.; Bentley ἀστέρ' ἔηκε. The place, just before the caesura κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον, is the most unlikely for an hiatus, so that the conjecture is almost certainly right. See B 87. It is not easy to make out exactly *what* the people saw and marvelled at (79); the metaphor clearly

indicates more than the mere swiftness of descent, and implies at least a visible flash, though we cannot suppose that Athene actually changed herself into a 'fire-ball' or meteorite; but on the other hand Homeric gods are not in the habit of appearing to multitudes in their own person. Of course the sparks in 77 are merely part of the description of such a meteor, and do not belong to the comparison. A very similar passage is P 547 sqq., which describes the descent of the same goddess clothed in a cloud like a rainbow, spread by Zeus τέρας ἔμμεναι ἢ πολέμοιο ἢ καὶ χειμῶνος. 82 shews that the people did not know *what* had happened, but only expected some divine interference in a decisive way, whether for good or ill. The edd. compare *Hygm. Apoll.* 440—

ἐνθ' ἐκ νηὸς ὄρονσεν ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος μέσσω ἡματι· τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ  
πολλὰι  
σπιωθαρίδες πωτῶντο, σέλας δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν  
ἵκεν,

where Apollo is actually surrounded by



ἡ ναύτησι τέρας ἡὲ στρατῶι εὐρέϊ λαῶν,  
λαμπρόν· τοῦ δέ τε πολλοὶ ἀπὸ σπινθήρες ἴενται·  
τῶι ἔκκυϊ ἡῖξεν ἐπὶ χθόνα Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,  
καὶ δ' ἔθορ' ἐς μέσσον· θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας  
Τρῳάς θ' ἵπποδάμους καὶ ἐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς·

80

ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεςκεν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον·  
“ἡ ῥ' αὖτις πόλεμός τε κακὸς καὶ φύλοπις αἰνὴ  
ἔσσεται; ἡ φιλότητα μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι τίθησι  
Ζεὺς, ὅς τ' ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο τέτυκται;”

ὥς ἄρα τις εἶπεςκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε.

85

ἡ δ' ἀνδρὶ ἰκέλη Τρώων καταδύσεθ' ὄμιλον,  
Λαοδόκωι Ἀντηνορίδῃ, κρατερῶι αἰχμητῇ,  
Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζήμενῃ, εἴ που ἐφεύροι.  
εὔρε Λυκάονος υἷδν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε  
ἔσταότ'· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κρατερὰι στίχες ἀσπιστῶν

90

λαῶν, οἳ οἱ ἔποντο ἀπ' Αἰσήποιο ῥοαῶν.  
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἵσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
“ἡ ῥά νύ μοι τι πίθοιο, Λυκάονος υἱὲ δαΐφρον;  
τλαίης κεν Μενελάωι ἐπι προέμεν ταχὺν ἰόν,

76. ναῦτοισι P : ναῦταισι G. 78. ἔϊκυϊ' : ἰκέλη L : ἰκέλ' P. 79. ἔσχεν G. 82. αὔεις C. 84. ἀνθρώποις M. || ταμίης G. 86. καταδύσεθ' A (supr. α over ε, T.W.A.): κατεδύσεθ' NTU Vr. b : κατεδύς(ε)σεθ' Ω. 87 om. Tt. || κραταῖω O. 88. εἴ που ἐφεύροι : εὔρε δὲ τόνδε Zen. (omitting 89). || ἐφεύροι Q (supr. οι) : ἐφεύρη O (supr. οι). 89. εὔρε δὲ DGP. 91. ἐπονται Q<sup>1</sup> (and supr. O). 92. ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα : προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη NS and γρ. O<sup>m</sup> (G? v. Heyne).

a blaze of fire; the author of these lines, however, clearly had the present passage in his mind.

82. Nikanor takes the two clauses introduced by ἡ as questions, and accents accordingly; this seems to give the best sense.

84 = T 224. For the genitive ἀνθρώπων cf. A 28 τέρας ἀνθρώπων, a portent in the eyes of men. It would thus seem to depend on ταμίης, not πολέμοιο. But cf. E 332 ἀνδρῶν πόλεμος.

86. Observe the long ι of ἀνδρὶ : this is possibly the primitive quantity of the dat. sing., H. G. § 373, van L. *Ench.* pp. 61, 80. But see Schulze *Q. E.* p. 229.

88. εἴ που, in the hope that. Zenod. was offended at the doubt which he thought was expressed as to the certainty of the goddess finding him, and wrote εὔρε δὲ τόνδε, omitting 89 altogether.

But εὔρε is commonly found beginning a sentence asyndetically, e.g. B 169, Δ 327, E 169, 355, A 197, 473.

90. Cf. λαοὶ ἀγροῖωται Δ 676. But the division of ἀσπιστῶν | λαῶν suggests that they should be taken as substantives in apposition, not as adj. and subst., the comma after λαῶν being removed. Notice the rime. For 91 cf. B 824-27.

93. The question here implies a wish, the opt. being potential; lit. *could you listen to me?* So we have the simple πίθοίς μοι δ 193, *pray listen to me*, which shews that the interrogative form is not necessary here (H. G. § 299 b). We have the same form in H 48, but οὐκ ἄν is more usual, Γ 52; K 204, χ 132. κεν is virtually an apodosis, as though εἰ . . . πίθοιο had preceded, as in N 55, o 180, etc. (see H. G. § 318).

94. ἐπι προέμεν Ar., ἐπιπροέμεν MSS.

πάσι δέ κε Τρώεσσι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο, 95  
 ἐκ πάντων δὲ μάλιστα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλῇ.  
 τοῦ κεν δὴ πάμπρωτα παρ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα φέροιο,  
 αἶ κεν ἴδῃ Μενέλαον ἀρήϊον Ἀτρεΐος υἱὸν  
 σῶι βέλει δμηθέντα πυρῆς ἐπιβάντ' ἀλεγεινῆς.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγ' οἷστευσον Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο, 100  
 εὖχεο δ' Ἀπόλλωνι λυκηγενεῖ κλυτοτόξῳ  
 ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλειτὴν ἐκατόμβην  
 οἵκαδε νοστήσας ἱερῆς εἰς ἄστυ Ζελεῖης."

95. κε *om.* C. || ἄρῃαι Q. 98. ἴδοι O. || ἀτρεΐος DGNOPQR. 99. πυρῆς  
 τ' G Vr. a: πυρῆς δ' L. 102. πρωτοτόκων *Et. Gud.* 103. εἰς ἄστυ: ἄστύ  
 re P.

Cf. χ 8 ἐπ' Ἀντινῶι ἰθύνετο. Ameis prefers the double compound *ἐπιπυριέναι* which is used in the simple sense of 'sending forth in a certain direction,' I 520, P 708, Σ 58, ο 299. In these cases, however, the direction of sending is purely local, and the separate *ἐπι* better conveys the idea of hostility.

95. Τρώεσσι, at the hands of the Trojans, apparently a locative sense (*H. G.* § 145. 7c). So I 303 ἦ γὰρ κέ σφι μάλα μέγα κῦδος ἄροιο, X 217 οἷσσεσθαι μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιοῖσι, compared with κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ Τρώεσσιν ἀρέσθαι P 16. But this use is rare with the singular; Ἀλεξάνδρῳ seems to be added as an analogical extension of the constr. rather than as a true dative.

97. The simplest construction of *παρά* is with *τοῦ*, but the rhythm is in favour of joining the participle with the verb, as the line is otherwise divided into two equal halves (for which, however, Fäsi compares B 39 θήσιν γὰρ ἔτ' ἔμελλεν ἐπ' ἀλγεά τε στοναχάς τε). Cf. *H. G.* § 192. There appears (acc. to Veitch and the lexx.) to be no other instance in Greek of the mid. of *παραφέρειν*, though *προσφέρεισθαι* occurs in Attic.

99. ἐπιβάντα: cf. I 546 πολλοὺς δὲ πυρῆς ἐπέβησ' ἀλεγεινῆς. The expression is very natural, even as used of the dead.

101. λυκηγενής, *wolf-born*, an epithet which, according to Lang and others, points to an earlier stage of animal worship (see on A 39, and Frazer *Paus.* ii. p. 195). The wolf was sacred to Apollo and was sacrificed to him at Argos (Schol. Soph. *El.* 6), and the name *Λυκείος* was widely spread, being found, among other places, in Argos, *Lyceum* (*Lyceum*), Epidauros, Lemnos,

Sikyon, Megara. According to the legend in Aristotle *H. A.* vi. 35 Leto was changed into a wolf at the time of his birth (cf. also Eust. on this line). A statue of a wolf was set up by the altar in Delphi. (See Verrall on Aisch. *Sept.* 132.) Another connexion with the wolf is implied in the epithet *λυκοκτόνος* Soph. *El.* 6; compare *Σμυνθεύς* beside *σμινθοφθόρος*. There were, however, two alternative etymologies in ancient times, both of which still find defenders: (1) the name is derived from \**λύκη*, *light*, and means *born of light*, or *begetting light*, of the Sun-god. But this is not an early character of Apollo; the second derivation is also excluded by the uniformly passive sense of forms in *-γενής*. (This explanation is as old as Macrobius; see *Sat.* i. xvii. 36-41, pp. 96-7. J. A. Platt.) (2) *Born in Lykia*. But this would entirely separate the adjective here from *Λυκείος*, obviously a native name. In fact it is not improbable that the name Lykia is itself derived from the title of the god; the primitive inhabitants called themselves *Termilai*, not *Lykians*. Still it must be admitted that the author of this passage may have had such a derivation in his mind, for, as we shall see in the next book (105), Pandaros is in one version of the story actually made out to be a Lykian.

102. πρωτογόνων, apparently *first-lings*, the first-born of the year, the *πρόγονοι* of ι 221. The word, however, suggests the Hebrew custom of offering the first offspring of every animal. The analogy of *πρωτοπαγεῖς* E 194 suggests also the possibility of translating *new-born*.

ὥς φάτ' Ἀθηναίη, τῶι δὲ φρένας ἄφροني πεῖθεν·  
 αὐτίκ' ἐσύλα τόξον ἐύξοον ἰξάλου αἰγὸς  
 ἀγρίου, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τυχήσας  
 πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα, δεδεγμένος ἐν προδοκῆϊσι,  
 βεβλήκει πρὸς στήθος· ὁ δ' ὕπτιος ἔμπεσε πέτρῃ.  
 τοῦ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαϊδεκάδωρα πεφύκει·  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κεραοξόος ἥραρε τέκτων,  
 πᾶν δ' εὖ λειήνας χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κορώνην.  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν εὖ κατέθηκε ταυνοσάμενος ποτὶ γαίην  
 ἀγκλίνας· πρόσθεν δὲ σάκεα σχέθον ἐσθλοὶ ἐταῖροι,

105

110

106. στέρνοιο Schol. B (Porphyrios) on B 827. || τυχήσας: κιχήσας Q. 107.  
 προδόκαισι G. 108. ἔπεσε MQ (ἔμπεσε Harl. a). 111. ληννας κρυσενη Ambr.  
 112. γαῖην Q. 113. ἐγκλίνας HP Lips. Eton. Vr. a.

105. ἐσύλα, 'stripped' the bow of its covering; in 116 'stripped the lid off the quiver,' the object in one case being the thing uncovered, in the other the covering itself. The two uses of καλύπτειν are exactly similar. For the bow-case (γωρυτός) see φ 54. It is not clear if ἰξάλου is an adj. (of the wild goat, cf. ξ 50 ἰονθάδος ἀγρίου αἰγός) or a specific name, as in βοὺς ταῦρος, etc. It is pretty certain that the animal meant is the ibex or steinbock, an animal still found in the Alps, though it appears to be extinct in Greece. It was, however, in historical times an inhabitant of Crete; and Milchhöfer has published (*Annali* 1880, p. 213, *Anf. d. Kunst* p. 169) a bronze plate from that island representing two huntsmen, one of whom bears on his neck an ibex, while the other carries a bow evidently made of ibex-horns; it clearly shews the rings, see note on 109. For τόξον αἰγός cf. ἰμάντας βοός Ψ 684. ὑπὸ στέρνοιο τυχήσας is added parenthetically, and ὃν is governed by βεβλήκει, for τυχεῖν is not found in H. with an acc. of the object hit, as in later writers. Cf. E 579, M 189, 394, etc.

108. ἔμπεσε, apparently fell into (a cleft of) the rock—an odd expression. ἔμπεσε, fell back, has been suggested; cf. Aisch. *Ag.* 1599.

109. κέρα, i.e. κέρα' for κέραα or κέραε. ἐκκαϊδεκάδωρα: δῶρον καλεῖται ὁ παλαιστής, ὃ ἐστὶν ἑκταῖς τῶν τῆς χειρὸς τεσσάρων δακτύλων, i.e. a palm, four fingers' breadth, or about three inches. The horns would then be four feet long, which appears to be beyond the recorded size of the horns of the ibex, and would

obviously make an unwieldy bow; hence either H. is exaggerating, or he means that the united length of the two was sixteen palms, which would be rather small. δῶρον in this sense seems not to recur, but we have Arkad. δάρις· σπιθαμή (Hesych.; cf. Albanian *dore*, *hand*?); some have suggested that it may mean the rings on the horns, by which the animal's age is known.

110. ἀσκήσας expresses any artificial preparation, e.g. of wool Γ 388, a mixing-bowl Ψ 743, gilding of horns γ 438, etc. ἥραρε, joined with a handle (πῆχυς) in the middle. The κορώνη is the tip with a notch, into which the loop is slipped in stringing (cf. φ 138, 165; elsewhere of a door-handle). At the other end there must have been another κορώνη into which the string was permanently fastened, or else a hole through the horn.

113. ἀγκλίνας must be in close subordination to ταυνοσάμενος, but the exact meaning is not certain. It is commonly taken with ποτὶ γαίην, he bent the bow by leaning it (the end to which the string was permanently attached) upon the ground. This is of course the way in which the modern long-bow is strung, but Reichel (*Hom. Waffen* p. 130) objects that the method is not suitable to the short bow. This was strung by placing the bow under the left and over the right knee and then bending it upward, the string passing over the left knee. He accordingly takes the words ποτὶ γαίην with κατέθηκε, 'he laid the bow on the ground after stringing it by bending it up.' This is no doubt possible; but if the preceding statement as to the

μὴ πρὶν ἀναΐξειαν ἀρήϊοι νῆες Ἀχαιῶν,  
 πρὶν βλῆσθαι Μενέλαον ἀρήϊον Ἀτρείος υἱόν. 115  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ σύλα πῶμα φαρέτρης, ἐκ δ' ἔλετ' ἰὸν  
 ἀβλήτα πτερόεντα, μελαινέων ἔρμ' ὀδυνάων·  
 αἶψα δ' ἐπὶ νευρῇ κατεκόσμεε πικρὸν οὔστον,  
 εὖχετο δ' Ἀπόλλωνι λυκηγενεῖ κλυτοτόξῳ  
 ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλειτὴν ἐκατόμβην 120  
 οἴκαδε νοστήσας ἱερῆς εἰς ἄστνυ Ζελεΐης.  
 ἔλκε δ' ὁμοῦ γλυφίδας τε λαβῶν καὶ νεῦρα βόεια·

114. ἀναΐξειεν QU: ἀναρρήσειαν Vr. a: ἀπαΐσειαν (corr. from -ειεν) Pap. γ. 115 om. Eton<sup>1</sup>. || βελήσθαι N: βληθῆναι G. || ἀτρείως JGQ. || ἀτρείος υἱόν: ἀρχὸν ἀχαιῶν CRT and γρ. Harl. a. 116. ἐκ: ἐγ Pap. γ. || ἔλετ' ἰὸν JQR Vr. c. 117 ἀθ. Ar. || μελαινέων ΔΓ. ΔΥ: μελαινάων Ω. 118-21 om. Q. 118. ἐπὶ: ἐπεὶ G. || κατεκόσμεε NS: κατεκόμει Ω. 122. γλυφίδας τε: γλυφιδ' αὐτε G.

length of the horns is to be taken literally, it would seem that even if the sixteen palms covered the entire length of the bow it would still be a long rather than a short bow, and it is open to question if it could be conveniently strung in this way. However, in view of the fact that there is no evidence for other than the short bow on the most ancient monuments, it is better to regard the length of the horns as a mere poetical fiction; and to hold that the author of the lines had in view only the short bow. As Reichel points out, the Mycenaean monuments always represent the archer as shooting in a crouching attitude, with one knee almost or quite on the ground. This is well seen in the well-known dagger-blade with the lion-hunt, and in the scene with the siege from the Mycenaean silver bowl. The attitude is of course particularly suitable for an archer who, like Pandaros, shoots from behind the shelter of his companions' shields. It plainly excludes the use of a long bow. εὖ κατέωνκε, *laid carefully down*; the great deliberation of Pandaros' movements, and the attention he gives to the selection of his arrow, a new one, 'never yet shot,' are insisted upon.

117. ἔρμα: a well-known crux, not easily explicable from any other uses of the word. These are in Homer (1) the *prop* put under a ship drawn up on land, A 486, B 154, (2) metaphorically ἔρμα πόλιος, *prop of the city*, II 549, ψ 121; (3) in pl. *carrings*, Ξ 182, σ

297. The senses *ballast* and *reef* come in later Greek. The usual explanation is from 2, *foundation of woes*. But Ar. felt this to be so unsatisfactory that he athetized the line, γελῶν γάρ φησιν ἔρεισμα τῶν ὀδυνῶν λέγεσθαι. In favour of the athetesis we might add the synzesis of -έων (-άων); but on the other hand Ap. Rhod. imitates the line, which clearly has respectable antiquity (iii. 279 τόξα τανύσσης ἰοδόκης ἀβλήτα πολύστονον ἐξέλετ' ἰόν). No really satisfactory explanation has been given. Curtius derives from a root meaning *to flow*, Skt. *sar*, comparing ὁρμή and translating *spring, source*; but there is no other trace of such a sense in Greek. The sense *ballast* suggests at least the possibility of understanding it of a *cargo, charge, freight*, of woes; compare Aisch. *Supp.* 580 λαβούσα δ' ἔρμα Δῖον . . γέλνατο παῖδ' ἀμεμφῇ, of the child in the womb.

122. γλυφίδας: cf. φ 419 ἔλκεν νευρῇ γλυφίδας τε. The word is generally taken to mean the notch in the arrow into which the string fitted, and so Ap. Rhod. understood it (iii. 282 γλυφίδας μέσση ἐνικάπθετο νευρῇ). But the plur. is then unexplained, and this sense does not suit Herod. viii. 128 τοξέματος παρὰ (περὶ) τὰς γλυφίδας περιεβίβαντες. Hence it has been conjectured that there were two notches near the ends of the arrow, meant to give a hold for the fingers. This would give a good sense; but there is no evidence



νευρὴν μὲν μαζῶι πέλασεν, τόξωι δὲ σίδηρον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ κυκλοτερὲς μέγα τόξον ἔτεινε,  
 λίγξε βιός, νευρὴ δὲ μέγ' ἴαχεν, ἄλτο δ' οὔστος 125  
 ὄξυβελῆς, καθ' ὅμιλον ἐπιπτεῖσθαι μενεαίνων.  
 οὐδὲ σέθεν, Μενέλαε, θεοὶ μάκαρες λελάθοντο  
 ἀθάνατοι, πρώτη δὲ Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀγελείη,  
 ἥ τοι πρόσθε στᾶσα βέλος ἔχεπεν κῆς ἄμυνεν.  
 ἥ δὲ τόσον μὲν ἔργεν ἀπὸ χροός, ὥς ὅτε μήτηρ 130  
 παιδὸς ἐέργηι μῦτιαν, ὅθ' ἡδέϊ λέξεται ὕπνῳι.  
 αὐτὴ δ' αὖτ' ἴθυνεν ὅθι ζωστήρος ὄχῃς  
 χρύσειοι σύνεχον καὶ διπλὸς ἦν τετο θώρηξ.  
 ἐν δ' ἔπεσε ζωστήρι ἀρηρότι πικρὸς οὔστος.  
 διὰ μὲν ἄρ' ζωστήρος ἐλήλατο δαιδαλείοι, 135  
 καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαϊδάλου ἡρήρειστο  
 μίτρης θ', ἣν ἐφόρει ἔρυμα χροός, ἔρκος ἀκόντων,

123. Zen. placed this line after 124. 127. ἐλάθοντο Q. 129. τοι: οἱ Q  
 (and so *ap. Did.* οὕτω μετὰ τοῦ τ): γε G (acc. to Heyne). 131. ἐέργηι AMPRT:  
 ἐέργει Ω. || λέξατο Mosc. 3 (*c. corr.*). 133 *om.* R<sup>t</sup>. || εἴωρα G. 136. ἡρόριστο  
 RU: ἐράριστο D. 137. μίτρη L (*p. ras.*). || ο': ὀ' M. || ἔρυμα Ar. Ω: ἔλυμα  
 Aph. Zen.

for such an arrangement, and it is doubtful if the Greeks shot with the arrow tightly held (see Seaton in *C. R.* i. p. 244 and App. B, x.). It is possible, however, that two longitudinal grooves may have been used to give a better hold. *νεῦρα* only here = *νευρή*, bowstring made of a bull's sinew; see 151 for a different sense.

123. *σίδηρον*, the point of the arrow, which was fastened to the shaft by a thong, 151. This is the only instance of iron used in weapons in H. (except the club of Areithoos, H 141). On this ground some critics condemn the line—a perfectly arbitrary step. The mention of iron is one of many signs that this book belongs to the later period of Epic poetry.

124. *κυκλοτερὲς* is predicate, *bent into a (semi-) circle*. Zenod. inverted the order of this line and 123, but not well.

125. *λίγξε* seems to be an imitative word; it does not occur again in Greek. Notice the personification of the weapons, *ἴαχεν*, *ἄλτο*, *μενεαίνων*. So *λilαίμενα χροός ἄσαι* Λ 574, etc. In φ 411 *Odysseus'* bowstring *καλὸν ἄεισε, χελιδόνι εἰκέλη αὐδὴν*.

128. *πρῶτη*, as if an affirmative had

preceded, 'remembered,' instead of 'forgot not,' *ἀγελείη*, *she who leads the spoil* (*ἄγω, λεία*) as goddess of forays. This traditional interpretation is supported by the epithet *ληϊστis* K 460. The word is used only of Athene.

130. *τόσον*, just a little, see on X 322, Ψ 454. The word is not correlative with ὥς, for the point of the simile is the watchful affection, not the distance to which the arrow or the fly is driven away.

131. *λέξεται*: subj., root *λεχ*.

132. For the following passage see App. B. Taken in connexion with 186-7 and 213-6 it seems clear, as Reichel has pointed out, that 136 is an interpolation made at the time when the breastplate was an essential part of the hoplite's equipment, and that in 133 the word *εἴωρης* means not *breastplate* but *armour* generally, and refers to belt and *μίτρη*. 136 is a formal line, occurring in three other passages.

134. *πικρός*: cf. Pindar's oxymoron *γλυκὺν οὔστον*, O. ix. 12.

137. *ἔρυμα*: so Ar.; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 3. 9 *θώρακας ἐρύματα σωμάτων*. But Aph. and Zen. read *ἐλυμα*, "οἶονε εἴλυμα" (*a wrap, covering*, § 179) Did.; and

ἢ οἱ πλεῖστον ἔρυτο· διαπρὸ δὲ εἶσατο καὶ τῆς.  
ἀκρότατον δ' ἄρ' οἷστος ἐπέγραψε χροά φωτός·  
αὐτίκα δ' ἔρρεεν αἶμα κελαϊνεφές ἐξ ὠτειλῆς. 140

ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοῖνικι μῆνην  
Μηιονὶς ἡὲ Κάειρα, παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἵππων·  
κεῖται δ' ἐν θαλάμῳ, πολέες τέ μιν ἡρήσαντο  
ἱππῆες φορέειν, βασιλῇ δὲ κεῖται ἄγαλμα,  
ἀμφοτέρων, κόσμος θ' ἵππῳ ἐλατῆρί τε κῦδος· 145  
τοιοῖ τοι, Μενέλαε, μίανθην αἵματι μηροῖ  
εὐφύεες κνήμαί τε ἰδὲ σφυρὰ κάλ' ὑπένερεθε.

139. ἄρ' οἷστος: ἄρα χαλκός Zen. 140 ἄθ. Ar. 141. τ' om. LOQ.  
142. ἡὲ: ἡδὲ S. || ἵππων: ἵππω(ι) Aph. (?) J Par. b (and γρ. O): ἵππου Eust.:  
<ἵππων καὶ> ἵππω (sic: ἵππωι?) Ar. διχῶς (see Ludw.). 143. δέ μιν HP.  
145. ἵππων DOU. || ἐρατῆρί U. || τε: δὲ O Vr. b. 146. τοι: τε HPQR. ||  
μιάνην LT<sup>1</sup>: μιάνην GR.

as this form does not recur it is likely to be the original reading altered to the familiar *ἔρυμα*. There is no obvious reason for the contrary change.

138. *ἔρυτο* with dat. like *ἀμύνειν τινί* (τι), but there is no other instance of this construction. We find the acc. of the person N 555 *Νέστορος νῖδν ἔρυτο*, of the thing E 538 *ἣ δ' οὐκ ἔγχος ἔρυτο*, etc.; without an object expressed E 23 ἀλλ' *Ἥφαιστος ἔρυτο*. Here we may supply *οἷστος* as object. *εἶσατο*, *hastened*, *Feisato* from *Feiaio*. The more correct form would be *Feiaio*, the spelling -ei- being due probably to the similar aor. of root *Feiδ*. Ahrens was the first to point out that this verb has nothing to do with *ἔρημι* (σι-σημι, root *sē*) or *εἶμι*, with both of which it has been confused. The original meaning seems to be *aim at*. The *F* is always necessary or possible when this sense is appropriate, exc. (N 90=P 285?), Σ 501, (Ω 462?), β 327, κ 246, ξ 142, (ο 213?).

139. For *ἄρ' οἷστος* Zen. read *ἄρα χαλκός*, which Ar. rejected on the ground that the point of the arrow was of iron (123). The reading is naturally adopted by the critics who reject 143. Ar. also obelized 140, because *ὠτειλή* ought to mean a wound given, not by a shot, but by a thrust or cut, to which senses the verb *οὐτάω* is limited. So also 149. This, however, is surely hypercritical.

141. *μῆνην*: imitated by Virg. *Aen.* xii. 67—

Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro  
Si quis ebur.

So *φθείρω* and *degrade* are used of mixing colours.

142. *ἵππων* and *ἵππῳ* suit the sense equally, the pl. *ἵππων* being general, practically = *ἵππιον*. It is not clear what Ar. and Aph. read, as the schol. of Did. is corrupt, but it is possible that there was a variant *ἵπποι*: the dual suits the Homeric use of horses in pairs rather than in threes or fours.

143. *θαλάμῳ*, of the treasure chamber, β 337, Z 288, etc.

145. *ἐλατῆρι* in H. is used only of the driver in a chariot race, Λ 702, Ψ 369; the connotation of the word is thus very appropriate to an ornament which would be used for purposes of display rather than of warfare.

146. *μιάνην*, a form which has not been satisfactorily explained. Buttmann took it to be a dual for *ἐμάν-σθην*, but the middle termination is out of place. The terminations -ᾶν, -εν, -ῶν of the 3rd pl. are lengthened only in arsis in H. and that but rarely, cf. ε 481, ι 413, π 358. On the other hand, as they represent an older -αντ, -εντ, -ωντ, they were once long, and the termination -ην for -εν is in fact found in Doric inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C., while a relic of the quantity remains in the Doric accentuation *ἐλέγον*. But in the complete absence of analogous cases we cannot draw conclusions from Doric to Epic, and must leave the problem unsolved. See G. Meyer *Gr.* § 534, van L. *Ench.* p. 294, Schulze *Qu. Ep.* p. 426, H. G. § 40.

ρίγησεν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 ὥς εἶδεν μέλαν αἶμα καταρρέον ἐξ ὠτειλῆς.  
 ρίγησεν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρηΐφίλος Μενέλαος. 150  
 ὥς δὲ ἶδεν νεῦρόν τε καὶ ὄγκους ἐκτὸς ἑόντας,  
 ἄψορρόν οἱ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀγέρθη.  
 τοῖς δὲ βαρὺ στενάχων μετέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 χειρὸς ἔχων Μενέλαον· ἐπεστενάχοντο δ' ἑταῖροι.  
 “ φίλε κασίγνητε, θάνατόν νύ τοι ὄρκι' ἔταμνον, 155  
 οἷον προσθήσας πρὸ Ἀχαιῶν Τρωσὶ μάχεσθαι,  
 ὥς σ' ἔβαλον Τρῶες, κατὰ δ' ὄρκια πιστὰ πάτησαν.  
 οὐ μὲν πῶς ἄλιον πέλει ὄρκιον αἶμά τε ἀρνῶν  
 σπονδαί τ' ἄκρητοι καὶ δεξιαί, ἧς ἐπέπιθμεν.  
 εἴ περ γάρ τε καὶ αὐτίκ' Ὀλύμπιος οὐκ ἐτέλεσσεν, 160  
 ἔκ τε καὶ ὧς τελεῖ, σὺν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν,

148. **ρίγησεν τ'** J (γρ. **ρίγησεν δ'**) NO<sup>1</sup> (ταρ) U King's. 149 **ἀθ.** Ar. 151.  
**δὲ ἶδεν :** δ' εἶδε(ν) CDNQ<sup>2</sup>S : δ' οἶδε Q<sup>1</sup>. 153. **τὸν δὲ** GNP<sup>1</sup>Q and γρ. J  
 Harl. a. || **προσέθη** CNQS. 154. **ἐπεστενάχοντο** GHJPQ. 155. **ἔταμον** N  
 (γρ. O). 157. **ὥς** (om. c') DGS. 158. **πῶς :** περ S. || **αἶμά τε :** αἶμα κατ'  
 M. 159. **ἦις :** αἶς GO. 161. **τελεῖ :** τελέσει Zen. (?) || **ἀπέτις(c)ε(ν)** P  
 (supr. an) R : τίςουσιν Zen. : ἀνέτισαν Pap. γ<sup>1</sup>.

151. **νεῦρον**, by which the base of the tip was 'whipped' to the shaft. **ὄγκους**, barbs (*uncos*); there were probably three such, the point having three edges; Helbig *H. E.*<sup>2</sup> p. 341; v. *οἷστώ τριγλώχινι* E 393, Δ 507. Only the actual point has penetrated the flesh, the rest of the head remains in the armour.

155. **φίλε :** a trochee, as E 359, Φ 308, and so *φίλοι*, *φίλατο*. The lengthening in the verb is, of course, regular : in the adj. it appears to be due solely to the first arsis, and is a real metrical licence, as in the case of *διά* (Γ 357, etc.) and *ἐπεί* (Ψ 2, etc.). See App. D under C 1. The der. of *φίλος* is unknown; but there is no instance of *ι* in Greek except in a few late imitations of this phrase. For the long *ε* of **κασίγνητε** see *H. G.* § 387. **εἰσάτον :** acc. expressing the result of the action, *H. G.* § 136. 4.

158. **ὄρκιον**, sing. only here, an oath-sacrifice generically; cf. Γ 245. 159 = B 341.

160. **εἰ . . οὐκ**. This is clearly a case like O 162, Υ 129, Ω 296, etc., where the negative does not coalesce with the verb into a negative word, but applies to the whole sentence. The use of *εἰ οὐκ* with the indic. seems to be

primitive, and only to have been ousted by *εἰ μή* through analogy. The use of *εἰ* with the indic. is to place a statement in the form of a supposition merely to the *intellect*, i.e. without any indication of wish or purpose on the part of the speaker; whereas *μή* appears originally to have indicated a 'mood' in the strictest sense, i.e. the active putting aside of a thought (*prohibition*); so that *εἰ μή* with the indic. was at first impossible. We find *μή* with the indic. without *εἰ* in the phrase *μή ὦφελον*, and also O 41, K 330, T 261 (?) (*H. G.* § 358), where the speaker not only denies a fact, but repudiates the thought of it : a categorical expression not suited for hypothetical clauses. (See the notes there and *H. G.* §§ 316, 359 c, where Vierke's rule is given, viz. that 'with *εἰ* and the indicative *οὐ* is used when the clause with *εἰ* precedes the principal clause,' except in ι 410. The custom is probably due to the fact that this is the older order, and the more primitive expression of thought, and is thus associated with the older construction; *εἰ μή* with indic. is a use which grew up later by analogy, and was employed in the more artificial order of ideas.)

161. **ἔκ τε :** Bekk. conj. **ἐκ δέ,** but

σὺν σφῆμισιν κεφαλῆμισι γυναιξί τε καὶ τεκέεσσιν.  
 εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν·  
 ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ' ἄν ποτ' ὀλώληι Ἴλιος ἱρή  
 καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο, 165  
 Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος, αἰθέρι ναιῶν,  
 αὐτὸς ἐπισσείησιν ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα πᾶσι  
 τῆσδ' ἀπάτης κοτέων. τὰ μὲν ἔσσεται οὐκ ἀτέλεστα·  
 ἀλλὰ μοι αἶνόν ἄχος σέθεν ἔσσεται, ὦ Μενέλαε,  
 αἶ κε θάνησι καὶ πότμον ἀναπλήσης βιότοιο. 170  
 καὶ κεν ἐλέγχιστος πολυδίψιον Ἄργος ἰκοίμην·  
 αὐτίκα γὰρ μνήσονται Ἀχαιοὶ πατρίδος αἴης·  
 καὶ δέ κεν εὐχολὴν Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρῳσὶ λίποιμεν  
 Ἀργείην Ἑλένην· σέο δ' ὅστέα πύσει ἄρουρα

164. ὀλώλει NQ. 165. ἐνμμελίου L. 166. Δέ: γάρ N. 169. ἔσεται  
 cēsen Et. Mag. 170. εἶ κε J. || πότμον Ar. [S] Par. k (γρ. μοῖραν), and γρ.  
 H: μοῖραν Ω (and αἰ κοιναί Did.). 171. ἐλέγχιστος and ἐλέγχιστον Ar. διχῶς. ||  
 πολυψιον or πολὺ δ' ἴψιον ap. Eust. 173. λίποιεν CDGNPQRS Lips. Eton.  
 174. ἀργεῖην ε' Zen. (cf. on B 161). || ἄρουραν Pap. γ.

this is probably a case of the primitive use of τε . . . τε to express mere correlation, not conjunction, precisely as in the similar sentence in A 81, q.v. It might be referred also to the gnomic use of τε, *H. G.* § 332, but it is hardly possible to separate the τε in the apodosis from that in the protasis. The conjunction of the present τελεῖ with the gnomic aor. ἀπέτισαν is not unnatural. Zen. cannot of course have read τελέσει for τελεῖ (see App. Crit.) as the context stands; possibly he only meant to explain that τελεῖ is a fut. But the contracted form is later and suspicious. The subject to ἀπέτισαν is general, 'transgressors'; but Zen. read τίσουσιν, and made it refer to the Trojans.

163-5=Z 447-9. Some critics consider the lines interpolated here, but the supposition is quite gratuitous. Appian says that Scipio, at the sight of the ruins of Carthage, used these words with reference to Rome. For the construction of 164 cf. Θ 373. The subj. gives a solemn tone (see on A 262). The ἄν here can neither be removed nor changed to κε without great violence. The collocation with ποτε shews that it generalizes rather than particularizes (see *H. G.* § 289. 1 b); but the pure subj. seems more natural, as in Φ 111.

166. ὑψίζυγος· ἡ μεταφορά ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν νανασί ζυγῶν, ἐφ' ὧν καθέζονται οἱ ἐρέσσοντες Schol. A. Cf. σέλημα σεμνὸν ἡμεῖνοι Aisch. *Ag.* 183, and *ibid.* 1618.

170. πότμον: so Ar.; MSS. μοῖραν, cf. A 263 πότμον ἀναπλήσαντες, Θ 34 κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες, Ο 132 κακὰ πολλὰ ἀναπ., ε 207 κῆδεα. We use precisely the same metaphor, 'to fulfil one's destiny.'

171. πολυδίψιον: so Ἀργεὺς διψίαν χθόνα Eur. *Alc.* 560. The epithet caused some trouble to the old commentators, as the plain of the Inachos was reputed well-watered (cf. *ἱππόβοτον* B 287). They were inclined to explain it πολυπόθητον, much thirsted after, or to read πολυψιον = destructive (so Strabo), διὰ τοὺς πολέμους. Some preferred, however, to explain it by a legend (found also in a fragment of Hesiod) that Argos was waterless till Danaos came with his daughters; and that Poseidon or Athene provided it with wells. And in fact the Inachos and Charadros, which flow by the town of Argos, are almost waterless in summer; the reputation of abundant supply seems to have been based upon an elaborate system of irrigation, to which the legends allude. See Paus. ii. 15. 5, and Frazer iii. p. 96.

173. See B 160.



κειμένον ἐν Τροίῃ ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ. 175  
 καὶ κέ τις ὧδ' ἐρέει Τρώων ὑπερηννορούντων  
 τύμβῳ ἐπιθρώσκων Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο·  
 'αἶθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πᾶσι χόλον τελέσει' Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 ὡς καὶ νῦν ἄλιον στρατὸν ἤγαγεν ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιῶν,  
 καὶ δὴ ἔβη οἰκόνδε φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν 180  
 σὺν κεινῇσιν νηυσί, λιπὼν ἀγαθὸν Μενέλαον.  
 ὧς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρέϊα χθών."  
 τὸν δ' ἐπιθαρσύνων προσέφη ξανθὸς Μενέλαος·  
 "θάρσει, μηδέ τί πω δειδίσσεο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν·  
 οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ ὅξυ πάγῃ βέλος, ἀλλὰ πάροιθεν 185  
 εἰρύσατο ζωστήρ τε παναίολος ἥδ' ὑπένερθε  
 ζῶμά τε καὶ μίτρη, τὴν χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες."

175. κειμένῳ Pap. γ. 178. τελέσει N(Q?); τελέσαι S *supr.* 181. κειναῖσι  
 G. || ναυσι GQR: νευσι Pap. γ: χερσι S (*supr.* νηυσι). 183. ἐπιθαρσύνων Vr. c.  
 184. μὴ δ' ἐπὶ LMQU (μὴδ' ἐπὶ Harl. a): μὴκέτι R. || πῶ Ar. Ω: πῶ τινές ar.  
 Did. 185. γρ. οὐ ἔην καιρίον ὅξυ βέλος πάγῃ Harl. a (interlined). 187.  
 κάμον: τάμον P.

175. ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ: so π 111  
 ἀννύστωι ἐπὶ ἔργῳ, and 178 below, ἐπὶ  
 πᾶσι 'in all cases.' This use of ἐπὶ is  
 more common in Attic, e.g. Soph. *O. C.*  
 1554 ἐπ' εὐπραξίαι μέμνησθέ μου, *Ant.*  
 556 ἐπ' ἀρρήτοις λόγοις 'with words  
 unsaid,' Eur. *Ion* 228 ἐπ' ἀσφάκτοις  
 μῆλοισι. ἐπ' ἀρωγῇ, Ψ 574, is similar.

176. For κε with fut. indic. see on X 66.

178. αἶθε, whatever its derivation—  
 and some regard -θε as a shortened θεοί  
 —gives much the same idea as our  
 'Would to God,' i.e. a sort of hopeless  
 despairing wish. Thus its use here,  
 in a phrase which really expresses a  
 triumphant taunt, intensely emphasizes  
 the bitter irony of the imaginary words  
 (L. Lange EI 343).

184. πῶ=πῶς, v. Γ 306.

185. καιρίῳ, a *deadly spot*. The  
 sense of καιρός is quite clear in H.;  
 it is always used in the phrase (τὸ)  
 καιρίον as here (Θ 84, 326, Λ 439?); but  
 the traditional derivation from καιρός  
 appears highly unsatisfactory. In the  
 first place neither καιρός nor any other  
 derivative occurs in H.; in the second,  
 a transition from 'opportune' to 'fatal'  
 seems quite alien from the directness  
 of Homeric language. Indeed even  
 'opportunity' is not the original significa-  
 tion of καιρός, for in Hesiod *Opp.* 694,  
 and Theognis 401, where it makes its  
 first appearance, it means only 'due

proportion,' in the proverb καιρός δ'  
 ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος. These two considera-  
 tions *taken together* seem to be convin-  
 cing; for the transition of meaning,  
 though not quite incredible in itself,  
 could be excused only if the word were  
 quite familiar in its primitive use. We  
 need not go far for a more satisfactory  
 etymology. The exact sense required  
 is given by the word κῆρ (Curt. *Et.* no.  
 53, p. 148), 'Skt. *kar* to kill, *kāras*  
 death-blow.' Homer himself supplies  
 us with the negative adj. in ἀκῆριος  
 'unharm'd,' μ 98, ψ 328. Possibly,  
 therefore, we ought in H. to write  
 κῆριον, not καιρίον, the word being  
 confused with the adjective καιρός =  
*timely* only in later Greek. Indeed  
 were it not for a single passage which  
 possibly stands in the way (οὐ γὰρ ἐς  
 καιρὸν τυπεῖς ἐτόγγχευε Eur. *Andr.*  
 1120), κῆριος might be written for  
 καιρός, I believe, at least in all the  
 tragedians and Pindar, whenever it  
 occurs in the sense 'deadly.'

πάροιθεν, in temporal sense, *before it*  
*got so far*. Others take it locally, with  
 ζωστήρ, 'the belt, etc., *in front of* (i.e.  
 protecting) my flesh.' It does not stand  
 in opposition to ὑπένερθε, which is  
 added independently, as in the phrase  
 πόδες καὶ χεῖρες ὑπερθεν: this is clear  
 from 215.

187. See App. B.

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 “αἶ γὰρ δὴ οὕτως εἶη, φίλος ὦ Μενέλαε·  
 ἔλκος δ' ἰητὴρ ἐπιμάσσεται ἡδ' ἐπιθήσει 190  
 φάρμαχ', ἃ κεν παύσῃσι μελαινάων ὀδυνάων.”  
 ἦ καὶ Ταλθύβιον θεῖον κήρυκα προσηύδα·  
 “Ταλθύβι', ὅττι τάχιστα Μαχάονα δεῦρο κάλεσσον,  
 φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱὸν ἀμύμονος ἰητῆρος,  
 ὄφρα ἴδῃ Μενέλαον ἀρήϊον Ἀτρέος υἱόν, 195  
 ὃν τις οἴστεύσας ἔβαλεν τόξων ἐν εἰδώς,  
 Τρώων ἢ Λυκίων, τῷ μὲν κλέος, ἅμμι δὲ πένθος.”  
 ὡς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἄρα οἱ κήρυξ ἀπίθησεν ἀκούσας,  
 βῆ δ' ἰέναι κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων  
 παπταίνων ἥρωα Μαχάονα. τὸν δ' ἐνόησεν 200  
 ἐσταότ'· ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κρατεραὶ στίχες ἀσπιστάων  
 λαῶν, οἳ οἱ ἔποντο Τρίκῃς ἐξ ἵπποβότοιο.  
 ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ὄρσ', Ἀσκληπιάδῃ, καλέει κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 ὄφρα ἴδῃς Μενέλαον ἀρήϊον ἀρχὸν Ἀχαιῶν, 205  
 ὃν τις οἴστεύσας ἔβαλεν τόξων ἐν εἰδώς,  
 Τρώων ἢ Λυκίων, τῷ μὲν κλέος, ἅμμι δὲ πένθος.”  
 ὡς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι θυρε·

191. ΚΕΝ: περ P. || παύσῃσι: παύσει σε G: παύσει τε Mose. 3 (c corr.).  
 195. ὄφρ' CGRT Ven. B. ἀτρέος υἱὸν ANT: ἀτρέως υἱόν D: ἀρχὸν ἀχαιῶν  
 Ω (and γρ. A). 195-7 ἀθ. Ar.: 196-7 om. DOP. 196. ὃν τιν' C<sup>1</sup>. || τόσον R  
 (supr. ων): τόξω U<sup>1</sup>. 202. Τρίκῃς [GO]Q<sup>1</sup>R[S]T<sup>1</sup>: ἐρήκῃς D Vr. A: τρίκῃς  
 Ω. 203. προσεύδα: γρ. ἀγόρευεν A. 204. ὄρσε' S Vr. A: ὄρσει Q (and  
 γρ. Harl. a). 205. ἴδῃ(ι)ς GLMNOQRS: ἴδῃ Ar. Ω (and Harl. a<sup>1</sup>). || ἀρχὸν  
 ἀχαιῶν: ἀτρέος υἱὸν DGMOPSU: ἀτρέως υἱόν J. 206. ὃν τιν' C<sup>1</sup>. || τόσον  
 R. 208. τῷ: τοῦ N.

189. For the combination of nom. and voc. see *H. G.* § 164, and notes on B 8, Γ 276. φίλος is voc. also in I 601, Φ 106, Ψ 313, 343, 627.

191. With παύσῃσι we must of course supply σε as object; the constr. παύειν τινά τιος occurs in B 595, etc. Van L. follows G in reading παύσει σε.

194. φῶτα and υἱόν in apposition as Φ 546, cf. φ 26 φῶθ' Ἡρακλῆα, δ 247 φωτὶ δέκτῃ, the latter of which passages shews clearly that the addition of φῶς does not imply anything like 'manly' or 'heroic.' ἀνὴρ is used in just the same way, cf. ἀνδρα Βιήνορα A 92, E 649; and so ὦρον ἀνδρός Ἐκτορος Soph. *Aj.* 817. It is needless to say that Pausanias

(ii. 26. 10) is wrong in taking it to mean 'human son' as opposed to his divine father. See on B 731.

197. The Lykians here are doubtless the chief allies of the Trojans, Sarpedon's army, not the followers of Pandaros from Zeleia (see on E 105). κλέος: acc. expressing the result of the action, as 155.

202. See note on 90, and for Τρίκῃς B 729, where the name is Τρίκκη as always elsewhere in Greek.

204. ὄρσε', i.e. ὄρ-σο, from the non-sigmatic aor. \*ὠρόμην: while ὄρσειν 264 is ὄρσ-εν, from the 'mixed' aor. \*ὠρσόμεν: cf. λέξω by λέξο.

βὰν δ' ἰέναι καθ' ὅμιλον ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἵκανον ὅθι ξανθὸς Μενέλαος 210  
 βλήμενος ἦν, περὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἀγῆγέραθ' ὅσσοι ἄριστοι  
 κυκλός, ὁ δ' ἐν μέσσοισι παρίστατο ἰσόθεος φῶς,  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ ζωστήρος ἀρηρότος ἔλκεν οἰστόν·  
 τοῦ δ' ἐξελκομένοιο πάλιν ἄγειν ὀξέες ὄγκοι.  
 λῦσε δέ οἱ ζωστήρα παναίολον ἥδ' ὑπένερθε 215  
 ζῶμά τε καὶ μίτρην, τὴν χαλκῆες κάμον ἄνδρες.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ἔλκος, ὅθ' ἔμπεσε πικρὸς οἰστός,  
 αἶμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἥπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς  
 πάσσε, τὰ οἷ ποτε πατρὶ φίλα φρονέων πόρε Χείρων.  
 ὄφρα τοὶ ἀμφεπένοντο βοὴν ἀγαθὸν Μενέλαον, 220  
 τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώων στίχες ἤλυθον ἀσπιστάων·  
 οἱ δ' αὖτις κατὰ τεύχε' ἔδυν, μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης.

213. Δ' ἔκ : δὲ Pap. γ. || ἔλκεν Ar. and αἱ πλείους, P (Par. b?) : εἴλκεν Ω.  
 216. Ζῶμα : γρ. ζῶμα Harl. a. || τάμον M (κάμον Harl. a) : ἄμον (κ in ras.)  
 P ; see 187. 220. τοὶ : τι R : οἱ O. 222. αὖτις CQ. || κατὰ τ' ἔντε' ἔδυντο  
 N || ἔδυνον O.

212. For κυκλός Ar. strangely read κύκλος as = κύκλος γενόμενοι, comparing ἀγρόμενοι πᾶς δῆμος T 166. But, as Herodianos remarks, this is a quite insufficient analogy, as κύκλος is not a noun of multitude like δῆμος. He therefore supports Nikias and Ptolemy of Askalon in reading κυκλός. Cf. P 392. ἰσόθεος φῶς is more naturally taken to mean Machaon than Menelaos ; παρίστατο as usual signifying 'came up,' and the apodosis beginning with ὁ δέ.

214. πάλιν may be taken with ἐξελκομένοιο, 'drawn back the way it had entered'; or with ἄγειν, 'were broken backwards.' The barbs of course stick in the hard armour. They have to be cut out of the flesh in the case of Eurypylos, Δ 844. There is an obvious inconsistency with 151, where the barbs are outside—hardly serious enough, however, to justify Heyne in rejecting this line.

219. οἱ . . πατρί, as P 196 ἃ οἱ θεοὶ Οὐρανίωτες | πατρὶ φίλῳ ἔπορον. In these and many similar phrases οἱ = his ; but Bentley's *F*ωι is tempting. Cheiron is mentioned again as having taught medicine to Achilles in Δ 832, and as having given Peleus the 'Pelian spear,' II 143, T 390, but none of the other legends about him are alluded to by Homer.

221. The line is not very suitable to the present context, as the aor. ἤλυθον puts the Trojan attack as a point of time, not as a continuing process. Hence it should be followed at once by the actual conflict, and there is no room for the next episode, the long ἐπιπώλησις of Agamemnon. In other words, the episode of the duel of Menelaos and Paris once ended here, and was followed immediately by the general engagement ; the ἐπιπώλησις, though composed for this place, is a later addition. There is no reason to suspect 221 as an interpolation, as Heyne and others do ; an interpolator would obviously use the imperf., not the aor., if he had the ἐπιπώλησις before him.

222. χάρμης, generally explained the battle-joy, and this is supported by N 82 χάρμη γηθόσυνον τὴν σφιν θεὸς ἔμβαλε θυμῷ. But it is very remarkable that Homer never represents his heroes as taking any delight in battle, except by immediate instigation of a god, as in the above passage, B 453, Δ 13. On the contrary, he lavishes all epithets of hatred upon war, λυγρός, πολυδάκρυτος, δυσηλεγής, δυσηχής, αἰνός, etc., and in E 891 (Δ 177) fondness for battle appears as a severe reproach. It seems, therefore, most unlikely that he should have made one of his commonest names for

ἔνθ' οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον  
 οὐδὲ καταπτώσσοντ' οὐδ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα μάχεσθαι,  
 ἀλλὰ μάλα σπεύδοντα μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν. 225  
 ἵππους μὲν γὰρ ἔασε καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῶι·  
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεράπων ἀπάνευθ' ἔχε φυσίωοντας  
 Εὐρυμέδων υἱὸς Πτολεμαίου Πειραϊδαο,  
 τῶι μάλα πόλλ' ἐπέτελλε παρὶσχύμεν, ὅππότε κέν μιν  
 γυνὴ λάβῃ κάματος πολέας διὰ κοιρανέοντα· 230  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ πεζὸς ἐὼν ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν.  
 καὶ ῥ' οὖς μὲν σπεύδοντας ἴδοι Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων,  
 τοὺς μάλα θαρσύνεσκε παριστάμενος ἐπέεσσιν·  
 “Ἀργεῖοι, μὴ πῶ τι μεθίετε θούριδος ἀλκῆς·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ψεύδεσσι πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἔσσειτ' ἀρωγός. 235

223. βρίζοντα P. || ἴδῃ J (*supr.* οἰς): ἴδης NP<sup>1</sup>(?)Q Vr. a. 228. πολ[ε]μαίου  
 Pap. γ. || πειραϊδαίο U. 229. παρσχύμεν CDJMPQ(U<sup>1</sup>?) Cant. Mor. Vr. A,  
 Mosc. 1. 230. λάβοι M Eust. 234. μήπω τοι G: μήπω τό H. || μεθέετε  
 AHNTU.

it out of a word which originally meant 'joy,' but which has entirely lost its connotation except in a single passage. Curtius would explain it as 'the glow, burning flame' of battle (root *ghar*), like *daís* from *daíw*: compare the expression *μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο*. We could then explain N 82 as meaning 'the glow, the fire, which the god had put in them.' This, however, does not account for *χάρμη* = *spear-point* (Stesich. fr. 94, with *χαλκοχάρμας*, *σιδαροχάρμας* in Pindar, *ἀγχαρμον*: *ἀνωφερῇ τὴν αἰχμὴν* Hesych.; see Schulze *Q. E.* p. 141). Hence Postgate's reference (*A. J. P.* iii. 337) to root *ghar* = *prick, tear*, is better; battle is called *tearing* of flesh and shields, and the phrase in N 82 is due to confusion with the different root *ghar* = *rejoice*.

223. οὐκ ἂν ἴδοις expresses potentiality in the past, like οὐδέ κε φαίης Γ 392, Δ 429, etc.

228. Eurymedon is Agamemnon's charioteer here only in H.; but the later tradition accepted the name, for Pausanias says that he was slain with Agamemnon. Eurymedon is also Nestor's charioteer, Θ 114, Α 620. Cf. note on Eurybates, Α 320.

229. παρὶσχύμεν, to have his horses at hand. For the subj. λάβῃ after an imperf. v. H. G. § 298; it is used because 'the action expressed by the subordinate clause is still future at the

time of speaking'; but this differs from the passages there quoted in that they all give the actual words of a speaker to whom the subordinate action is really future; but here the poet himself is the speaker, and to him the action is necessarily past, so that he has to put himself in imagination into the place of Agamemnon giving the order. See note on B 4.

231. For ἐπεπωλεῖτο cf. Γ 196, of Odysseus, *κτίλος ὡς ἐπιπωλεῖται στίχας ἀνδρῶν*.

232. Wakefield read *ὃν μὲν σπεύδοντα* *Γῖδοι*, and so *ὃν τινα δ' αὖ μεθίεντα* 240. Cf. 516, M 268, N 229.

234. πῶ here again = *πως*, as 184, Γ 306.

235. ψεύδεσσι (*ψεύδος*) Hermappias, *ψευδέσσι* (*ψευδής*) Ar.; on which a scholiast characteristically remarks *μᾶλλον πειστέον Ἀριστάρχῳ ἢ τῶι Ἑρμαππίαι, εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ ἀληθεύειν*. It is true that *ἀρῆγειν* and cognate forms are elsewhere only used by H. with personal datives, not with abstract words like *ψεύδος*: but the idea of being 'a helper for lies' is not impossibly bold, and adjectives in -ής, from -es stems, with the single exception of *ὕγις* (Θ 524 only), are elsewhere in H. entirely restricted to compounds, such as *φιλοψευδής* (H. G. § 116. 5); the Homeric word for *liar* is *ψεύστης*.



ἀλλ' οἳ περ πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια δηλήσαντο,  
 τῶν ἢ τοι αὐτῶν τέρενα χροὰ γῦπες ἔδονται,  
 ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτ' ἀλόχους τε φίλας καὶ νήπια τέκνα  
 ἄξομεν ἐν νήεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πτολίεθρον ἔλωμεν."  
 οὓς τινὰς αὖ μεθιέντας ἴδοι στυγεροῦ πολέμοιο,  
 τοὺς μάλα νεικεῖσκε χολωτοῖσιν ἐπέεσσιν·  
 "Ἄργεῖοι ἰόμωροι, ἐλεγχείες, οὐ νυ σέβεσθε;  
 τίφθ' οὕτως ἔστητε τεθηπότες ἤντε νεβροί,

240

238. δ' om. Ar. U. 239. ἐπεὶ Q: ἐπὴν Ω. || ἔλωμεν Q. 240. δ' αὖ  
 ΝQ. || ἴδη J. 242. σεύεσθε H. 243. αὐτως Schol. B on X 1. || νεβροί:  
 νευροί GU.

236. ὑπὲρ ὄρκια: see on Γ 299.

237. τέρενα: see on Γ 142.

238. The omission of δ' (Ar.) is not material, αὐτε being often used as a conjunction like αὖ in 240 (if the text is right). Observe ἀλόχους contrasted with αὐτῶν, the men.

239. ἄξομεν, carry off as captives; cf. Z 426, and the phrase ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν.

242. ἰόμωροι: a word of uncertain sense and derivation recurring only Ξ 479. We have ἐγχεσίμωρος B 692, γ 188, etc., ὑλακόμωροι of dogs ξ 29, and σινάμωρος in Herod. and Attic. (1) The analogy of ἐγχεσίμωρος makes it probable that the first element of the word is ἰός, an arrow, though this always has ἰ in H.; we find, however, ἰσχεῖμα in Pindar (P. ii. 9). (2) Others refer it to ἰά, ἰή, νόϊος, a rare word found in an oracle in Herod. (i. 85) and once or twice in Trag. ὑλακόμωροι is then analogous. (3) Döb. ἰόν, of the dark colour of the hair, comparing ἰσπλόκαμος, but this is improbable. The second element is equally uncertain; the derivations suggested are (a) σμαρ, μερ, to think of, cf. μνήσαντο δὲ χάμης, thinking of arrows, i.e. devoted to fighting with the bow. To call a hoplite an archer was to accuse him of cowardice, see the taunt of Diomedes to Paris, Α 385-7; cf. also N 713-21. For the vowel cf. δῶμα by δέμω. Curt. compares for the weakened sense of the root the compounds of φρήν, μελίφρων, etc. (b) μαρ of μάρναμαι, fighting with arrows, or with shouts; but this hardly suits either ὑλακόμωρος or σινάμωρος. (c) μαρ, to glitter, μαρμαίρω, etc. So Ameis and Goebel with (2), eminent in shouting (and nothing else). (d) Skt. māras, stormy, eager, earnest (Fick, Brugmann), for μοF-ρος,

conn. with Latin mon-eo (cf. μῶρον· τὸ ὀξύ, Κύπριοι Hes., Et. M.), eager with arrows. This latter sense appears to suit all uses best, if the Skt. analogy can be relied upon, which is far from certain. ἐλεγχείες, mss., but the correct form is certainly ἐλέγχεα, things of shame; the neuter adds a sting. The phrase recurs in B 235, E 787, Θ 228, Ω 260, and so we should read in Ω 239. ἐλεγχείες is apparently a mere fiction invented to avoid a hiatus which is perfectly legitimate in the bucolic diaeresis; it is besides open to the same objection as ψευδέσσι, 235.

243. ἔστητε: so Ptolemaios, ἔστητε Ar. The testimony of mss. is of course indifferent. The former is supported by T 178 Αἰνεία, τί σὺ τόσσον ὁμίλον πολλὸν ἐπελθὼν ἔστης; and cf. B 323 τίπτ' ἄνεωι ἐγένεσθε; κ 64 πῶς ἦλθες, Ὀδυσσεύ; (H. G. § 76). There is no analogy for the lengthening of the vowel in perf. (cf. ἔσταντε Δ 340, T 354). Bekk. compares ἐπίστανται II 243 by ἐπίσταται (but that is a subj.), βάτην by ἐβήτην, and some other forms which, however, prove nothing. (H. B. 95. 11.) The difficulty is to see how the idea of a point of time, such as the aor. seems to imply, can be introduced. Agamemnon in fact asks, 'Why have you stopped?' when the sense required is, 'Why do you not start?' For the same reason the following simile is not appropriate; 243-6 seem to have been originally composed for a sudden check in pursuit, not for this place. In the passages quoted above, B 323, T 178, the sense come to a stand suitably expresses the sudden silence of the Greeks before the portent, and the appearance of Aineias to Achilles. Monro (H. G. § 76) regards the aor. as characteristic of 'impatient questions.'

αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔκαμον πολέος πεδίοιο θέουσαι,  
 ἐστᾶσ', οὐδ' ἄρα τίς σφι μετὰ φρεσὶ γίνεται ἀλκή· 245  
 ὥς ὑμεῖς ἔστητε τεθηπότες οὐδὲ μάχεσθε.  
 ἦ μένετε Τρῶας σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν, ἐνθά τε νῆες  
 εἰρύατ' εὐπρυμνοὶ πολίης ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης,  
 ὄφρα ἴδῃτ' αἶ κ' ὕμιν ὑπέρσχηι χεῖρα Κρονίων ;”  
 ὧς ὃ γε κοιρανέων ἐπεπωλείτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν. 250  
 ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ Κρήτεσσι κίων ἀνὰ οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν.  
 οἱ δ' ἀμφ' Ἰδομενῆα δαΐφρονα θωρήσسونτο·  
 Ἰδομενεὺς μὲν ἐνὶ προμάχοις, σὺν εἵκελος ἀλκήν,  
 Μηριόνης δ' ἄρα οἱ πυμάτας ὥτρυνε φάλαγγας.  
 τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν γήθησεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων, 255  
 αὐτίκα δ' Ἰδομενῆα προσηύδα μελιχίοισιν·  
 “Ἰδομενεῦ, περὶ μὲν σε τίω Δαναῶν ταχυνώλων  
 ἡμὲν ἐνὶ πτολέμῳ ἡδ' ἀλλοίοι ἐπὶ ἔργῳ  
 ἡδ' ἐν δαίθ', ὅτε πέρ τε γερούσιον αἶθοπα οἶνον  
 Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι ἐνὶ κρητῆρσι κέρωνται· 260  
 εἰ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοί γε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
 δαιτρὸν πίνωσιν, σὸν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας αἰεὶ

245. τίς Ar. Ω: τί JMNQRT (c add. man. 1? *supr.* σὸν τῷ c τὸ τις) U Harl. a (p. ras.) b c, King's, Par. a (p. ras.) b c g. || **σφι μετὰ**: **σφιν ἐνὶ** Q. || **γίνεται** LN: **γείνεται** Δ<sup>t</sup> (with **γίνεται** in marg., T.W.A.). 248 *om.* Lips.<sup>t</sup> 249. αἶ X<sup>t</sup> DM Mosc. 3. 251. ἦλθε δ': ἦλθεν Eust. || **κρήτεσιν ἰὼν** Mosc. 1 *in ras.* 253. ἐνὶ: ἐπὶ G. || ἵκελος GMNO (P *supr.*) QRU. 254. πυμάτας R. 258. πολέμῳ JQ (R<sup>2</sup> p. ras.). 259. ἐν: ἐπὶ Q: ἐς Vr. a. || **δαίθ'**: **δαίτ'** A (*supr.* ε') D Pap. γ. 260. κρητῆρι Ar.: κρατῆρι JP: κρητῆσι U. 261. γε: τε J.

244. πεδίοιο: see note on B 785.

249. For the metaphor cf. E 433, 1 420 (where we have the gen. ἐθέν instead of the dat., and so Ω 374).

253. There is a slight anacoluthon, as Ἰδομενεὺς has no verb, which can however easily be supplied from the following clause, e.g. *πρώτας ὥτρυνε φάλαγγας*. For the Homeric idea of the boar's courage see P 21.

257. περὶ is here just on the boundary line between an adverb and preposition, as in A 258; cf. *βουλῇ περιδύμεναι ἄλλων* N 728, with *περὶ πάντων ἔμμεναι* A 287. It is unimportant which we call it, though its position rather separates it from the gen., which in any case is a gen. of comparison (ablative), not partitive, *περὶ* meaning *beyond*; *H. G.* § 185.

259. γερούσιον, i.e. at the assembly

of the counsellors. So ν 8 ὅσοι . . γερούσιον αἶθοπα οἶνον αἰεὶ πίνετε.

260. κρητῆρι: Ar. *κρητῆρι*, on the ground that there was only one mixing-bowl at a feast. But the pl. may be general, referring to many feasts. Cf. on 142, *ἵππων*. *κέρωνται*, *have the wine mingled*; the form implies a present *κέραμαι* (cf. *δύνομαι* from *δύναμαι*), not elsewhere found; it is expressly supported by Schol. L. The other similar forms are from *κεράω*, e.g. *κεράσθε* γ 332, *κερώντο* ο 500, etc. Hence some accent *κέρωνται* here.

262. *δαιτρὸν*, *an allotted portion*. For the custom of honouring a guest by keeping his cup full cf. Θ 161 *περὶ μὲν σε τίον Δαναοὶ ταχύνωλοι* | *ἔδρηι τε κρέασιν τε ἰδὲ πλείους δεπάεσσι*, and so M 311. Compare 'Benjamin's mess,' and H 321, δ 65. *σόν*: Bentley conj. *σὸί*, to answer to *ἐμοί*.

ἔστηχ', ὥς περ ἐμοί, πιέειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγοι.  
ἀλλ' ὄρσεν πόλεμόνδ', οἷος πάρος εὔχεται εἶναι."

τὸν δ' αὖτ' Ἰδομενεὺς Κρητῶν ἀγὸς ἀντίον ἡῦδα. 265

"Ἀτρεΐδῃ, μάλα μὲν τοι ἐγὼν ἐρίηρος ἐταῖρος  
ἔσσομαι, ὥς τὸ πρῶτον ὑπέστην καὶ κατένευσα.  
ἀλλ' ἄλλους ὄτρυνε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς,  
ὄφρα τάχιστα μαχώμεθ', ἐπεὶ σὺν γ' ὄρκι' ἔχουαν  
Τρῶες· τοῖσιν δ' αὖ θάνατος καὶ κήδε' ὀπίσσω 270  
ἔσσετ', ἐπεὶ πρότεροι ὑπὲρ ὄρκια δηλήσαντο."

ὥς ἔφατ', Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ παρώχετο γηθόσυννος κῆρ.  
ἦλθε δ' ἐπ' Αἰάντεσσι κιὼν ἀνὰ οὐλαμὸν ἀνδρῶν.  
τῷ δὲ κορυσσέσθην, ἅμα δὲ νέφος εἶπετο πεζῶν.  
ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδεν νέφος αἰπόλος ἀνὴρ 275  
ἐρχόμενον κατὰ πόντον ὑπὸ Ζεφύροιο ἰωῆς.  
τῷ δέ τ' ἀνευθεν ἐόντι μελάντερον ἤντε πίσσα

263. ΠΙΕΕΙΝ : ποίειν J : πιέμεν N. || ἀνώγει L<sup>1</sup>NOQ Vr. a b<sup>2</sup>. 264. εὔχεο (A *surp.* T.W.A.) GHJMQRT Harl. a. 265. εὔδα Pap. γ. 266. ἐγὼ M. || ἀρίηρος Q. 268. ὠτρυνε MQ Pap. γ<sup>1</sup>. 269. ἔχουσιν Vr. a : ὄρκια ἔχουαν Q. 270. δ' αὖ : δὲ C. 271. ὄρκι' ἐδηλῆσαντο Vr. a. 272. δ' ὑπερῶχέτο M. 273. ἦλθε δ' : ἦλθεν Eust. 274. τῷ γ' ἐκορυσσέσθην M. 277. τῷ δ' ἀπάνευθεν N Par. f. || δέ τ' : δ' ἔτ' H. || ἐόντι Ar. Ω : ἰόντι Zen. M S Harl. a, Par. h.

263. ἀνώγοι : cf. ξ 374 εἰ μὴ . . ἐλθέμεν ὀτρύνουσιν, ὅτ' ἀγγελίῃ ποθὲν ἔλθοι. The opt. if right implies a slight shift of thought ; Ag. puts his case generally, to include the future, but shews that he is thinking chiefly of experience in the past. But it must be admitted that we should expect Bekker's ἀνώγη, and in such a matter mss. count for little. It is not unlikely that a reminiscence of Θ 189, θ 70, where the opt. is necessary, may have misled rhapsodists or copyists.

264. For πάρος with the pres. of a state of things continuing up to the time of speaking cf. A 553 ; and for the pregnant use of οἷος, II 557.

269. The γε belongs to the whole sentence ; cf. A 352.

273. The Aiantes are always represented as fighting side by side, N 701 sqq.

274. νέφος : for this metaphor cf. II 66, P 755, Ψ 133. It is here expanded into a fine simile.

276. ἰωῆ is again used of the blowing of wind in A 308, and of the rushing of flame II 127 ; in K 139, ρ 261 (ἰωή φόρμυγος), of sound.

277. μελάντερον ἤντε πίσσα, blacker

than pitch. This is the only instance of the use of ἤντε in this sense ; probably we ought to read *ἡέτε*, as Brandreth and Bekker suggest, on the analogy of π 216 κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἀδινώτερον ἢ τ' οἶωνοι (where Buttmann would read *ἡῦτ'*). It is not possible to get a natural sense if we take *ἤντε* in its regular meaning ; we can only make it mean 'growing blacker and blacker, like pitch,' or else 'all the blacker because of its distance' (so Ameis and Fäsi), neither of which alternatives is satisfactory. But Ap. Rhod. seems to have taken the passage in this way, i. 269 κλαῖονσ' ἀδινώτερον, ἤντε κούρη . . μύρεται. The meanings 'as' and 'than' are so closely allied that we need not be surprised to find a word capable of taking both, like the German *wie*, *als*, Latin *quam*, and *as* in O.E. (*New Engl. Dict.* AS, B. i. 4). Hentze objects that 'blacker than pitch' is merely hyperbolic and therefore un-Homeric ; but cf. λευκότεροι χιόνος K 437. Besides, a heavy thunder-cloud may seem really blacker, because dead in hue, than pitch, which always has its darkness relieved by bright reflexions from its surface.

φαίνεται' ἰὸν κατὰ πόντον, ἄγει δέ τε λαίλαπα πολλήν·  
 ῥίγησέν τε ἰδὼν ὑπὸ τε σπέος ἤλασε μήλα·  
 τοῖαι ἄμ' Αἰάντεσσι διοτρεφέων αἰζήων 280  
 δῆϊον ἐς πόλεμον πυκινὰ κίνυντο φάλαγγες  
 κυάνεαι, σάκεσίν τε καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρικυῖαι.  
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν γήθησεν ἰδὼν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 καὶ σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 "Αἶαντ', Ἀργείων ἡγήτορε χαλκοχιτώνων, 285  
 σφῶϊ μὲν οὐ γὰρ ἔοικ' ὀτρυνέμεν, οὐ τι κελεύω·  
 αὐτῷ γὰρ μάλα λαὸν ἀνώγετον ἴφι μάχεσθαι.  
 αἰ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπολλων,  
 τοῖος πᾶσιν θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γένοιτο·  
 τῷ κε τάχ' ἡμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος 290  
 χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡμετέρησιν ἀλοῦσά τε περθομένη τε."  
 ὧς εἰπὼν τοὺς μὲν λίπεν αὐτοῦ, βῆ δὲ μετ' ἄλλους·  
 ἔνθ' ὃ γε Νέστορ' ἔτετμε, λιγὺν Πυλίων ἀγορητήν,  
 οὓς ἐτάρους στέλλοντα καὶ ὀτρύνοντα μάχεσθαι,  
 ἀμφὶ μέγαν Πελάγοντα Ἀλάστορά τε Χρομίον τε 295  
 Αἰμονά τε κρείοντα Βίαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν.  
 ἱππῆας μὲν πρῶτα σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφι,  
 πεζοὺς δ' ἐξόπιθε στήσεν πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς,  
 ἔρκος ἔμεν πολέμοιο· κακοὺς δ' ἐς μέσσον ἔλασσεν,  
 ὄφρα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλων τις ἀναγκαίῃ πολεμίζοι. 300

280. τοῖοι C (*supr.* ai). || αἰ(ἐ)άντεσσιν ἀρηϊθόων HP (γρ. J). || διοτρεφέων GJS Lips. 281. πυκνὰ S. 282. κυάνεαι: ἡρώων Zen. || πεφρικυῖαι and Βεβριευῖαι Ar. διχῶς. 283. καὶ μὲν τοὺς L Pap. γ. 286. κελεύω Vr. b *supr.*: κελεύω Vr. c. 290. ἡμύσειε U. 294. ὀτρυνέοντα C. 295. χρομίον: σχεδίον P. 296. εἰσὶν τε διήπυρον τε Ar. *Lex.* 14. 9 (cp. N 92). 297. πρῶτα: πρῶτον M: πρῶτιστα Vr. b c, Mose. 1 3. 298. στήσαν M. 299. ἔλασσε Ar. Ω: ἄλλοι δὲ ἔργεν Did. 300. πολεμίζ(ι) DJMNORSU (Q *supr.*): πολεμίζει Q<sup>1</sup>: πολεμίζειν L: πολεμί οι P.

279. Note the characteristic Epic way in which the human element is introduced into a simile taken from a purely natural phenomenon; a still more striking example is Θ 559.

282. For κυάνεαι Zen. read ἡρώων, feeling no doubt that blackness is not a physical attribute of an army marching to war. The comparison with the thunder-cloud is justified less by the external appearance than by the moral terror of ruthless onset produced by the blackness of the approaching storm.

286. For the anticipatory use of γάρ see H. G. § 348.

287. For ἴφι without F see on Z 478.

288-91: see B 371-4.

299. ἔλασσε: Didymos mentions an old variant ἔργεν. The κακοί, it is to be presumed, are a section of the πεῖσοι, of whom the best are kept as a reserve. There does not seem to be any other allusion to a formation in more than a single line. The schol. accordingly explains that πρῶτα means 'on the right wing,' ἐξόπιθε 'on the left,' and says that 'one κακός is placed between two ἀνδρείοι,' not a very likely thing (ἐπὶ γὰρ μετώπῳ τάσσει τὴν φάλαγγα, οὐ κατὰ βάθος).



ἵππεύσιν μὲν πρῶτ' ἐπετέλλετο· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνώγει  
σφοδρὺς ἵππους ἐχέμεν μηδὲ κλονέεσθαι ὁμίλῳ.

“μηδέ τις ἵπποσύνηι τε καὶ ἡνορέφει πεποισθὼς  
οἶος πρόσθ' ἄλλων μεμάτων Τρῶεσσι μάχεσθαι,  
μηδ' ἀναχωρεῖτω· ἀλαπαδνότεροι γὰρ ἔσσεσθε. 305  
ὃς δέ κ' ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ ὧν ὀχέων ἕτερ' ἄρμαθ' ἵκηται,  
ἔγχει ὀρεξάσθω, ἐπεὶ ἡ πολὺν φέρτερον οὕτω.  
ᾧδε καὶ οἱ πρότεροι πόλιας καὶ τείχε' ἐπόρθουν,  
τόνδε νόον καὶ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔχοντες.”

ὥς ὁ γέρον ὠτρυνε πάλαι πολέμων ἐν εἰδῶς. 310  
καὶ τὸν μὲν γήθησεν ἰδὼν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

“ὦ γέρον, εἴθ', ὥς θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν,  
ὥς τοι γούναθ' ἔποιτο, βίη δέ τοι ἔμπεδος εἴη.  
ἀλλὰ σε γήρας τείρει ὁμοῖον· ὥς ὄφελέν τις 315  
ἀνδρῶν ἄλλος ἔχειν, σὺ δὲ κουροτέροισι μετεῖναι.”

301. ἐπιτέλλετο S. || γὰρ: μὲν A (*supr. γὰρ*) DMNOP Cant. Vr. a b and γρ.  
J. || T has an erasure (three letters) between τοὺς and γὰρ. 303. ἵπποσύνηι τε:  
ἵπποσύνη(ι)ci DU Pap. γ. 305. ἀναχωρήτω JR. 307. οὕτως J. 308.  
ᾧδε: ὡς δὲ D. || πόλιας P: πόλεις N: πόλεας Ar. A<sup>t</sup> (πόλιας A<sup>m</sup>) H: πολέας  
Pap. γ. || ἐπόρθουν: ἐπόρθεον ATU. 310. ὠτρυνε HJMR. 311. καὶ μὲν  
τὸν O. 312. προσεῦδα Pap. γ. 314. ὡς καὶ G. || δέ τοι: δέ σοι M.

301. The μὲν implies that some advice to the foot-soldiers is to follow; but this never appears.

302. ἐχέμεν here evidently to *hold in hand*, not to *drive*, as usual. κλονέεσθαι, to be entangled.

303. This sudden change from *oratio obliqua* to *recta* is very strange, the only parallel in H. being Ψ 855, a very weak authority. There seems to be something wrong about the present passage, as 308-9 refer apparently to siege operations, and should be addressed rather to the πεζοί than the ἱππῆες. The whole passage 297-310 is weak and out of place, and is one of the numerous instances where inopportune tactical lucubrations are put into Nestor's mouth, doubtless under Athenian (Peisistratean) influence; see on B 362. The advice in 304-5 recalls P 357-9, where it is given to foot-soldiers.

306. ἀπὸ ὧν ὀχέων, i.e. from his own chariot, standing in its proper place in the ranks, he is at liberty to attack any one within the range of his spear. ἵκηται, can reach an enemy's chariot. The

expression of the thought is far from clear, and the style of fighting is not Epic, for Homeric heroes as a rule use chariots only to move from place to place, and dismount in order to fight. There are, however, some exceptions, E 13, 294, etc.

308. οἱ πρότεροι: here only for the Homeric πρότεροι ἄνθρωποι. The use of the article and the Attic contracted form ἐπόρθεον well accord with the Attic origin of the passage. 309 is weak and tautological.

315. ὁμοῖον: this form is elsewhere always used of strife or battle, except θάνατος γ 236. Nauck would in every case read ὁλοῖος. The sense of 'common to all' (which itself is not very appropriate as a general epithet of war in spite of ξυνὸς ἐννάλιος Σ 309) is not supported by any use of ὁμοῖος. Pind. *Nem.* x. 57, which is quoted, is not in point, for there πότμον ὁμοῖον obviously means 'the same fate' for the two brothers (like ὁμοίην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι Σ 329), and is explained by the following lines. There is therefore an undoubted case

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·  
 "Ἀτρεΐδῃ, μάλα μὲν τοι ἐγὼν ἐθέλοιμι καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ὥς ἔμεν ὥς ὅτε δῖον Ἑρευθαλίωνα κατέκταν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πῶς ἅμα πάντα θεοὶ δόσαν ἀνθρώποισιν· 320  
 εἰ τότε κοῦρος ἔα, νῦν αὖτέ με γῆρας ἱκάνει.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἱππεῦσι μετέσσομαι ἥδὲ κελεύσω  
 βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων.  
 αἰχμὰς δ' αἰχμάσσουσι νεώτεροι, οἳ περ ἐμῆο  
 ὀπλότεροι γεγάασι πεποιθασὶν τε βίηφιν." 325  
 ὧς ἔφατ', Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ παρώιχετο γηθόσυνος κῆρ.  
 εὐρ' υἱὸν Πετewῶ Μενεσθῆα πλήξιππον  
 ἑσταότ'· ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, μῆστωρες αὐτῆς·  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ πλησίον ἐστήκει πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 παρ δὲ Κεφαλλήνων ἀμφὶ στίχες οὐκ ἀλαπαδναὶ 330

318. **ΤΟΙ** : **ΚΕΝ** JOP Pap. γ. 319. **ΚΑΤΕΚΤΟΝ** (A *supr.*) CU : **ΚΑΤΕΚΤΑ** JQ Par. f (p. *ras.*, *supr.* **αν**) h, and ap. Schol. A (Herod.). 320 *άθ.* Ar. || **ΠΩΣ** : **ΠΩ** Q. 321. **ἔα** : **ἔην** N. || **ἱΚΑΝΕΙ** : **ἱΚΑΝΟΙ** D : **ὀπάζει** Ar. (see Ludw.) Par. k (γρ. **ἱΚΑΝΕΙ**). 322. **μετείσομαι** P. 323. **Βουλαῖς** H. || **ΓΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ** : **εσπρόντων** Par. γ. 324. **ἐμῶο** G<sup>1</sup>MNPQS. 327. **πλήξιππον** Par. γ. 328. **μῆστωρες** O : **μῆστωρες** QRU. 329. **ὁ** : **οἱ** N. || **ἑστήκει** Ar. AGHJPRT : **εἰστήκει** Ω.

against *ὁμοίος*, which anyhow ought to be separated in the lexicons from *ὁμοῖος*. Indeed Aristonikos says that the γλωσσογράφοι explained *ὁμοῖον* = τὸ κακόν. But there is no obvious reason why it should have displaced a word so clear in meaning as *ὁλοῖος*. Christ, followed by Fick, conj. that the right form may be *ὁμῖφον*, conn. with Skt. *amīva* = *aerumna*, and *ώμς*. For *ὥς* van L. reads *ὡς* F' (sc. γῆρας), comparing for Fe as neuter *μν* in 143, Z 221, T 287, etc.

318. The reading *κεν* for *τοι* is natural but not necessary. The opt. is concessive, 'I admit that I wish,' H. G. § 299 f, and M. and T. § 240. Compare York's speech in *King Richard the Second*, ii. 3. 99, 'Were I but now the lord of such hot youth,' etc.

319. For Nestor's story of the slaying of Ereuthalion see H 136-56.

320 seems to be an adaptation of N 729-30, and was athetized by Ar. on this ground. The sense suits the passage well, and the line to be condemned is 321, which is flat and empty enough.

321. *εἰ* here expresses as a supposition what is known to be true, rhetorically pretending that it is a matter of doubt,

and thereby throwing it into the dim distance as a forgotten thing like *εἰ ποτ' ἔην* γε Γ 180, 'I suppose I was young then, but now I am old.' The sentence is not in any sense conditional, any more than A 281, where *ὅδε φέρτερός ἐστιν* is independent of the *εἰ*-clause in 280. *εἰ* here retains something of its interjectional force and merely calls up for consideration a concomitant fact. This line is therefore wrongly classed in M. and T. § 402 with a conditional sentence such as *εἰ ἐβρόντησε, καὶ ἥστραψεν*. *ἔα* : a form recurring in E 887, ξ 222, 352 only, and, like other forms of the impf. of *εἰμι*, not entirely explained. The *a* seems to be treated as long by nature, though the ictus may account for this.

324. *αἰχμάσσουσι*, *wield the spear*, only here in H. The word is used in a similar but not quite identical sense in Soph. *Aj.* 97, *Trach.* 355, and Aisch. *Pers.* 756 ; v. Lexica.

327. For the asyndeton cf. 89 ; and for Menestheus B 552 sqq.

328. *μῆστωρες αὐτῆς*, lit. *devisers of the battle-shout*, usually applied to individual heroes, N 93, 479, Π 759. Cf. on *μῆστωρε φόβοιο* E 272.

ἔστασαν· οὐ γάρ πώ σφιν ἀκούετο λαὸς αὐτῆς,  
 ἀλλὰ νέον συνορινόμεναι κίνυντο φάλαγγες  
 Τρώων ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν, οἱ δὲ μένοντες  
 ἔστασαν, ὅπποτε πύργος Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν  
 Τρώων ὀρμήσειε καὶ ἄρξειαν πολέμοιο.  
 τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν νείκεσσεσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 καὶ σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ὦ νιὲ Πετewὸ διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος,  
 καὶ σὺ κακοῖσι δόλοισι κεκασμένη, κερδαλεόφρον,  
 τίπτε καταπτῶσσοντες ἀφέστατε, μίμνετε δ' ἄλλους ;  
 σφῶϊν μὲν τ' ἐπέοικε μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἐόντας  
 ἐστάμεν ἡδὲ μάχης καυστείρης ἀντιβολῆσαι·  
 πρώτῳ γὰρ καὶ δαιτὸς ἀκονάζεσθον ἐμεῖο,

335

340

331. οὐ γάρ: οὐδέ G. 332. νέων M. || ΚΙΝΟΥΝΤΟ Vr. b. 333. ΤΡΩΩΝ  
 Ar. DHJPQT: τρώων ο' Ω. 334. ἔσταν D. || ΠΥΡΓΟΣ Ἀχαιῶν: ἐν τῇ  
 πολυστήχῳ κέν τις ἐναντίον: (κέν τις Ἀχαιῶν Vr. b?). 335. ἄρξειαν Vr. b and  
 ἐν τῇ πολυστήχῳ. 336. νείκεσσεσεν N. 338. υἱὸς Mosc. 1 e corr. || Διοτρεφέος  
 H. 339. δόλοισι: λόγοισι Pap. γ. || κερδαλεόφρων NQ (supr. ο): φαίδιμ'  
 Ὀδυσσεῦ Zen. 340. ἐφέστατε Q. 341. σφῶϊ JQR Vr. b. || ΠΡΩΤΟΙΣΙΝ  
 ἐόντας: τρώεσσι ἰόντας R (γρ. πρώτοισιν). 342. αὐστειρῆς (?) P<sup>1</sup>, corr. P<sup>2</sup>.  
 343. ἐμοῖο GPS.

331. ἀκούετο: the only case in H. of the middle form in the present or imperf. It is possible that this implies a conscious listening rather than a mere physical hearing; if they were not attending to the battle-cry, there is more ground for Agamemnon's rebuke than if they had not yet heard it. There seems to be a similar distinction in many cases between ὀρῶ and ὀρῶμαι, though they are often identical (cf. A 203). See H. G. § 8.

334. ὀππότε goes with μένοντες, 'waiting till.' So after ποτιδέγμενοι H 415, etc. H. G. § 308 (2), M. and T. § 553. ΠΥΡΓΟΣ, a wall or serried line of warriors; cf. πυργηδόν M 43, N 152, O 618. It is tempting to translate *column*; but ΠΥΡΓΟΣ in H. means *fortification*, not *tower*; and hunters (M 43) do not attack in column. Aristarchos strangely enough wished to make Τρώων depend on ΠΥΡΓΟΣ and Ἀχαιῶν on ὀρμ., waiting till a battalion of Trojans should attack the Achaeans, because he thought that the delay of the Athenians ought to be due to their wish to see the Trojans put still further in the wrong by beginning the general engagement. On this ground he was inclined to prefer the variant κέν τις

ἐναντίον for ΠΥΡΓΟΣ Ἀχαιῶν, and ἄρξειαν for -ειαν.

339. ΚΕΚΑΣΜΕΝΕ: cf. τ 395 (Αὐτόλυκος) ὃς ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο | κλεπτοσύνην θ' ὀρκωι τε.

341. ΜΕΝ Τ': here ΜΕΝ seems to answer to νῦν δέ in 347. The exact sense of τε (or τοι?) is not so obvious; it perhaps emphasizes this clause as general, whereas νῦν δέ takes a particular instance (H. G. § 332). Observe ΕΐΟΝΤΑΣ in spite of the dat. σφῶϊν, on account of its close connexion with the infin., as A 541 τοι . . ἐόντα: H. G. § 240.

342. ΚΑΥΣΤΕΙΡΗΣ recurs only in M 316; it is the feminine of \*καυστήρ. The grammarians wrongly accented καυστειρῆς, and held that it came from καυστειρός, supposed to be a dialectical form of καυστήρός.

343. The sense of this line is clear, you are the first to receive my invitation, but the syntax hopeless. The gen. after verbs of hearing expresses (1) the person from whom sound comes; (2) the person about whom something is heard; (3) the sound heard, H. G. § 151 d. ΔΑΙΤΟΣ cannot be brought under any of these heads. κέκλυτέ μεν μύθων is clearly different, being a sort of 'whole and

ὁππότε δαῖτα γέρουσιν ἐφοπλίζωμεν Ἀχαιοί.  
 ἔνθα φίλ' ὀπταλέα κρέα ἔδμεναι ἠδὲ κύπελλα 345  
 οἶνου πινέμεναι μελιηδέος, ὅφρ' ἐθέλητον.  
 νῦν δὲ φίλως χ' ὀρόωιτε, καὶ εἰ δέκα πύργοι Ἀχαιῶν  
 ὑμείων προπάρουθε μαχοίατο νηλεῖ χαλκῶι."  
 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 "Ἀτρεΐδῃ, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων; 350  
 πῶς δὴ φῆις πολέμοιο μεθιέμεν, ὁππότε Ἀχαιοὶ  
 Τρῶσιν ἐφ' ἵπποδάμοισιν ἐγείρομεν ὄξυν Ἀρηα;  
 ὄψεαι, ἦν ἐθέλῃσθα καὶ αἶ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήληι,  
 Τηλεμάχοιο φίλον πατέρα προμάχοισι μιγέντα  
 Τρώων ἵπποδάμων· σὺ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀνεμῶλια βάξεις." 355

344. ἐφοπλίζωμεν AH (*supr.* οι): ἐφοπλίζομεν P: ἐφοπλίζοιμεν Ω. 345  
 ἔδμεναι: ἔμμεναι L. 347. καὶ εἰ: ἐὰν G. 349. ἄρ': αὖ J. 351.  
 μεθείμεν A (*supr.* i over ει, T.W.A.) NT. 353. ἦν κ' AT Pap. γ. ||  
 μεμήλει NQ Vr. a: μεμήλοι Vr. b. 354. τηλεμάχου CGRT Lips. 355.  
 τρώων ε' Lips. || ἀνεμῶνια J.

part' construction. The only possible explanation is, 'you hear me about a banquet' (or rather 'you listen to the banquet from me'), which is without analogy, and only gives the required sense by violence. Moreover καί is meaningless. This, however, is the explanation of Ar., *πρῶτοί μου ἀκούετε περὶ δαιτός*. It may be added that 'to hear from a person,' in the sense of receiving a message, is a modern but not a Greek idiom. *ἀκούάζεσθαι*, in the two other passages of Homer where it occurs (i 7, ν 9), means 'to listen to,' as we might suppose from its form, which suggests a frequentative sense. The only remedy seems to lie in Nauck's trenchant conjecture *καλέοντος* for *καὶ δαιτός*, *you are the first to listen to me when I am calling to a banquet*, but when I call to war you have no ears. A minor difficulty is that Menestheus, who even in this scene is a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*, never appears among the *γέροντες* (see on B 53; and for feasts given to them, Δ 259 and B 404 sqq.).

345. φίλα, sc. ἐστὶ, cf. B 796. This line and the next ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν (notes of Ar.) οὐκ ἀθετοῦνται, ἀπαιτῶνται δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἡμέτεροι (i.e. modern taste) ὡς ἀπρεπῶς . . . ἀνειδίζοντος τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος Schol. A; and see Cobet's commentary, *M. C.* 231. If they were omitted, the point of the passage, the contrast of φίλα . . . φίλως, would be lost.

351. The punctuation given is mentioned by Níkanor, who prefers an alternative in which the note of interrogation is put after μεθιέμεν, and a comma after Ἀρηα. μεθείμεν refers to Odysseus and Menestheus in particular, while in ἐγείρομεν Odysseus speaks as one of the army at large, meaning 'every case in which we fight' (aor. subj.). If ἐγείρομεν referred to a future event, κε would be required (Monro). Moreover, it is unusual in Homer to begin an entirely fresh sentence of several lines in the middle of a line (ξ 217 is the only case quoted); and the asyndeton before 353, repeated in I 359, is less harsh than before ὁππότε.

353. ἦν is of course a late (Attic) form which has supplanted εἰ κε (see on I 359). The variant ἦν κ' is a relic of the older reading.

354. For the phrase 'father of Telemachos' see on B 260. Here it is clearly impossible to give any appropriate reason for the introduction of Telemachos except as a title of honour. Aristonikos mentions that Ar. noticed this 'foreshadowing of the *Odyssey*' as a sign that it was by the author of the *Πῖλαι*.

355. If ἀνεμῶλια is der. from ἀνεμος, it has entirely lost the primitive sense, as in phrases like τόξον ἀνεμῶλιον Φ 474; cf. E 216, and the use of ἀνεμῖαιος, Plato *Theaet.* 151 E, 161 A.



τὸν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 ὥς γινῶ χωρόμενοι· πάλιν δ' ὃ γε λάζετο μῦθον·  
 “διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν’ Ὀδυσσεύ,  
 οὔτε σε νεικείω περιώσιον οὔτε κελεύω·  
 οἶδα γὰρ ὥς τοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν 360  
 ἦπια δῆνεα οἶδε· τὰ γὰρ φρονέεις ἅ τ’ ἐγὼ περ.  
 ἀλλ’ ἴθι, ταῦτα δ’ ὅπισθεν ἀρεσσόμεθ’, εἴ τι κακὸν νῦν  
 εἴρηται, τὰ δὲ πάντα θεοὶ μεταμῶνια θεῖεν.”  
 ὥς εἰπὼν τοὺς μὲν λίπεν αὐτοῦ, βῆ δὲ μετ’ ἄλλους.  
 εὔρε δὲ Τυδέος υἱὸν ὑπέρθυμον Διομήδεα 365  
 ἐσταότ’ ἐν θ’ ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι κολλητοῖσι·  
 παρ δέ οἱ ἐστήκει Σθένελος Καπανηῖος υἱός.  
 καὶ τὸν μὲν νείκεσεν ἰδὼν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ὦ μοι, Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἵπποδάμοιο, 370  
 τί πτώσσεις, τί δ’ ὀπιπτεύεις πολέμοιο γεφύρας;  
 οὐ μὲν Τυδεΐ γ’ ὦδε φίλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἦεν,  
 ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὸ φίλων ἐτάρων δῆιοισι μάχεσθαι.

357. μύθῳ Vr. a. 359. ΟΥΤΕ (ce): οὔτι M (οὔτε Harl. a): οὐδέ Vr. a. ||  
 ΟΥΤΕ (κελεύω): οὔτι N: οὐδὲ L. 361. ΔΗΝΕΑ: κῆδεα H. 363. ΜΕΤΑ-  
 ΜΩΝΙΑ AGMN Eton. (T<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup>): μεταμῶνια Lips.<sup>1</sup>: μεταμῶνια Q Lips.<sup>2</sup>: μεταμῶλια  
 Ω. 365. ὑπέρθυμον J. 366. Θ’ om. G. || κολλητοῖσι Vr. b: κολλητοῖσι Lips.<sup>1</sup>  
 367. ΕΣΤΗΚΕΙ Ar. AGHJRT: εἰστήκει Ω. 368. καὶ μὲν τὸν MQSU Pap. γ.  
 369 om. Δ<sup>t</sup>. || προσεύδα Pap. γ. 371. ὀπιπτεύεις ACDNTU Lips.<sup>1</sup>: ὀπιπνευεσ  
 Pap. γ: ὀπιπτεύεις Ω. 372. Γ’: Δ’ Q. || πτωσκαζέμεν GLM (πτωσκ- Harl. a)

357. ΓΝΩ with gen., as φ 36, ψ 109. This is common in the participle of οἶδα in the sense ‘to be skilled in,’ e.g. μάχης, ἀλκῆς, etc., but rare in the finite verb. Ψ 452 is possibly another case. See *H. G.* § 151 d. πάλιν λάζετο, just our idiom ‘took back his words.’ Cf. πάλιν ἐρέει = *contradict*, I 56. The phrase recurs ν 254 in a slightly different sense (took back what he was about to say).

361. ἦπια δῆνεα οἶδε, i.e. is well disposed towards me, as II 73 εἰ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων ἦπια εἰδείη. Cf. note on E 326. δῆνεα, *thoughts*, apparently from δαῖνα.

362. ἀρεσσόμεθα, *atone for*; but where an object is expressed it is elsewhere always a person, *conciliate*. Cf. the act. ἀφ’ ἀρέσαι I 120, T 138.

363. μεταμῶνια occurs elsewhere only in *Od.* (β 98, etc.). Both der. and form are quite uncertain; the majority of

mss. are in favour of μεταμῶλια, perhaps influenced by the similar sense of ἀνεμῶλια above. Compare also the Odyssean ἀποφῶλιος, which is equally obscure.

366. ἵπποισι here as often = *chariot*, and goes with ἄρμασι by hendiadys. 419 shews that Diomedes is standing *in* the car, not merely amid the horses and chariots.

371. πολέμοιο γεφύρας: this phrase recurs Θ 378, 553, Δ 160, T 427. From E 88-9 and O 357 (cf. Φ 245) it appears that γέφυρα implies a dam or causeway rather than what we should call a bridge. It is explained by the schol. τὰς διόδους τῶν φαλάγγων, the lines of open ground between the moving masses of men, who are perhaps likened to flowing water. It is especially used of the space between the hostile armies. ὀπιπτεύεις, *cycst*, in a contemptuous sense, implying hesitation to advance.

ὥς φάσαν οἳ μιν ἴδοντο πονεύμενον· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε  
 ἦντησ' οὐδὲ ἴδον· περὶ δ' ἄλλων φασὶ γενέσθαι. 375  
 ἦ τοι μὲν γὰρ ἄτερ πολέμου εἰσῆλθε Μυκῆνας  
 ξείνος ἄμ' ἀντιθέωι Πολυνείκει, λαὸν ἀγείρων.  
 οἳ δὲ τότ' ἐστρατόωνθ' ἱερὰ πρὸς τείχεα Θήβης,  
 καὶ ῥα μάλα λίσσονται δόμεν κλειτούς ἐπικούρους·  
 οἳ δ' ἔθελον δόμεναι καὶ ἐπήνεον ὥς ἐκέλευον· 380  
 ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἔτρεψε παραΐσια σήματα φαίνων.  
 οἳ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ὤιχοντο ἰδὲ πρὸ ὁδοῦ ἐγένοντο,  
 Ἄσωπὸν δ' ἴκοντο βαθύσχοινον λεχεποῖν,  
 ἔνθ' αὐτ' ἀγγελίην ἐπὶ Τυδῇ στεῖλαν Ἀχαιοί.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ, πολέας δὲ κιχήσατο Καδμείωνας 385  
 δαινυμένους κατὰ δῶμα βίης Ἐτεοκληίης.  
 ἔνθ' οὐδὲ ξεῖνός περ ἐὼν ἰππηλάτα Τυδεὺς  
 τάρβει, μῦνος ἐὼν πολέσιν μετὰ Καδμείοισιν,

376. ΜΥΚΗΝΗΣ Q. 377. ΞΕΙΝΟΣ: γρ. καὶ ΚΕΙΝΟΣ A. || ἀγείρων: ἀγείρας Q, and ar. Did. 378. οἳ δὲ AJ (γρ. ῥα) OPTU Pap. γ: οἳ ῥα Ω. 379. μάλα: ἀνίστα J (γρ. καὶ ῥα μάλα). 380. ἐκέλευεν Q. 381. παραΐσια N (and Hesych.). 382. ἰδὲ: ἰδὲ DJSU. || πρὸς: πρὸς L. 383. ἄσωπὸν ο' Bar. || ἴκανον U. 384. ἔνθ': ἐν θ' P. || ΤΥΔΗ: τυδεῖ C<sup>2</sup>DGJ (supr. H) L (supr. H) P<sup>1</sup> (?) (S supr.) Cant. Vr. a c: τυδεῖ, δὴ στεῖλαν (sic) Q. 386. κατὰ: ἀνά Q. 388. καδμείωσιν N.

374. ὥς: so Ameis, for vulg. ὡς with comma after μάχεσθαι. The regular use in Homer of ὡς ἔφη, etc., is to refer back to a completed expression of opinion; there is no other case of ὡς ἔφη = as he said. ΠΟΝΕΥΜΕΝΟΝ, in special sense of fighting, as πόνος, 456, B 420 and often, of the toil of battle.

378. ΕΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΤΟ (also Γ 187), were on a campaign, either for ἐστρατάοντο or ἐστρατόοντο. στρατεύεσθαι is found in Aisch. Ag. 132, στρατεύεσθαι does not occur anywhere else in Greek. For the form -όντων from an o-verb we may compare N 675 δηϊώνωντο, δ 226 δηϊώων, ι 108 ἀρώων, which all follow the analogy of stems in α-. But they are of course false representations of the old uncontracted verbs. See H. G. §§ 55, 56 (3).

380. οἳ, Thyestes and the people of Mykenai. ἐκέλευον, Tydeus and Polyneikes.

381. ἔτρεψε, changed their minds. παραΐσια only here, ἐξαισιος is more common.

382. πρό is here an adv., and ὁδοῦ a local genitive, lit. 'forward on the

way.' Cf. on πρὸ φόβοιο P 667, and for the hiatus after πρό K 224. For λεχεποῖν cf. B 697.

384. ἐπί: so MSS. and Ar., thus connecting it with the verb, and making ἀγγελίην a masc. in apposition with Τυδῇ, see note on Γ 206. Or we may take ἀγγελίην as fem., an internal acc. with ἐπίστευαν, like ἐξεσίην ἐλθεῖν. Others read ἐπι, and understand ἐπ' ἀγγελίην = 'for an embassy.' Nauck reads Τυδῇ ἔστειλαν, omitting ἐπί, as the contracted Τυδῇ is a late form. Another emendation is ἐπὶ Τυδεῖ τέλλαν (Brandreth), charged T. with a mission (ἐπιτέλλειν). The following story is repeated in E 802-8, where the phrase used is ἦλυθε νόσφιν Ἀχαιῶν ἄγγελος ἐς Θήβας. It is no doubt adapted from Epic poems of the Theban war.

387. ΞΕΙΝΟΣ must here mean 'a stranger,' i.e. virtually under the circumstances an enemy, whereas in 377 it means a friend. But the word never acquired in Greek the connotation of the Latin *hostis*, and in ordinary cases to be a ξείνος in any sense was a reason for expecting friendly treatment, not treachery.

ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἀεθλεύειν προκαλίζετο, πάντα δ' ἐνίκα  
 ῥηϊδίως· τοίη οἱ ἐπίρροθος ἦεν Ἀθήνη. 390  
 οἱ δὲ χολωσάμενοι Καδμείοι, κέντορες ἵππων,  
 ἄψ ἀναερχομένωι πυκινὸν λόχον εἶσαν ἄγοντες,  
 κούρους πεντήκοντα· δῶα δ' ἡγήτορες ἦσαν,  
 Μαίων Αἰμονίδης ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 υἱὸς τ' Αὐτοφύνοιο μινεπτόλεμος Λυκοφόντης. 395  
 Τυδεὺς μὲν καὶ τοῖσιν αἰεκέα πότμον ἐφήκε·  
 πάντας ἔπεφν', ἓνα δ' οἷον ἵει οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι·  
 Μαίον' ἄρα προέηκε, θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας.  
 τοῖος ἔην Τυδεὺς Αἰτώλιος· ἀλλὰ τὸν υἱὸν  
 γείνατο εἶο χέρεια μάχη· ἀγορῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνων." 400  
 ὧς φάτο, τὸν δ' οὐ τι προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης,  
 αἰδεσθεὶς βασιλῆος ἐνιπὴν αἰδοίοιο.  
 τὸν δ' υἱὸς Καπανήος ἀμείψατο κυδαλίμοιο·  
 "Ἀτρεΐδῃ, μὴ ψεύδε' ἐπιστάμενος σάφα εἰπεῖν.

390. οἱ : τοι Q. || ἐπιτάρροθος Q. 392. ἄψ ἀναερχομένωι) CDGMPQRS  
 Harl. a, Lips. Vr. b c A, Mosc 1 3, Ven. B. || λόχον : δόλον Q : λέχος N (*supr.*  
 o over ε). || εἶσαν : ἦσαν D. 395. πολυφόντης A (γρ. Λυκοφόντης) : Λυκο-  
 φάντης G. 396. ἐφήκε : ἐνεῖκε C. 398. ἄρα προέηκε : ἀναπροέηκε Pap.  
 γ. || προσέειπε U. 400. χέρη(ι)α C<sup>2</sup>GHJMNR Lips.<sup>1</sup> Vr. A : χέρια Vr. a (*supr.*  
 η). || ἀμείνων Ar. A<sup>t</sup> : ἀμείνωι Pap. γ : ἀμείνω A<sup>m</sup> (T.W.A.) Ω.

390. ἐπίρροθος, lit. *coming with shouts* (to the rescue), is found only here and Ψ 770 in H., and acc. to van L. is a mistake due to non-recognition of the fact that -οι of pronouns can be elided. He reads τοίη F'(οἱ) ἐπιτάρροθος here, and so μ'(οι) in Ψ. ἐπίρροθος is, however, as old as Hes. (*Op.* 560) and Aisch. *Sept.* 368, and can therefore hardly be doubted. The difficulty is rather with ἐπιτάρροθος, for which see E 808. In Soph. *Ant.* 413 ἐπίρροθος is used in a completely different sense (*abusive*).

392. For ἄψ ἀναερχομένωι most edd. write ἄψ ἄρ' (Bentl.), αὖτις (Brandreth), or ἄψ οἱ (Barnes) ἀνερχ., the first on the analogy of the similar line, Z 187; but ἄρα has no sense here. For the hiatus cf. I 167 ἐπιόψομαι, ι 122 καταίσχεται, N 262 ἀποσίννμαι, P 381 ἐπισοσσομένω. πυκινόν, lit. *dense*, i.e. consisting of a large number, as in πυκινὰ φάλαγγες, etc. This sense does not suit λ 525, but that line is interpolated. εἶσαν ἄγοντες, *took and set*, ἄγ. being pleonastic. εἶσαν, from ἕζω, A 311.

394. The three names, Αἰμονίδης, Αὐτόφρονος, Λυκοφόντης, are evidently meant to have a murderous ring (Fäsi). Μαίων is a traditional name, not one invented for the purpose; according to Statius he was an augur and priest of Apollo, which would explain θεῶν τεράεσσι (398). Paus. (ix. 18. 2) says that according to local tradition at Thebes it was he who buried Tydeus.

399. For τόν, here used in a possessive sense, read ὃν. See App. A.

400. χέρεια : on this word see A 80. The best mss. follow Ar. in writing χέρεια and χέρειος, but χέρης, χέρρη. ἀμείνων, sc. ἐστί, so A with Ar.; ἀμείνω *cel.* The reading of Ar. seems best, for δέ τε frequently introduces a clause added paratactically, with a construction of its own. Σ 106 is exactly parallel, ἐν πολέμωι, ἀγορῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνονές εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι. It must, however, be admitted that the omission of both subject and verb here is harsh. Compare Eur. *Suppl.* 902 (ὁ Τυδεὺς) οὐκ ἐν λόγοις ἦν λαμπρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσπίδι.

404. σάφα, if taken with εἰπεῖν, must

ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι· 405  
 ἡμεῖς καὶ Θήβης ἔδος εἵλομεν ἑπταπύλοιο,  
 παυρότερον λαὸν ἀγαγόνθ' ὑπὸ τείχος ἄρειον,  
 πειθόμενοι τεράεσσι θεῶν καὶ Ζηνὸς ἀρωγῇ·  
 κείνοι δὲ σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίησιν ὄλοντο.  
 τῷ μὴ μοι πατέρας ποθ' ὁμοίη ἐνθεο τιμῇ." 410  
 τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
 "τέττα, σιωπῇ ἦσο, ἐμῶι δ' ἐπιπείθεο μύθωι.  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ νεμεσῶ Ἀγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν  
 ὀτρύνοντι μάχεσθαι ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς·  
 τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ κῦδος ἄμ' ἔψεται, εἴ κεν Ἀχαιοὶ 415  
 Τρῶας δηιώσωσιν ἔλωσί τε Ἴλιον ἱρήν,

407-9 ἄθ. Ar. 408. ἀγωγῇ P. 409. σφετέραισιν ἀτασθαλίαισιν ὄλοντο G.  
 412. σιωπῇ : σιγῇ N. 413. νεμεσῶ δοτικῶς A<sup>m</sup> (T.W.A.). 415. μὲν om.  
 M. || γὰρ om. CGT Lips. || αἶ κεν NS: εἰ μὲν G. 416. δηιώωσιν M:  
 δηιόωσιν Harl. a: δι(ι)ώωουσιν D Vr. A. || ἔλωσι δὲ P.

mean *truly* (ψεῦδε' being then ψεύδεο), but this is not the usual Homeric sense. The word is always used with verbs of *knowing*, except three times in *Od.* with εἰπεῖν, always in the sense 'giving a clear, certain report about Odysseus.' The two senses are, however, nearly allied (cf. *Soph. El.* 1223 ἔκμαθ' εἰ σαφῇ λέγω, *Trach.* 387 ὡς τάχ' ἂν σαφῇ λέξαιεν, *Eur. Med.* 72 μῦθος εἰ σαφὴς ὅδε, etc.), and it is better to translate *truly* here than with Fäsi to do violence to the order by joining μὴ ψευδέα εἰπεῖν, ἐπιστάμενος σάφα (that they are so). This expression is another case, apparently, of Attic use.

406. καί is expressed by the emphasis in 'we *did* take,' i.e. we did not merely besiege. This is the only mention in *H.* of the war of the Epigoni; that of the 'Seven' is rarely alluded to.

407. ἀγαρόνῃ, dual, as he is thinking only of Diomedes and himself. ἄρειον is taken by the Schol. as comparative, viz. τοῦ ἐν Τροίᾳ; for the sake of the antithesis it should rather mean 'a stronger wall than our fathers found,' as though Thebes had been strengthened in the interval. Cf. *O* 736, 'a stronger wall' than that which is now being taken. There is no Homeric instance of ἄρειός for the regular Ἀρήϊος, and in any case that would weaken the point of the line. Ar. obelized 407-9 on the ground that if the fathers were defeated by their

own madness and the sons conquered only by obeying the gods, there is no ground for concluding that the sons are better warriors than the fathers were. It is an obvious reply that the best warrior is the one who takes every step to ensure victory, and that the first step is to win divine support.

409. The ἀτασθαλία may be illustrated from Aisch. *Sept.* 427 sqq., where it is said of Kapaneus—

θεοὺ τε γὰρ θέλοντος ἐκπέρσειν πόλιν  
 καὶ μὴ θέλοντός φησιν, κτλ.

410. Observe the very rare use of μὴ with aor. imper. ; so Σ 134 μὴ πω κατὰ δύσεο, ω 248 μὴ . . ἐνθεο. Schol. A quotes Aristoph. *Thesm.* 870 μὴ ψεύσον, ὦ Ζεῦ. See on this *H. G.* § 328.

412. τέττα : a ἄπ. λεγ. which divided the opinions of the ancient critics, some taking it as a προσφώνησις φιλειταιρική, others as an ἐπίρρημα σχετλιαστικόν. It is probably like ἄττα (*I* 607, q.v.), a term of affection, perhaps borrowed from the language of infancy (for τF' ἄττα, where τF' = τεF', *thine*, as in French *tante* = *taua amita*?). 'A friendly or respectful address of youths to their elders,' L. and S. ; but there is no ground for supposing Sthenelos to be older than Diomedes. ἦσο, simply *continue*, as often. The hiatus after σιωπῇ is unusual, but there is no obvious emendation (τέτταθι, σιγῇ θ' ἦσο Bentley).



τούτῳι δ' αὖ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιῶν δηιωθέντων.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ μεδώμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς."

ἢ ῥα καὶ ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε·  
δεινὸν δ' ἔβραχε χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνακτος 420  
ὀρτυμένον· ὑπὸ κεν ταλασίφρονά περ δέος εἶλεν.

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχεῖ κῦμα θαλάσσης  
ὀρυντ' ἐπασσύτερον Ζεφύρου ὕπο κινήσαντος·

πόντῳι μὲν τε πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
χέρσῳι ῥηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας 425  
κυρτὸν ἰὸν κορυφούται, ἀποπτύει δ' ἄλὸς ἄχνην·

ὥς τότ' ἐπασσύνται Δαναῶν κίνυντο φάλαγγες  
νωλεμέως πόλεμόνδε. κέλευε δὲ οἷσιν ἕκαστος  
ἡγεμόνων· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκὴν ἴσαν, οὐδέ κε φαίης

τόσσον λαὸν ἔπεσθαι ἔχοντ' ἐν στήθεσιν αὐδῇν, 430  
σιγῇ, δειδίότες σημάτωντορας· ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι  
τεύχεα ποικίλ' ἔλαμπε, τὰ εἰμένοι ἐστιχόωντο.

Τρῶες δ', ὥς τ' οἷες πολυπάμονος ἀνδρὸς ἐν αὐλῇ

418. ἄγε: ἄρα Pap. γ. 420. ἀμφὶ στήθεσιν Q. 424. μὲν τε APV Vr. a: μέν τοι M: μὲν τὰ Ω. 426. ἰὸν Ar. (J *supr.*): ἐὼν Ω. 427. ἐπασσύντερον GJ (*supr.* αι): ἐπ' ἀσσύτεροι N. || κίνυντο: ὥρυντο O Pap. γ. 428. πόλεμόν δ' ἐκέλευεν οἷσιν H. || κέλευσε N. 429. ἴσαν: ἔσαν T Harl. b (γρ. ἴσαν): ἦσαν D<sup>1</sup>. 431. δειδίότες HQ: δειδίοντας Pap. γ. 433. πολυπάμονος ARU (*supr.* μ), δι' ἐνὸς μ γρ. Harl. a: πολυπάμμονος Ω.

421. ὑπὸ: explained by Am. and La R. of fear seizing the *knees*, as Γ 34 ὑπὸ δὲ τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα. But it is better to translate, with Fäsi, *thereat*, as though = under the influence of the noise. This is common in composition, e.g. ὑποτρέω, to tremble at a thing; so ὑπαὶ δέ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων γίνεται Δ 417. **ταλασίφρονα**: cf. φόβος. . ὅς τ' ἐφόβησε *ταλάφρονά περ πολέμιστήν* N 300; and, for the introduction of a supposed spectator, Δ 539, etc.

422. **κῦμα** is used collectively, as is shewn by ἐπασσύντερον. Cf. κῦμα. . τὰ τ' ἐρείγεται ε 438. The point of comparison is given by ἐπασσύντερον, see 427. Here the der. from ἐπ-αν-σεύω, *hastening up in succession* (see on Δ 383), is particularly suitable.

424. **μὲν τε**: vulg. μὲν τὰ. πρῶτα and τὰ πρῶτα seem to be used indiscriminately (cf. 442 below), but the former is commoner, and the use of τε in similes is habitual, v. H. G. p. 302.

426. **ἰὸν**: so Ar.; the vulg. ἐὼν is far

less vigorous and picturesque, as it leaves out of sight the movement of the wave.

428. **νωλεμέως**, *without cease*, a word of unknown origin.

433. For the pointed contrast between the silence of the Greeks and the clamour of the Trojans cf. Γ 1-9. **Τρῶες** is not followed by any verb, the sentence being interrupted by the simile, and taken up in an altered form in 436. We have a similar case in ν 81-4 ἢ δ', ὥς τ' . . ὥς ἄρα τῆς. **πολυπάμονος**, from \*πά-ομαι *acquire* (πέπαμαι, ἐπασάμην, etc.). The verb occurs in Pindar, Attic and Ionic poetry, and Xen., but not in H. Πολυπημονίδης (ω 305) is evidently a derivative (W.-M. H. U. p. 70); for the η compare the Attic παμψησία, though α is otherwise kept throughout the verbal forms in all dialects. The alternative πολυπάμμων is defended by Hinrichs as Aeolic, for -πατ-μων (cf. πότ-νια), but there is no support for this (see, however, G. Meyer *Gr.* § 65).

μυρίαι ἐστήκασιν ἀμελγόμεναι γάλα λευκὸν  
 ἀζηχῆς μεμαυῖαι, ἀκούουσαι ὅπα ἄρνων, 435  
 ὥς Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν ὁρώρει·  
 οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμὸς θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυσ,  
 ἀλλὰ γλῶσσ' ἐμέμικτο, πολὺκλητοι δ' ἔσαν ἄνδρες.  
 ὦρσε δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἄρης, τοὺς δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 Δεῖμός τ' ἠδὲ Φόβος καὶ Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα, 440  
 Ἄρεος ἀνδροφόνιοιο κασιγνήτη ἐτάρη τε,  
 ἥ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 οὐρανῶι ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.  
 ἥ σφιν καὶ τότε νείκος ὁμοῖον ἔμβαλε μέσσωι  
 ἐρχομένη καθ' ὁμίλον, ὀφέλλουσα στόνον ἀνδρῶν. 445  
 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐς χώρον ἕνα ξυνιόντες ἵκοντο,  
 σὺν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥινούς, σὺν δ' ἔγχεα καὶ μένε' ἀνδρῶν  
 χαλκεοθωρήκων· αὐτὰρ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι  
 ἐπληντ' ἀλλήλησι, πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὁρώρει.  
 ἔνθα δ' ἄμ' οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ εὐχολὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν 450  
 ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε χεῖμαρροι ποταμοὶ κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες

434. ἐστήκασιν A (T.W.A.) JNS Vr. b, Pap. γ, and γρ. O. 435. μεμαυῖαι Q: μεμαυῖαι Pap. γ<sup>1</sup>. 438. γλῶσσα μέμικτο P Vr. b. 441 om. T<sup>b</sup>; inserted by Rhosos in margin. 442. ἦ τ': ἦδ' J. 443. κάρην G. 444. μέσ(σ)ων DQ. 445. ἀνδρός Q (supr. ὦν). 446. ἵκοντο: ἵκανον O. 448. αὐτὰρ DPR. 449. ἀλλήλησι G: ἀλλήλοισι CDJNQ Vr. a b. || ὀρυμαγδός CDGHJM (not Harl. a) PRU. || ὁρώρη Vr. b e corr. 450. ἔνε' ἅμα GL: ἔνε' ἅμ' DNP. 451. τε om. HQR: γε M. 452. ῥέοντες CJ.

435. ἀζηχῆς, *incessant*, from ἀ-δια-σεχ-ής, ἀζα(σ)εχής (acc. to Schulze *Q. E.* p. 471), the negative of διεχής, *separate*, and so equivalent to συνεχής (so Eust.). Cf. διέσχον of intervals of time in Soph. *O. T.* 717.

437. Cf. B 804. For ἴα see note on Z 422.

438. πολὺκλητοι (cf. Ar.'s reading in *Λ* 564, πολυγρεές), *called together from many parts*. See note on E 491.

440. The three half-personified spirits of battle must not be regarded as siding with either party, but as arousing alike τοὺς μὲν and τοὺς δέ. Cf. *Λ* 73, *N* 299, *O* 119, *Σ* 535, in none of which are they actual persons in the war.

441. The gen. Ἄρεος for Ἄρης recurs only in *T* 47, *θ* 267 (late passages), and the line, which *T* omits, might be suspected, were not the whole passage, with

its personifications, unlike the old Epic manner, and consistently late.

442. Cf. 424, and the well-known imitation of the lines by Virg. *Aen.* iv. 173 sqq., especially *Ingrrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit*.

443. Notice the aor. ἐστήριξε and pres. βαίνει side by side, of momentary and continuous action as usual.

444. For ὁμοῖον see 315.

448. ὀμφαλόεσσαι: see on *Λ* 34. The ἀσπίδες are merely a repetition of ῥινοὺς above.

449. ἐπληντο, *met*, the only pres. in use being πίλναμαι and πελάζω (trans.); πελάαν *Πυμν. Hom.* vi. 44 is in a corrupt passage. The perf. πεπλημένος is found in *μ* 108.

450. Observe the chiasmus οἰμωγὴ . . εὐχολὴ . . ὀλλύντων . . ὀλλυμένων.

452. ὄρεσφι: locative, with κατὰ as with πρό, *Γ* 3.

ἐς μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄβριμον ὕδωρ  
κρουνῶν ἐκ μεγάλων κοίλης ἔντοσθε χαράδρης·  
τῶν δέ τε τηλόσε δοῦπον ἐν οὔρεσιν ἔκλυε ποιμήν· 455  
ὥς τῶν μισγομένων γένετο ἰαχή τε πόνος τε.

πρῶτος δ' Ἀντίλοχος Τρώων ἔλεν ἄνδρα κορυστὴν  
ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι, Θαλυσιάδην Ἐχέπωλον·  
τόν ῥ' ἔβαλε πρῶτος κόρυθος φάλον ἵπποδασείης,  
ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ πῆξε, πέρησε δ' ἄρ' ὀστέον εἴσω 460  
αἰχμὴ χαλκείῃ· τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσσε κάλυψεν,  
ἤριπε δ', ὡς ὅτε πύργος, ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ.  
τὸν δὲ πεσόντα ποδῶν ἔλαβε κρείων Ἐλεφῆνωρ  
Χαλκωδοντιάδης, μεγαθύμων ἀρχὸς Ἀβάντων,  
ἔλκε δ' ὑπὲκ βελέων λελημένος ὄφρα τάχιστα 465

453. μισγάγκειαν DGJNPQRT<sup>1</sup>. || ὄβριμον [ADS]T: ὄμβριμον Ω. 455. ὥς  
δ' ὅτε Pap. γ<sup>1</sup>: τῶν δ' ὅτε Pap. γ<sup>2</sup>. || τηλόει P Par. b d h (Harl. b interlined):  
γρ. τηλόσε . . ἄμεινον δὲ τὸ τηλόει Schol. PT (Ar.? see Ludw.). || δοῦπος Pap. γ.  
456. πόνος Ar. OP: φόβος Ω. 458. θαλασσιάδην S. 461 om. Pap. γ. || δέ:  
δὴ M. 463. ἔλαβε: εἴλε S. || ἐλαφῆνωρ P. 465. τάχιστος J.

453. μισγάγκειαν, *watersmeet*, place where two valleys (ἀγχεα) join their streams (ἀπ. λεγ.). Hentze remarks that the picture would be clearer if 454 stood before 453. ὄβριμον: apparently from βρι- of βρί-θ-ω, βριαρός, βρήπνος (N 521), βαρύς, etc.; see βρί in L. and S. Others refer it to ὕβρις. In any case the first μ of the constantly recurring variant ὄμβριμος seems to have no justification. The unusual preponderance of MSS. in its favour here is due to the idea that in this passage it means *rain-water* (ὄμβρος). Cf. Γ 357.

454. κρουνῶν ἐκ μεγάλων seems simply to denote the great body of water 'fed from mighty springs.' The χαράδρη will be the ravine leading down to the μισγάγκεια. The simile is imitated in Virg. *Aen.* ii. 307, xii. 523.

455. τηλόσε: the use of the *terminus ad quem* instead of *a quo* is frequent in cases like this; the reaching to a distance is regarded as a property of the power of hearing, not of the sound, II 515 δύνασαι δὲ σὺ πάντοσ' ἀκούειν, cf. A 21 πένθετο γὰρ Κύπρονδε μέγα κλέος. Of course the converse is common too, I 572 ἔκλυεν ἐς Ἐρέβessφιν, A 603 κλισίηθεν ἀκούσας.

456. πόνος, Ar. for φόβος of MSS., because he held that φόβος in H. always

means *flight* not *fear*, and in the present case flight has not yet begun on either side. So *Lehrs Ar.* p. 76.

457. Antilochos the son of Nestor has not before been mentioned. ἔλεν, in pregnant sense, as very often in *Il.*, *slew*; see note on A 328. κορυστήν, *in full armour*, on the analogy of θωρηκτής, ἀσπιστής, αἰχμητής (on this formation see *H. G.* § 116. 2). In the compound ἵπποκορυστής, however, the termination -της seems to have the usual transitive force, 'arrayer of chariots,' and Paley suggests that the simple form may here mean 'an officer, one who marshals, κορίσσει, his troops.'

459-61 = Z 9-11. πῆξε, *he plunged the spear*—the active πῆγγνμι is not intrans. in H. except in the perf. πέπηγε. For φάλος see App. B.

462. On ὥς ὅτε without a finite verb see B 394. 464 = B 541.

465. ὄφρα is perhaps to be taken with λελημένος, compare E 690 λελημένος ὄφρα τάχιστα ὥσαι' Ἀργείους, τ 367 ἀρήμενος εἰς ἱκοί: see also Z 361, II 653. In the second case, however, as well as in the present passage, it is possible to make λελημένος = *eagerly* (as M 106, II 552 βάν ῥ' ἰθὺς Δαναῶν λελημένοι), ὄφρα going with the principal verb. Compare also note on A 133, and *H. G.* § 307.

τεύχεα συλήσειε· μίνυνθα δέ οἱ γένεθ' ὄρμη·  
 νεκρὸν γὰρ ἐρύοντα ἰδὼν μεγάλθυμος Ἀγλήνωρ  
 πλευρά, τὰ οἱ κύψαντι παρ' ἀσπίδος ἐξεφαάνθη,  
 οὔτῃσε ξυστῶι χαλκῆρεϊ, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα.  
 ὥς τὸν μὲν λίπε θυμός, ἐπ' αὐτῶι δ' ἔργον ἐτύχθη 470  
 ἀργαλέον Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν· οἱ δὲ λύκοι ὥς  
 ἀλλήλοισ ἐπόρουσαν, ἀνὴρ δ' ἄνδρ' ἐδνοπάλιζεν.  
 ἔνθ' ἔβαλ' Ἀνθεμίωνος υἱὸν Τελαμώνιος Αἴας,  
 ἦϊθεον θαλερὸν Σιμοείσιον, ὃν ποτε μήτηρ  
 Ἰδθθεν κατιοῦσα παρ' ὄχθησιν Σιμόεντος 475  
 γείνατ', ἐπεὶ ῥα τοκεῦσιν ἄμ' ἔσπετο μῆλα ἰδέσθαι·  
 τούνεκά μιν κάλεον Σιμοείσιον· οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι  
 θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε, μινυνθάδιος δέ οἱ αἰῶν  
 ἔπλεθ' ὑπ' Αἴαντος μεγαθύμου δουρὶ δαμέντι.  
 πρῶτον γάρ μιν ἰόντα βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζὸν 480  
 δεξιόν, ἀντικρὺ δὲ δι' ὤμου χάλκεον ἔγχος  
 ἦλθεν· ὁ δ' ἐν κονίησι χαμαὶ πέσεν αἵγειρος ὥς,  
 ἦ ῥά τ' ἐν εἰαμενῇ ἔλεος μέγαλοιο πεφύκη

467. γάρ ῥ' [AHMS] Harl. a. || ἐρύοντα: ἔλκοντα D. 468. τὰ οἱ: τέ οἱ P. 469. ξυστῶι: χαλκῶι Cant. 471. ἀχαιῶν: θαναῶν P. 472. ἀλλήλους Pap. γ. | ἐπόρουσεν Pap. γ<sup>1</sup>. || ἐδνοπάλιζε(n) Vr. a, Apoll. Lex. Zonar. Lex. 473. ἔνεθ': ἐν δ' R. 475. ὄχθαισι GQ. 476. ἔπετο J. 478. θρέπτρα Ar. Ω: ὀρέπτα Zen. JOPQRSU Par. b d f<sup>1</sup> k, Vr. b c, Mose. 3. 482. ἤλυθεν T. 483. εἰαμενῇ L (supr. A) R. || πεφύκη conj. G. Hermann: πεφύκε U: πεφύκει Ω.

466. For μίνυνθα as predicate cf. A 416.

467. γάρ: vulg. γάρ ῥ', which is at best a clumsy compound (though it is found a few times) and not required by either sense or metre; for ἐρύοντα originally began with F, and the caesura alone in this part of the line would suffice to lengthen the short syllable. The particle has similarly invaded nearly all mss. in B 342.

468. πλευρά: neut. only here, and probably A 437, elsewhere πλευραί. Cf. Δ 122 νεῦρα by νευρή (bowstring), παρῆιον by παρειά. παρ' ἀσπίδος, were exposed beside his shield.

470. αὐτῶι, the body, as opposed to the departed θυμός: see on A 4. The neglect of the F of Φέρων is rare (about 18 cases out of 250, Knös *de dig.* p. 96, 10 of which can be easily corrected).

472. ἐδνοπάλιζεν, shook, an obscure word recurring only ξ 512 τὰ σὰ ῥάκεα δνοπαλίζεις, apparently 'thou shalt

flutter, flaunt thy rags,' al. 'shalt clothe thee.' Neither interpretation throws much light on the present passage. No convincing derivation has been suggested.

474. With Σιμοείσιος cf. Σάτιος, a contracted form for Σατνιοείσιος Ξ 443, and Σκαμάνδριος Z 402, all proper names of Trojans derived from rivers.

478. Cf. P 302. ὀρέπτρα, recompense for rearing him; compare the πλόκαμος Ἰνάχωι θρεπτήριος of Aisch. Cho. 6.

479. For ὑπ' Αἴαντος δουρὶ see Γ 436.

480. πρῶτον, here local, in the fore-front.

483. εἰαμένῃ, lowland, apparently from root ἦς, to sit, for ἡσαμένη, cf. ἡμένωι ἐν χώρῳ Theok. xiii. 40. (Curt. Et. no. 568.) It will then be a false transcription of HEAMENEI = ἡαμένη. πεφύκη is Hermann's conjecture for πεφύκει of all mss.; the pluperf. is entirely out of place in a simile, and of course the authority of mss. as between



λείη, ἀτάρ τέ οἱ ὄζοι ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῃ πεφύασι·  
 τὴν μὲν θ' ἄρματοπηγὸς ἀνὴρ αἰθῶνι σιδήρῳι 485  
 ἐξέταμ', ὄφρα ἵτυν κάμψῃ περικαλλεῖ δίφρῳι·  
 ἡ μὲν τ' ἄζομένη κείται ποταμοῖο παρ' ὄχθας·  
 τοῖον ἄρ' Ἀνθεμίδην Σιμοείσιον ἐξενάριξεν  
 Αἴας διογενής. τοῦ δ' Ἀντιφος αἰολοθώρηξ 490  
 Πριαμίδης καθ' ὄμιλον ἀκόντισεν ὀξείῳ δουρί·  
 τοῦ μὲν ἄμαρθ', ὁ δὲ Λεῦκον Ὀδυσσεὸς ἐσθλὸν ἑταῖρον  
 βεβλήκει βουβῶνα νέκυν ἐτέρωσ' ἐρύοντα·  
 ἥριπε δ' ἄμφ' αὐτῶι, νεκρὸς δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός.  
 τοῦ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μάλα θυμὸν ἀποκταμένοιο χολώθη,  
 βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων κεκορυθμένος αἰθοπι χαλκῶι, 495  
 στή δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰών, καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρί φαεινῶι  
 ἀμφὶ ἐπαπτήνας. ὑπὸ δὲ Τρῶες κεκάδοντο  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀκοντίσαντος. ὁ δ' οὐχ ἄλιον βέλος ἦκεν,

484. αὐτὰρ M. || ἀκρότατοι Q. || πεφύκασι G. 486. ὄφρ' DGP. || κάμψῃ Q.  
 487. ποταμοῦ παρὰ G. 489. τοῦ: τὸν Vt. a. 490. δουρί: χαλκῶι D. ||  
 ἀκόντισε δουρί φαεινῶ Q (so ἐν ἄλλωι Δ). 491. ἄμαρτ' J. || ὀδυσεῶς DJMQ.  
 493. αὐτὸν N. || ἔκπεσε: ἔκφυγε Par. c (supr. ἔκπεσε) g, γρ. O and κατὰ τινα τῶν  
 ἀντιγράφων Eust.

ει and η(ι) is *nīl*. La R. quotes a number of instances where the perf. subj. has been thus corrupted into the plup., A 477, II 633, P 435, α 316, σ 133, χ 469. *πεφύκει* could be defended only as a secondary pres. from \**πεφύκω*, cf. *ἀνωγα*—*ἀνώγει*, etc., *H. G.* § 27. *ἔλεος*: cf. ρ 208 *αἰγείρων ὕδατοτρεφῶν*.

484. Mure quotes 'the practice, still common in Southern Europe, of trimming up the stem of the poplar to within a few feet of the top, which, left untouched, preserves the appearance of a bushy tuft,' so that the comparison is between this tuft and the warrior's plume.

485. The use of so soft and weak a wood as poplar for the felloe of a wheel is certainly curious. The wood is suited to the purpose, however, by its flexibility and elasticity. Ameiss suggests that the bronze tire (*ἐπίσσωτρον*) would supply the requisite hardness. Probably the Homeric carpenter had not learned to bend tough wood by the aid of steam, and was therefore driven to the use of the weaker kinds for purposes such as the present.

487. *μὲν τε* in place of the usual *δέ τε*, to add the final touch to a simile, is very rare. Cf., however, E 556.

488. Ἀνθεμίδης, from the short form of Ἀνθεμίων (473), like Δευκαλίδης from Δευκαλίων.

489. αἰολοθώρηξ, with *flashing armour*, does not imply a breastplate. It refers perhaps rather to the quick movement of the wearer (cf. πόδας αἰόλος) than to the brightness of the armour itself.

491. Ὀδυσεῶς for Ὀδυσσεύς is found only here, with Ὀδυσεὺς no 398, Ὀδυσεῖα ρ 301. Cf. on 441.

492. βεβλήκει: the plpf. is an intensive imperf., *made his hit* (*H. G.* § 28). But, as Delbrück remarks (*Grundr.* iv. 227), in use the word gives the impression rather of an aor., while ἐπέπληγον is used as imperf. It has been in fact suggested by Brugmann that the plpf. forms in -*ea* were originally aorists (*ibid.*). ἐτέρωσε, to the other side, from Antipho's point of view.

497. κεκάδοντο (here and O 574) is referred to χάσσομαι, *gave way*, the gen. ἀνδρός being ablative. The act. κεκαδών (A 334), κεκαδήσει (φ 153) in the sense *separate from* are the same word, but it is not clear why the χ has become κ. Perhaps the real forms are κεκάδοντο, etc.

ἀλλ' υἷὸν Πριάμοιο νόθον βάλε Δημοκόωντα,  
 ὅς οἱ Ἀβυδόθεν ἦλθε, παρ' ἵππων ὠκείων· 500  
 τὸν ῥ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐτάριοιο χολωσάμενος βάλε δουρὶ  
 κόρσῃ· ἢ δ' ἐτέριοιο διὰ κροτάφοιο πέρησεν  
 αἰχμὴ χαλκείῃ· τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψε,  
 δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.  
 χώρησαν δ' ὑπὸ τε πρόμαχοι καὶ φαίδιμος Ἑκτωρ· 505  
 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ μέγα ἴαχον, ἐρύσαντο δὲ νεκρούς,  
 ἴθυσαν δὲ πολὺ προτέρω. νεμέσῃσεν δ' Ἀπόλλων  
 Περγάμου ἐκκατιδών, Τρώεσσι δὲ κέκλετ' αὔσας·  
 “ὄρνησθ', ἵπποδαμοι Τρῶες, μηδ' εἴκετε χάρμης  
 Ἀργείοις, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφι λίθος χρῶς οὐδὲ σίδηρος 510  
 χαλκὸν ἀνασχέσθαι ταμεσίχροα βαλλομένοισιν.  
 οὐ μὰν οὐδ' Ἀχιλεὺς Θέτιδος πᾶϊς ἠνυκόμοιο  
 μάρναται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶ χόλον θυμαλγέα πῆσσει.”  
 ὥς φάτ' ἀπὸ πτόλιος δεινὸς θεός· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὺς  
 ὦρσε Διὸς θυγάτηρ κυδίστη τριτογένεια, 515  
 ἐρχομένη καθ' ὅμιλον, ὅθι μεθιέντας ἴδοιτο.  
 ἐνθ' Ἀμαρυγκείδην Διώρεα μοῖρ' ἐπέδησε·

499. πριάμου Q. || δημοκόεντα J. 500. ἦλθε: ἦκε Q. 501 om. Ot. ||  
 τὸν ῥ': τὸν δ' Om. 502. κόρσῃ H. || ἐτάριοιο U. 504. αὐτῷ: ὤμων M.  
 506. μέγα AG: μέγ' Ω. || εἴαχον Pap. γ. || εἰρύσαντο J: ἐρύσαντο O Vr. c,  
 Ven. B, Mosc. 1 3. 508. κέκλυτ' J. 509. ἴκετε J. 510. ἀργείων O  
 sup. || ἀργείους Pap. γ. || χρωὸς οὐδὲ Pap. γ. 512. μὴν GQ. 513. νευσι  
 Pap. γ. 514. πόλιος Q. 516. μεσιέντας N: μεσιέντες M. 517. ἀμαρι-  
 γείδην Q (sup. κ over second γ). || μοῖρα πέδῃσεν Ar.: μοῖρα ἐπέδῃσεν P.

500. Ἰππων: apparently Priam kept a stud-farm at Abydos; compare O 548 with note. His horses were of the famous breed of Tros, for which see E 265-72, T 221-30. It would be simpler to understand 'beside his chariot,' like παρ' ἀσπίδος above (468; so Monro); but the order of the words is against this. In the Catalogue (B 836) Abydos is given to Asios, not to Priam.

508. Πέργαμος, the citadel of Troy, where was the temple of Apollo, E 446; afterwards called τὸ Πέργαμον (cf. "Ἰλιον by Homer's "Ἰλιος) or τὰ Πέργαμα. The tragedians use it in its primitive sense as a common name, 'citadel'; it is doubtless conn. with πύργος, Germ. *Burg*.

515. τριτογένεια, also Θ 39, X 183, γ 378; derived by the Greeks from a river Triton, variously located in Boiotia or Thessaly, or from the lake Tritonis in

Libya. All these words are possibly connected with a stem *τριτο-*, meaning *water*, which appears in *τρίτων*, Ἀμφιτρίτη, Skt. *trita* (Fick). Ameis suggests that this may contain an allusion to the myth that all the gods were children of Okeanos and Tethys (Ξ 201); Athene has no special connexion with water. Another derivation (Eustath.) from an alleged *τριτώ*=*head* (i.e. born from the head of Zeus) lacks all trustworthy confirmation. The original significance of the epithet is not now to be discovered. See note on ἀτρυτώνη, B 157.

516. μεσιέντας, violating the *F* of *ἴδοιτο*, is apparently wrongly adapted from μεθιέντα in N 229. We can of course read the sing. here with one ms., but it is not Homeric to apply the participle to the ὅμιλος at large. See note on 232.

517. ἐπέδῃσεν, i.e. prevented his

χερμαδίῳ γὰρ βλῆτο παρὰ σφυρὸν ὀκρίοντι  
 κνήμην δεξιτερὴν· βάλε δὲ Θρηκῶν ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν,  
 Πείρως Ἰμβρασίδης, ὃς ἄρ' Αἰνόθεν εἰληλούθει· 520  
 ἀμφοτέρῳ δὲ τένοντε καὶ ὀστέα λᾶας ἀναιδῆς  
 ἄχρῃς ἀπηλόησεν· ὁ δ' ὕπτιος ἐν κονίησι  
 κάππεσεν, ἄμφω χεῖρε φίλοις ἐτάροισι πετάσσας,  
 θυμὸν ἀποπνείων. ὁ δ' ἐπέδραμεν ὅς ῥ' ἔβαλέν περ,  
 Πείρως, οὐτα δὲ δουρὶ παρ' ὀμφαλόν· ἐκ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι 525  
 χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες, τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψε.  
 τὸν δὲ Θόας Αἰτωλὸς ἀπεσσύμενον βάλε δουρὶ  
 στέρνον ὑπὲρ μαζοῖο, πάγῃ δ' ἐν πνεύμονι χαλκός.  
 ἀγχίμολον δέ οἱ ἦλθε Θόας, ἐκ δ' ὄβριμον ἔγχος  
 ἐσπάσατο στέρνοιο, ἐρύσσατο δὲ ξίφος ὄξυ· 530  
 τῷ ὃ γε γαστέρα τύψε μέσσην, ἐκ δ' αἴνυτο θυμόν.  
 τεύχεα δ' οὐκ ἀπέδυσε· περίστησαν γὰρ ἐταῖροι  
 Θρηῖκες ἀκρόκομοι δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντες,  
 οἳ ἐ μέγαν περ ἐόντα καὶ ἴφθιμον καὶ ἀγανὸν  
 ὤσαν ἀπὸ σφείων· ὁ δὲ χασσάμενος πελεμίχθη. 535

518. ὀκρούοντι CJMOPRS Pap. γ. 520. πείρως: ἦρως Strabo. || ὅς ῥ  
 NS. || ἠληλούθει Q. 522. ἀπηλλοίωσεν CP Vr. a: ἀπηλλοίωσεν L: ἀπη\*λοιώσεν  
 H. 524. ὑπέδραμεν Pap. γ. || περ: μιν GNS. 527. ἀπεσσύμενον GMOTU  
 (supr. ε) Harl. a b, Par. b<sup>1</sup> c<sup>1</sup>, Mose. 3: ἐπεσσύμενον Ω: ἀπεσσύμενον or ἐπεσσύ-  
 μενος Ar. διχῶς. 528. ὑπὲρ: ὑπὸ M (ὑπὲρ Harl. a). || πνεύμονι Phot. Lex  
 320. 529. ὄβριμον C<sup>1</sup>GHJMO<sup>1</sup>PQ. 531. αἴνυτο: ἄρνυτο P. 535.  
 πολεμίχθη GJLT.

escape; X 5 Ἐκτορα δ' αὐτοῦ μείναι  
 ὀλοὴ μοῖρ' ἐπέδραμεν.

520. Πείρως is the reading of all mss.  
 here and in 525, though in B 844 the  
 form is more correctly Πείροος.

521. ΤΕΝΟΝΤΕ: H. generally uses the  
 dual, apparently from a belief that the  
 tendons always went in pairs. πάντα τὰ  
 τεταμένα νεῦρα τένοντας Ὀμηρος λέγει, Ar.  
 on T 478; cf. X 396. ἀναιδῆς, reckless;  
 or perhaps *inhuman* comes nearer to the  
 idea of the stone subject to no αἰδῶς for  
 the opinion of mankind. Compare N  
 139 (where, however, there is no intima-  
 tion of the stone doing any harm to a  
 human being), and the famous descrip-  
 tion of the stone of Sisyphos, λ 598.  
 Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 11) mentions this  
 as a case of the attribution of human  
 qualities to lifeless objects.

522. ἄχρῃς recurs II 324, P 599, in  
 all cases in description of wounds (the  
 form ἄχρῃ as a preposition with gen.

σ 370 only). It seems to mean *utterly*,  
 though this creates some difficulty in  
 the explanation of P 599, q.v.

524. ῥ' evidently represents a lost F  
 = ἐ, *him*.

527. ἀπεσσύμενον: vulg. ἐπεσσ.; but  
 the advance of Peiroos is completed in  
 524, so it is more natural to suppose  
 that he was now retreating. The usual  
 word, however, is ἀπίοντα (N 567, Ξ 409,  
 etc.), and ἀπεσσύμενον seems rather  
 strong for mere retreat. Hence ἐπεσσύ-  
 μενος, the alternative read by Ar. in one  
 of his editions, is perhaps more suitable,  
 especially as Peiroos is wounded in the  
 breast, not in the back.

533. ἀκρόκομοι: cf. B 542 Ἀβαντες  
 διπθεν κομώντες, and note there. ὑψι-  
 χαῖται ἄνδρες, Pind. P. iv. 172, perhaps  
 means the same thing.

535. πελεμίχθη, *staggered*; was shaken  
 by the attack, cf. Θ 443, II 612.

ὥς τώ γ' ἐν κονίησι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι τετάσθην,  
ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν Θρηκῶν, ὁ δ' Ἐπειῶν χαλκοχιτώνων  
ἡγεμόνες· πολλοὶ δὲ περικτείνοντο καὶ ἄλλοι.

ἐνθά κεν οὐκέτι ἔργον ἀνὴρ ὀνόσαιτο μετελθών,  
ὅς τις ἔτ' ἄβλητος καὶ ἀνούτατος ὀξέϊ χαλκῶι  
δινεύει κατὰ μέσσον, ἄγοι δέ ἐ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
χειρὸς ἐλοῦσ', αὐτὰρ βελέων ἀπερύκοι ἐρωήν·  
πολλοὶ γὰρ Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἥματι κείνῳι  
πρηνέες ἐν κονίησι παρ' ἀλλήλοισι τέταντο.

540

536. τώ γ' : οἱ γ' G. || πετάσθην DJ (e corr.) Q. 539. οὐ, κέ τι (Ar.?) A. ||  
δ' ἔργον O. 541. δινεύει GH. || ἄγει GN (supr. οι) PQ : ἄγη O (supr. οι).  
542. ἐλοῦσα ἀτὰρ Eust. : ἐλοῦς' ἀτὰρ A (supr. α over c and υ over τ) G (supr. α  
over c) HJ<sup>1</sup> (?) QR : ἐλοῦσα αὐτὰρ OT. || ἀπερύκει DQ.

539. For οὐκέτι there was a curious variant οὐ κέ τι; it is not quite clear from the scholia whether Ar. adopted it or not. If so, he probably did it on the analogy of ἄν κεν in N 127. The repetition of κεν would be quite un-Homeric, and οὐκέτι gives a perfectly good sense, viz. 'it had now come to this, that none could make light,' as might conceivably have happened before. See I 164 and note. μετελθών, entering the fight.

540. ἄβλητος by missiles, ἀνούτατος by thrust, as usual.

542. The Ms. readings seem to point to an original ἐλοῦσα ἀτὰρ, which is supported by the fact that αὐτὰρ always

has the first syll. in arsis. But the hiatus is not allowed in this place; in Θ 503, Λ 732, Ψ 694, and other cases where hiatus occurs before ἀτὰρ, it is always in the principal caesurae. ἐρωήν, rush, impetus.

543. Bentley and Heyne, followed by Nauck and others, consider the last two lines of the book as spurious. The words ἥματι κείνῳι, in combination with the plupf. τέταντο, certainly look as though they belonged to the end, not to the beginning of a day's fighting, and may therefore have been a rhapsodist's 'tag,' meant to wind up the end of a day's recitation, and omitted when Δ was immediately followed by E. P. Knight suspects 539-42 as well.



## E

### INTRODUCTION

WITH this book we come upon the first of the *aristeiai*, sections of the *Iliad* in which a single hero comes to the front and for a shorter or longer time assumes a prominence which does not elsewhere belong to him. The title *Διομήδους ἀριστεία* is as old as Herodotos, who quotes by that name Z 289-92 (ii. 116). The restriction of the name to E dates of course only from the present division into books, and the wider use recognises the fact that E and Z are a continuous narrative. In the early part of Z Diomedes is as prominent as in E, and the account of Hector's visit to Troy is based entirely upon a state of things in which Diomedes has struck more terror into the Trojans than ever Achilles did (Z 96-101).

But though the narrative of the two books now forms a single story—at least with the exception of two episodes, the duel of Sarpedon and Tlepolemos in this book, and the meeting of Diomedes and Glaukos in the next, for these are but loosely interwoven into the texture—yet none the less the structure of this part of the *Iliad* presents a most difficult problem. Leaving for later consideration one of the most glaring contradictions in the *Iliad*, that between the acts of Diomedes in E and his words in Z 128, we find in the former book itself such confusion of motive and peculiarity of style and contents as forbid us to regard it as a single and harmonious composition.

The natural division of the book is into three parts: (i.) 1-453, Diomedes makes havoc of the Trojans, and, though wounded by Pandaros, returns to the fight, and drives Aphrodite bleeding from the field; (ii.) 454-710, Ares and Apollo rally the Trojans, and Diomedes for a while retreats to the background; the principal episode is the killing of Tlepolemos by Sarpedon; (iii.) 711-909, Hera and Athene come to the aid of the Greeks, and Diomedes wounds Ares with the assistance of Athene.

The general plan of the *Iliad* is observed only in the fact that Achilles does not appear on the scene. On the other hand, it is certain that the balance of the whole story is seriously impaired by the deeds of Diomedes, who far outdoes any achievements of Achilles, the hero of the Wrath. Nor is there any clear allusion to the immediately preceding duel of Menelaos and Paris; the words of Pandaros indeed in 207 contain such a reference, but they are betrayed as a later addition by the fact that they are an obvious expansion of the preceding line 188. As they stand they do little more than emphasise the complete silence of Diomedes about the gross treachery of

his victim, or of the poet who misses the imperative duty of calling attention to the swift retribution which overtakes the violator of the truce. It is patent that the *Diomedea* was composed in complete independence of the two preceding books, and the passage 206-8 was only added afterwards when the *Iliad* was reaching its present shape.

The duel of Sarpedon and Tlepolemos again stands by itself, and is never alluded to elsewhere. The introduction of so important a figure as Sarpedon in 471 is singularly abrupt, and the Herakleidai are elsewhere conspicuous by their absence from Homer. The episode, like the death of Sarpedon himself in II, is full of vigour, but like it is easily detachable from its context, and may have been originally composed for almost any part of the Tale of Troy. 699 is evidently meant to follow 606 (cf. 702 with 604), and the Tlepolemos episode unnaturally breaks the sequence.

But it is when we come to the large portions of the book which deal with the intervention of the gods that the real difficulties are felt. They begin early. The short colloquy of Athene and Ares in 29-36 is entirely devoid of motive, and the allusion to the wrath of Zeus seems to imply the command to the gods to abstain from battle which does not in fact come till Θ. Athene again intervenes in 122, when Diomedes has been wounded in the shoulder. After the prayer of Diomedes in the preceding lines, we should suppose that Athene merely healed the wound, as a god, from afar. Her unexpected presence on the spot and the instructions she gives to Diomedes to attack Aphrodite are in preparation for the important episode which begins with 330. Up to that line the rescue of Aineias by his mother runs the ordinary course of such rescues in Homer (see for instance l. 23); Aphrodite saves Aineias, and no more need be said. But with the attack on Aphrodite herself, we enter an episode which stands quite apart from the rest of the *Iliad*. We find ourselves in a world of myths of which we know nothing elsewhere. It is not here a matter of contradictions or inconsistencies, though they are to be found; we are surprised, for instance, to find Athene in Olympus when her personal presence on the battle-field has just been insisted on; and the poet is clearly much troubled with the question of the continuance of the fighting over Aineias, when that hero has been removed to Troy. Diomedes too thrice attacks Apollo in strange forgetfulness of the injunctions Athene has laid on him. In fact the return to earth from Olympus is beset with such difficulties that the sudden introduction of Sarpedon is almost a relief from obvious embarrassment. But more serious than all such minor difficulties is the un-Homeric atmosphere which reigns till we return to the original stream of narrative in 519.

The third section, beginning with 711, bears a most suspicious resemblance, with its exaggeration of divine faculties to the verge of grotesqueness, to the buffoonery of the Theomachy in Φ. It is pretty obviously a deliberate attempt to outbid the wounding of Aphrodite, and various peculiarities in the language all seem to point to a late period of the Epos. Furthermore it will be seen that the episode contains a large number of obviously borrowed lines. 753-4 come from A 498-9, and make nonsense here, for the goddesses have left Olympus. 791 is from N 107, where it is in place; here it is simply untrue that the Greeks are fighting "at the

ships." The arming of the goddesses in 719-52 is largely identical with Θ 381-96, though the latter book is itself such a free borrower that little stress can be laid on this. But the description of the armour bears a strong resemblance to that at the beginning of Λ, a notoriously late passage; and is in all probability expanded by a late hand.

The whole book then seems to illustrate the process of concretion and expansion which mark the *Iliad* as a whole. To a real Aristeia of Diomedes as a nucleus, in which there was no intervention of the gods beyond the healing of Diomedes' wound, there are additions on the one hand of the Sarpedon episode, which may have originally been composed for some other place, and on the other hand the two woundings of Aphrodite and Ares, which can only have grown up where they now stand, one on the top of the other. And as usual we find that the more personal and human the interference of the divine element, the more suspicion of late origin accompanies it.

But after all is said, these weaknesses touch only the general structure of the book, and in no way affect the beauty of the episodes, which, though confined within narrow limits, are in the highest degree vivacious and varied. Sarpedon, the most striking of the few new characters to whom we are introduced, is here, as on the rare occasions when he reappears, a remarkable picture, drawn in few and strong lines, of the purest aristocrat, with all the chivalry and not a little of the *morgue* of his more than princely place. In strong contrast to him we meet another new personage in Ares, the Olympian Porthos, whose deification is little more than an exaggeration of the swashbuckler's less attractive attributes; it is the human Diomedes who typifies all the nobler qualities of pious heroism.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ε

### Διομήδους ἀριστεία.

ἐνθ' αὖ Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδεϊ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
 δῶκε μένος καὶ θάρσος, ἵν' ἔκδηλος μετὰ πᾶσιν  
 Ἀργείοισι γένοιτο ἰδὲ κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄροιτο.  
 δαῖε οἱ ἐκ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος ἀκάματον πῦρ,  
 ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῶι ἐναλίγκιον, ὅς τε μάλιστα  
 λαμπρὸν παμφαίνῃσι λελουμένος Ὀκεανοῖο.  
 τοῖόν οἱ πῦρ δαῖεν ἀπὸ κρατός τε καὶ ὤμων,  
 ὥρσε δέ μιν κατὰ μέσσον, ὅθι πλείστοι κλονέοντο.  
 ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δάρης ἀφνειὸς ἀμύμων,

5

3. ἡδέ GJ. 4. δαῖε οἱ: δαῖέν οἱ Par. e: δαιδεοι Ambr. and τινές αρ.  
 Eust. || ἔκ om. Q. 5. ἀστέρι G Ambr. (A supr.) and γρ. Eust. || ἐναλίγκιον Q.  
 6. παμφαίνῃσι R<sup>1</sup>. 8. κλονέοντο: καὶ ἄριστοι H<sup>1</sup>.

4. δαῖε οἱ is added epexegetically to δῶκε, and hence without a conjunction, as ε 234, etc. But the variants δαῖε δέ οἱ ἐκ κόρυθος and δαῖε οἱ κόρυθος may point to an older δαῖε δέ οἱ κόρ., or rather, as van L. suggests, δαῖε δέ F(oi) ἐκ κόρ. For the idea cf. Σ 206-14, and X 134-5. The fire seems to be rather a symbol of invincible fury than a physical flame; for it is not remarked in the sequel by friend or foe.

5. This fine simile is essentially like that of X 26-9, whence we see that the star of summer is Seirios, 'the dog of Orion.' For ὀπωρινός, which hence must mean the 'dog-days,' the time of the heliacal rising of Seirios, rather than what we call autumn, cf. also II 385, Φ 346, λ 192 (τεθαλυῖα, as the season of fruit). The Homeric division of the year is into spring, early summer (θέρος), late summer (ὀπώρη), and winter, and corresponds with the fact that the transition from the heat of summer to the cold of winter is in Greece extremely

rapid. The scansion ὀπωρινός, though invariable in H., is strange beside ἑαρινός with ι. Cf. ἀγχιστίνοι. A very conjectural explanation and etymology will be found in Schulze *Q. E.* p. 474. For the elision of -ι of the dat. cf. *H. G.* § 376 (3).

6. λελουμένος, as Σ 489 λοετρῶν Ὀκεανοῖο. For the gen. cf. Z 508, etc. παμφαίνῃσι: the usual subj. in relative clauses of similes (138 and often). Nitzsch curiously read παμφαίνῃσι as indic.—an impossible form of course.

7. Schol. A on this line is interesting as giving one of the few extant specimens of the method of Zoïlos, the famous Ὀμηρομάστιξ—"Ζωῖλος ὁ Ἐφέσιος κατηγορεῖ τοῦ τόπου τούτου, καὶ μέμφεται τῷ ποιητῇ ὅτι λίαν γελοίως πεποίηκεν ἐκ τῶν ὤμων τοῦ Διομήδους καίόμενον πῦρ· ἐκινδύνευσεν γὰρ ἂν καταφλεχθῆναι ὁ ἦρως." The strokes of the lash do not seem to have been very formidable.

9. For this exordium cf. P 575.



- ἱρεὺς Ἥφαιστοιο· δύω δέ οἱ υἱέες ἦστην, 10  
 Φηγεὺς Ἰδαίος τε, μάχης ἐν εἰδότε πάσης·  
 τῷ οἱ ἀποκριθέντε ἐναντίω ὀρμηθήτην·  
 τῷ μὲν ἀφ' ἵπποιν, ὃ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὤρνυτο πεζός.  
 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες,  
 Φηγεὺς ῥα πρότερος προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος· 15  
 Τυδεΐδew δ' ὑπὲρ ὦμον ἀριστερόν ἤλυθ' ἀκωκὴ  
 ἔγχεος, οὐδ' ἔβαλ' αὐτόν. ὃ δ' ὕστερος ὤρνυτο χαλκῷ  
 Τυδεΐδης· τοῦ δ' οὐχ ἄλιον βέλος ἔκφυγε χειρός,  
 ἀλλ' ἔβαλε στήθος μετὰμάzion, ὥσε δ' ἀφ' ἵππων.  
 Ἰδαίος δ' ἀπόρουσε λιπὼν περικαλλέα δίφρον, 20  
 οὐδ' ἔτλη περιβῆναι ἀδελφείου κταμένοιο·  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ κεν αὐτὸς ὑπέκφυγε κῆρα μέλαιναν,  
 ἀλλ' Ἥφαιστος ἔρυτο, σάωσε δὲ νυκτὶ καλύψας,  
 ὥς δὴ οἱ μὴ πάγχυ γέρων ἀκαχήμενος εἴη.

10. ἱερεὺς GHJMOPQ. || υἱέες\* L. || ἦστην: ἦτην D (p. ras.) JL: ἦσῃην NQ  
 (supr. CT): ἦσαν C. 11 om. Q. || ἰδοτε Ambr. 12. ἀποκριθέντες AHP:  
 ἀποκριθέντες OQ (Harl. a supr.): ἀποκριθέντες Ω. || ἐναντίω ACDJLT Ambr.:  
 ἐναντίον Ω. || ὀρμηθήτην DLNOQ Ambr.: ὠρμηθήτην Ω (including A, T.W.A.).  
 13 om. Ct. 15. πρότερον Q. 16. τυδεΐδου G. 17. δ' ὕστερος: δὲ  
 δεύτερος Vr. a. 20. ἐπόρουσε N. || ἀπόρουσεν ἰδὼν P. 21. περιμεΐναι  
 PQR. || ἀδελφεοῦ Q.

10. Hephaistos, like Athene, though represented as allied with the Greeks, is worshipped in Troy. ἦστην: here only.

12. ἀποκριθέντες, separating themselves from the throng. οἱ: for the dat. after ἐναντίος cf. I 190, A 67, but it is only here used of hostile meeting, in which sense the gen. is commoner.

17. αὐτόν seems to be used in the later weak sense = μιν, not to contrast the man with something else. Van L. conj. ἔβαλέν F', ὃ δὲ δεύτερος, on the ground that, except in the identical II 479, δεύτερος, not ὕστερος, is always used in this sense.

19. μετὰμάzion = μετὰ τοῖς μαζοῖς, between the breasts. For similar cases, where an adjective compounded with a preposition and a substantive expresses the same idea as a preposition governing a case, we may compare μετὰδόρπιος (μετὰ δόρπον) δ 194, μετὰδήμιος, καταθύμιος, ὑπὸρῥίσιος, ἐπομφάλιον (H 267), and others; and for the special use of μετὰ, expressing 'between' two or more things, compare in later Greek μεταίχμιος, μετακόσμιος, μετακύμιος, μεταπύργιον. The

word here (as in H 267) is rather a neuter used as an adverb than an adjective agreeing with στήθος.

20. ἀπόρουσε, either in order to escape, when οὐδέ = 'and . . . not'; or to defend his brother, when οὐδέ = 'but . . . not' (so Schol. A). κατηγορεῖ καὶ τούτου τοῦ τόπου ὁ Ζωΐλος, ὅτι λίαν, φησί, γελοῖως πεποίηκεν ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν Ἰδαῖον ἀπολιπόντα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὸ ἄρμα φεύγειν· ἡδύνατο γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἵπποισιν.

21. For ἀδελφείου Ahrens, no doubt rightly, reads ἀδελφείο: this alteration can always be made wherever ἀδελφείου occurs, and all other cases are from ἀδελφείος in Homer.

22. On the double οὐδέ Schol. A rightly remarks, ἔστιν ἡ μία μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ πράγματος, θατέρω δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ προσώπου: i.e. the second οὐδέ goes with αὐτός and contrasts the two persons; the first contrasts the two events (one real, the other hypothetical). Cf. B 703, Z 130.

24. οἱ, i.e. his old priest, their father. ἀκαχήμενος, according to the traditional explanation, is a perfect with 'Aeolic

ἵππους δ' ἐξελάσας μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱὸς 25  
 δῶκεν ἐταίροισιν κατάγειν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας.  
 Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ἐπεὶ ἴδον υἷε Δάρητος  
 τὸν μὲν ἀλευάμενον, τὸν δὲ κτάμενον παρ' ὄχεσφι,  
 πᾶσιν ὀρίνθη θυμός· ἀτὰρ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 χειρὸς ἐλοῦσ' ἐπέεσσι προσηύδα θοῦρον Ἄρηα· 30  
 “Ἄρες, Ἄρες βροτολογιγέ, μαιφόνε, τειχεσιπλῆτα,  
 οὐκ ἂν δὴ Τρῶας μὲν ἐάσαιμεν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς  
 μάρνασθ', ὅπποτέροισι πατὴρ Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀρέξῃ;  
 νῶϊ δὲ χαζώμεσθα, Διὸς δ' ἀλεώμεθα μῆνιν.”  
 ὧς εἰποῦσα μάχης ἐξήγαγε θοῦρον Ἄρηα. 35  
 τὸν μὲν ἔπειτα καθείσεν ἐπ' ἡϊόντι Σκαμάνδρῳ,  
 Τρῶας δ' ἔκλιναν Δαναοί· ἔλε δ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστος  
 ἡγεμόνων. πρῶτος δὲ ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων  
 ἀρχὸν Ἀλιζώνων, Ὀδίων μέγαν, ἔκβαλε δίφρου·  
 πρῶτῳ γὰρ στρεφθέντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πῆξεν 40  
 ὤμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσε.  
 [δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.]

27. δὲ: δὴ G<sup>2</sup>. 28. ἀλευάμενον: ἀλευόμενον An. (in lemma; Ar. ? v. 444). 29. ὀρύνη MR (*supr.* i). || αὐτὰρ MQ. 30. ἐλοῦσα ἐπεσσι G. 31. τειχεσιπλῆτα Zen. King's<sup>1</sup> (Par. a *supr.* d *supr.*), γρ. O: τείχεσι πλῆκτα D. 32. ἐάσωμεν P. 33. ὀρέξει CMQ Vr. a<sup>1</sup> c: ὀρέξοι L (*supr.* h). 34. χαζώμεθα DG<sup>1</sup>PQ: χαζώμεθα R. 36. μὲν ἔπειτα: μετέπειτα S. || καμάνδρῳ(i) C (*p. ras.*) GLQR<sup>1</sup>. 38. πρῶτος: πρότερος H. 41 om. Lips.<sup>t</sup> || ὦμων J. 42 om. ACT<sup>t</sup> Eton.<sup>t</sup>

accent'; and so the infin. ἀκάχθσθαι. But it would seem preferable to regard these forms as non-thematic presents (*H. G.* § 19) of the ε- stem ἀκαχε-, of which we have a trace in the aor. ἀκάχσσε. There is a perf. of different formation in ἀκηχέδαται P 637, ἀκηχέμενος Σ 29. The reduplication in this verb extends through all forms. ἀλάλσθαι is an analogous case.

31. \*Ἄρες, Ἄρες: see Appendix D for the scansion of Ἄρης, and for the effect of the first arsis in lengthening a short syllable. The name is found with long *ā* chiefly in the last foot, but occasionally in the first (518, 594, Δ 441, etc.), more rarely in the second (827, 829), and fourth, Σ 264; in all cases *in arsi*. Bekker, following Ixion, wrote the second word *ápés*, taking it as the adj. of which the compar. and superl. *ἀρείων* and *ἀριστος* are familiar, but it cannot here be separated from the proper name. It is, however, remarkable that H. nowhere

else repeats a word without change twice in immediate succession, common though the practice is in later poets; a long list of instances is given by Bekker *H. B.* 194. The most similar phrases in H. are αἰνόθεν αἰνώς, οἰόθεν οἶος, and others which will be found in the exhaustive catalogue given by Bekker l.c. τειχεσιπλῆτα, coming near to walls, in hostile sense, like ἐπληντ' ἀλλήλησι Δ 449, etc.

33. ὀπποτέροισι, i.e. to see to which party Zeus will give.

36. ἡϊόντι: a word of quite unknown signification, occurring in this place only. The obvious derivation from ἡϊών is hardly possible for phonetic reasons; and ἡϊών is always used of the shore of the sea, not of a river. ἐπὶ Γιέντι Brandreth; cf. *Et. Mag.* παρὰ τὸ ἱόν ἰόεις καὶ πλεονασμῷ τοῦ η ἡϊόεις.

37. ἔκλιναν, as Lat. *inclinare aciem*.

40. πρῶτῳ στρεφέντι, i.e. turning to flee before all the others.

Ἴδομενεὺς δ' ἄρα Φαῖστον ἐνήρατο, Μήιονος υἱὸν  
 Βώρου, ὃς ἐκ Τάρνης ἐριβόλακος εἰληλούθει.  
 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Ἴδομενεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἔγχεϊ μακρῶι  
 νύξ' ἵππων ἐπιβησόμενον κατὰ δεξιὸν ὤμων.  
 ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων, στυγερὸς δ' ἄρα μιν σκότος εἶλε.  
 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Ἴδομενῆος ἐσύλουν θεράποντες.  
 υἱὸν δὲ Στροφίοιο Σκαμάνδριον, αἴμονα θήρης,  
 Ἀτρεΐδης Μενέλαος ἔλ' ἔγχεϊ ὀξυόεντι,  
 ἐσθλὸν θηρητῆρα· δίδαξε γὰρ Ἀρτεμις αὐτὴ  
 βάλλειν ἄγρια πάντα, τά τε τρέφει οὔρεσιν ὕλη.  
 ἀλλ' οὐ οἱ τότε γε χαρίσμ' Ἀρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα,  
 οὐδὲ ἐκηβολίαι, ἦισιν τὸ πρὶν γ' ἐκέκαστο.

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43. ἐνήρατο J<sup>t</sup> (*e corr.*) J<sup>m</sup>, γρ. ἐνήρατο J<sup>m</sup>: \*νήρατο R (ε *in ras.*). || μαίονος C: τέκτονος H (*e corr.*). 44. βώρου Q. || ἔκ τ' ἄρνης GJ Cant.: ἐξ ἄρνης Vr. a. || ἡληλούθει Q. 45. μακρῶι: χαλκῶ JL. 47. σκότος: μόρος MN. 48. ἐσύλεον ἐσθλοὶ ἐταῖροι MNS (αἰετοὶ). 49. στροφίου J. || καμάνδριον C (*p. ras.*) GLQRS Vr. a, Mosc. 1 (*e corr.*). 51. αὐτῇ: ἐσθλῇ PQ. 52. τά: ἃ Q. 53. γε om. GLNR. || χαρίσμεν θανάτοιο πέλωρα Zen. 54. αἶα G. || πρὶν (*om. r*) GLMQ.

44. Τάρνη, πόλις Ἀνδίας ἢ νῦν Σάρδεις, Schol. A. What ground there was for this assertion we cannot say.

46. ἐπιβησόμενον: on the question whether this form is really a future see *H. G.* § 41, where it is pointed out that in some cases the forms in -σόμενον are used as imperfects; while in § 244 it is called a future. The latter better suits Ψ 379 αἰεὶ γὰρ δίφρου ἐπιβησομένοισιν εἵκτην: compare λ 608 αἰεὶ βαλέοντι εὐκῶς. If it means 'as he was about to mount,' it is one of the few cases in H. where the fut. part. is used otherwise than predicatively with a verb of motion. See *H. G.* § 244. The words ἤριπε ἐξ ὀχέων do not afford any criterion, as they might be used of one who, as about to mount, had one foot in the chariot.

48. θεράποντες, here *retainers* in the wider sense; generally each hero has only one θεράπων, an immediate personal attendant or 'squire,' who in the case of Idomeneus is Meriones.

49. αἴμονα: a word of doubtful meaning and derivation. Eur. *Hec.* 90 evidently took it to mean 'bloody,' which will not suit here (Aisch. *Supp.* 847 is hopelessly corrupt). It seems natural to connect it with αἰμῶλος, and translate 'wily in the chase,' but no

satisfactory etymology of either word has been given.

50. ὀξυόεις: ὀξύς: φαίδιμοις (N 686): φαίδιμος: cf. also μεσῆεις. According to Göbel (*de epith. Hom. in -eis desinentibus*) all forms in -eis are derived from substantives, and thus these two words must come from the neuter of the adj. used substantively: ὀξυόεις = furnished with an ὀξύ, i.e. sharp point; φαίδιμοις = endowed with φαίδιμα, i.e. gleaming armour. One old derivation was from ὀξύη, 'made of beechwood,' but the termination -eis never indicates material; and the spears of Homer are always made, not of beech, but of ash. But see Eur. *Heracleid.* 727 τεύχη κόμισε, χειρὶ δ' ἔνθες ὀξύην, and Archil. *ap.* Schol. B (Porphyrios) Z 201 ὀξύη ποτάτω.

53. Zenod. here had the remarkable reading χαρίσμεν θανάτοιο πέλωρα, which he can hardly have invented; for a somewhat similar use of πέλωρα we might compare B 321 δεινὰ πέλωρα θεῶν, 'dire portents,' and as the word in H. is always used of living creatures it may be paralleled by B 302 κῆρες θανάτοιο. It is a serious question if this is not a case where 'faciliori lectioni praestat difficilior.' ἰοχέαιρα, *pourer of arrows*, cf. 618 δοῦρατ' ἔχεναν: not of course from χαίρω.

ἀλλά μιν Ἀτρεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος 55  
 πρόσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα μετάφρενον οὔτασε δουρὶ  
 [ὥμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσεν].  
 ἦριπε δὲ πρηνῆς, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῶι.  
 Μηριόνης δὲ Φέρεκλον ἐνήρατο, Τέκτονος υἱὸν 60  
 Ἀρμονίδεω, ὃς χερσὶν ἐπίστατο δαίδαλα πάντα  
 τεύχειν· ἔξοχα γάρ μιν ἐφίλατο Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·  
 ὃς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τεκτῆνατο νῆας εἵσας  
 ἀρχεκάκους, αἱ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γένοντο  
 οἱ τ' αὐτῶι, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι θεῶν ἐκ θέσφατα ἤιδη.  
 τὸν μὲν Μηριόνης, ὅτε δὴ κατέμαρπτε διώκων, 65  
 βεβλήκει γλουτὸν κάτα δεξιόν· ἡ δὲ διαπρὸ  
 ἀντικρὺ κατὰ κύστιν ὑπ' ὀστέον ἤλυθ' ἀκωκῇ.  
 γυνὴ δ' ἔριπ' οἰμῶξας, θάνατος δὲ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψε.  
 Πηδαιον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε Μέγης, Ἀντήνορος υἱόν,  
 ὃς ῥα νόθος μὲν ἦν, πύκα δ' ἔτρεφε διὰ Θεανώ, 70  
 ἶσα φίλοισι τέκεσσι, χαριζομένη πόσει ὦι.

55. δουρικλειτὸς DP: δουρὶ, κλυτὸς A: δουρικλυτὸς Ω. 57 om. A<sup>+</sup>CDN<sup>UT</sup> (added in T<sup>m</sup> by Rhosos) Lips. || μεσσηγύ R. 58. δὲ πρηνῆς: δ' ἐξ ὀχέων MS Harl. a (γρ. πρηνῆς MS Harl. a). 60. ἀρμονίδαο G. || πάντα and πολλά Ar. διχῶς. 61. τεύζειν J (*supr.* χεῖν). || φίλατο N: ἐφίλησε S: γρ. ἐφίλησε O. 64 ἄθ. Ar. || ἤιδη: ἤ(ι)δει CMNPQ (and J *supr.*). 65. κατέμαρπε Q. 66. ἠδὲ J. 68. γνῶς P. 69. υἱὸς Q. 70. ἔτραφε PT.

59. Τέκτονος seems to be a proper name derived from its owner's calling, like Τυχίος H 220, Δαίδαλος, Βουκολίων Z 22, Φήμιος Τερπιάδης the minstrel χ 330. So the name of the father "Ἀρμων means the *joiner*. In θ 114 we have the patronymic Τεκτονίδης. ὅς in 60 and 62 no doubt refers to the principal person, Phereklos; so that the craft is represented as hereditary in three generations.

60. δαίδαλα: always a subst. in H., the adj. being δαιδάλεος.

63. Herodotos was obviously thinking of this line when he said of the ships which the Athenians sent at the request of Aristagoras to help the Ionians against the Persians, αὐταὶ αἱ νέες ἀρχὴ κακῶν ἐγένοντο "Ἐλληνί τε καὶ βαρβάροις, v. 97.

64. Schol. A ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι οὐχ ὑγιῶς ἐξενήνοχεν, αἱ πᾶσι κακὸν Τρώεσσι γέγοντο ἐαυτῶι τε. ἔδει γὰρ αὐτῶι τε. ἡ δὲ οἱ ὀρθοτονεῖται νῦν διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν. This scholion contains two different views: the first—down to αὐτῶι τε—is that of Aristonikos and Ar., that οἱ standing at the beginning of the line must be ortho-

tone and therefore reflexive (see H. G. § 253); but that the reflexive sense is inadmissible here, because the subject of the clause is νῆες: hence the line must be spurious. The second opinion is probably that of Herodianos, that the οἱ is really anaphoric, not reflexive (= αὐτῶι, not ἐαυτῶι), but that it is orthotone because it stands at the beginning of the line (διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν). The latter view is taken by La Roche (H. U. 141). It is, however, possible to take αὐτῶι as reflexive = *sibi ipsi*, i.e. to Phereklos, who is the subject of the principal sentence though not of the relative clause. Schol. A says, Ἑλλάνικὸς φησι χρησμὸν δοθῆναι τοῖς Τρωσὶν ἀπέχεσθαι μὲν ναυτικίας, γεωργίας δὲ προσέχειν, μὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ χρώμενοι ἀπολέσωσιν ἐαυτοὺς τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν. Observe that θεῶν ἐκ goes closely with θέσφατα, cf. θεῶν ἀπο μῆδεα εἰδὼς § 12.

70. Θεανώ: see Z 298, A 224. Paley compares Eur. Andr. 224 καὶ μαστὸν ᾗδῃ πολλάκις νύθοισι σοῖς ἐπέσχον, ἵνα σοι μηδὲν ἐνδολεῖν πικρόν.



τὸν μὲν Φυλεΐδης δουρικλυτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἐλθὼν  
 βεβλήκει κεφαλῆς κατὰ ἰνίον ὀξεῖ δουρί·  
 ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀν' ὀδόντας ὑπὸ γλῶσσαν τάμε χαλκός.  
 ἥριπε δ' ἐν κονίῃ, ψυχρὸν δ' ἔλε χαλκὸν ὀδοῦσιν.

75

Εὐρύπυλος δ' Ἐναιμονίδης Ὑψήνορα δῖον,  
 υἱὸν ὑπερθύμου Δολοπίονος, ὅς ῥα Σκαμάνδρου  
 ἀρητῆρ ἐτέτυκτο, θεὸς δ' ὥς τίετο δῆμωι,  
 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Εὐρύπυλος Ἐναιμόνος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
 πρόσθεν ἔθεν φεύγοντα μεταδρομάδην ἔλασ' ὦμον  
 φασγάνωι αἶξας, ἀπὸ δ' ἔξεσε χεῖρα βαρεῖαν,  
 αἱματόεσσα δὲ χεῖρ πεδίωι πέσε· τὸν δὲ κατ' ὅσσε  
 ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή.

80

ὥς οἱ μὲν πονέοντο κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην·  
 Τυδεΐδην δ' οὐκ ἂν γνοίης ποτέροισι μετεῖη,  
 ἧὲ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὀμιλέοι ἦ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖς.  
 θύνε γὰρ ἅμ πεδίον ποταμῶι πλήθοντι ἐοικὼς  
 χειμάρρῳι, ὅς τ' ὦκα ῥέων ἐκέδασσε γεφύρας·  
 τὸν δ' οὐτ' ἄρ τε γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι ἰσχανόωσιν,

85

72. δουρικλειτὸς P. 73. δουρί: χαλκῶ M (*supr.* δουρί: Harl. a has δουρί only) Vr. b. 75. ΚΟΝΪΗ: ΚΟΝΪΗ(Ι)C(Ι) ADH<sup>2</sup>PQRT Par. f g: ἐν ἄλλωι ἥριπε δ' ἔξ ὀχέων A. 77. καμάνδρου C (*p. ras.*) GLQR (*supr.* c) Vr. b. 78. ἐτίετο DMP. 79 *om.* Q. 81 *om.* Qt. || ἀποδέελε M (not Harl. a). 86. ὀμίλεεν R: ὀμιλέει GQ Vr. a (P seems to have ὀμίλεεν altered to -εοι). 89. ἐεργμέναι Ar. Par. h: ἐργμέναι P.

73. ἰνίον, the great tendon at the back of the neck which holds the head upright; K 456, Ξ 495. The blow was thus given from behind.

74. ὑπὸ τάμε, cut away at the root (Cauer conj. ἀπό, which is needless). ἀνά, *up through* the teeth.

77. ὅς, Dolopion, not Hypsenor; for the priests do not appear ever to fight in H. ἀρητῆρ: cf. Φ 131 for the worship paid to the river-god Skamandros.

81. χεῖρα = *fore-arm*, as often.

83. πορφύρεος, *dark*; used of what we call the 'cold' colours, from blue to violet. Cf. T 418 νεφέλη δέ μιν ἀμφεκάλυψε κνανέη. Thus the metaphor may be taken from the approach of a thunder-cloud.

85. οὐκ ἂν γνοίης: cf. Γ' 220.

88. χειμάρρῳι, *winter-torrent*, of sudden winter rains or melting snow. For ἐκέδασσε Naber and Nauck conj. ἐκέασσε, *splits* (Π 347); but this would be more in place of the bursting of a reservoir; here the picture is rather

that of the gradual carrying away of the banks. But compare the imitation in Virg. *Aen.* ii. 496 *aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis*, etc.

89. ἐεργμέναι, *fenced close*, drawn so as to make a fence to the stream. The γέφυραι are evidently here *embankments* along the sides of the torrents; and this, not 'bridge', is the regular meaning of the word in H. This, Fäsi's explanation, is sufficiently defended, perhaps, by Π 481 φρένες ἔρχεται ἀμφ' αἰνὸν κῆρ, *the midriff forms a fence about the heart*. φράσσειν similarly has a double use, (1) *to fence in* a space; (2) *to make a fence of*, e.g. N 130 (φράξαντες τὰ γέρρα Herod. ix. 61); and so also καλύπτω, cf. note on 315 below. Compare also Virgil *Aen.* ii. 497 *oppositas evicit gurgite moles* (*spumeus amnis*). Most editors have adopted Ar.'s reading ἐεργμέναι, which is explained either 'joined together in long lines,' or 'bound' in the sense of *πυκνῶς ἀραρυῖαι*. Neither of these is very satisfactory; *εἶρω* always means 'to

- οὐτ' ἄρα ἔρκεα ἴσχει ἀλώων ἐριθηλέων 90  
 ἐλθόντ' ἐξαπίνης, ὅτ' ἐπιβρίσῃ Διὸς ὄμβρος·  
 πολλὰ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔργα κατήριπε κάλ' αἰζηῶν.  
 ὥς ὑπὸ Τυδεΐδῃ πυκινὰ κλονέοντο φάλαγγες  
 Τρώων, οὐδ' ἄρα μιν μίννον πολέες περ εὔντες.  
 τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς 95  
 θύνοντ' ἄμ πεδίον πρὸ ἔθεν κλονέοντα φάλαγγας,  
 αἰψ' ἐπὶ Τυδεΐδῃ ἐπιταίνοτο καμπύλα τόξα,  
 καὶ βάλ' ἐπαΐσσοντα, τυχὼν κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον,  
 θώρηκος γύαλον· διὰ δ' ἔπτατο πικρὸς οἰστός,  
 ἀντικρὺ δὲ διέσχε, παλάσσετο δ' αἵματι θώρηξ. 100  
 τῷ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄνσε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·  
 “ὄρυσθε, Τρῶες μεγάθυμοι, κέντορες ἵππων·  
 βέβληται γὰρ ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν, οὐδέ ἔφηνι  
 δῆθ' ἀνσχίσεσθαι κρατερὸν βέλος, εἰ ἐτέον με  
 ὠρσεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀπορνύμενον Λυκίηθεν.” 105

90. ἐρισηλάων GP<sup>1</sup>Q. 91. ἐπιβρίσει CDLMQ: ἐπιβρύσει P: ἐπιβρίσει U.  
 92. δ': ε' P. || κάλλ' Q. 93. πυκινὰ S. 96. ἄμ: ἄν T. || προέσεν U<sup>1</sup>:  
 πρόσεν U<sup>2</sup> Vr. c. 97. τυδεΐδew Vr. b. 98. τυχὼν N. 104. δῆθ' ἀν-  
 σχήσεσθαι Ar. Ω: δῆθ' ἀνσχίσεσθαι NOSU Par. b c g<sup>1</sup> (and γρ. J): δῆθ' αἰσχίσε-  
 σθαι J: δῆθ' ἀνασχίσεσθαι CLMQ Par. f, Lips. Mor.: δῆθ' ἀνασχέσθαι G. βέλος  
 Ar. Ω: μένος U<sup>1</sup> (ἢ βέλος U<sup>2</sup>).

connect together by a rope or string' (cf. ο 460, σ 296 ὄρμον χρύσειον, ἡλέκτροισιν ἐρμένον, *strung with amber beads*), and the transition from this to the sense required for the text is not very simple. There is a possible alternative, to read ἐέργμεναι as an infin.; *the dams do not hold it back, so as to keep it within bounds*; but the order is not natural.

90. ἔρκεα ἴσχει: F ἴσχει Brandreth, van L. But the regular order of words calls rather for ἄρα F' ἔρκεα. In any case one hiatus is left. It is unlikely that ἔρκος ever had F; the only strong evidence is σ 102 ποτὶ ἐρκίον αὐλῆς. In all other cases the F is either superfluous or impossible.

92. ἔργα, agricultural works, especially tilled fields; see B 751.

95. Λυκάονος υἱός, Pandaros, see Δ 89, etc.

99. The θώρηκος γύαλον causes difficulty. There is no doubt that it means the (front) plate of the cuirass; but later on (112-3, 795-9) it seems clear that Diomedes is not wearing a cuirass at all. It seems necessary to suppose that 99-100 were interpolated at

a time when it was a matter of course that the hoplite wore a θώρηξ, and the mention of it therefore seemed indispensable. See App. B.

100. διέσχε, *held on its way through*, cf. N 519 δι' ὤμων δ' ὄβριμον ἐγχος ἔσχε.

105. The country of Pandaros is called Λυκίη here and 173 only; the inhabitants are always Τρῶες (e.g. 200). Elsewhere we only hear of the city of Zeleia as Pandaros' home (e.g. B 824). It is impossible to say how the name of Lykia was attached to this obscure town. The only links with the well-known Lykia seem to be the name of Lykaon, the epithet λυκηγενής given to Apollo (Δ 101), and the fact pointed out by Fellows that in Lykia proper there was a city Tlos and a tribe of Τλωες. Whether there was any tradition which connected these with the Τρῶες we cannot say. Of course it is possible that two sections of a Lykian tribe bearing that name may have settled in distant regions; but it is more probable that the coincidence of name is merely accidental, especially as Λύκιος was not a native name (see note on Δ 101).

ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· τὸν δ' οὐ βέλος ὠκὺ δάμασσεν,  
ἀλλ' ἀναχωρήσας πρόσθ' ἵπποιον καὶ ὄχεσφιν  
ἔστη, καὶ Σθένηλον προσέφη Καπανῆιον υἱόν·

“ὄρσο, πέπον Καπανηϊάδῃ, καταβήσσο διφρου,  
ὄφρά μοι ἐξ ὥμοιο ἐρύσσης πικρὸν οἶστόν.”

110

ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, Σθένηςλος δὲ καθ' ἵππων αἶλτο χαμάζε,  
πὰρ δὲ στάς βέλος ὠκὺ διαμπερές ἐξέρυσ' ὤμου·  
αἶμα δ' ἀνηκόντιζε διὰ στρεπτοῖο χιτῶνος.

δὴ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἡρᾶτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·

“κλυθί μοι, αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, ἀτρυτώνη,

115

εἴ ποτέ μοι καὶ πατρὶ φίλα φρονέουσα παρέστης

δηῖωι ἐν πολέμωι, νῦν αὖτ' ἐμὲ φῖλαι, Ἀθήνη·

δὸς δέ τέ μ' ἄνδρα ἐλεῖν καὶ ἐς ὀρμὴν ἐγχεος ἐλθεῖν,

106. φάτ' ἐπευχόμενος MPRU Vr. b. || ὠκὺ: γρ. ὀξύ 'Sch. Vrat. et Mosc. 1' (Heyne). 107. ἀναχωρήσας: ἀναχασσάμενος P. 109. ὄρσο S Vr. A: ὄρσο NO Vr. a c, Mosc. 3. 110. ὥμοι' Q. 112. ὥμων NQ. 115. μοι: μευ JNOQ Cant.: μου M Harl. a. 117. φῖλαι (φίλαι) ANST<sup>1</sup> Mosc. 1, Eust. (and γρ. O): φίλα U<sup>1</sup>: φίλα U<sup>2</sup>: φίλε' Ω. 118. δὸς δέ τέ μ': τὸν δέ τέ μ' is given as a variant in a corrupt Schol. A: v. Ludw. *ad loc.*

109. πέπον is here evidently not a term of reproach (see B 235), but merely a form of courteous address. Cf. Z 55, I 252. καταβήσσο: cf. 46.

112. διαμπερές, *right through* the wound, in order not to have to pull the barbs backwards; the shaft of the arrow is of course cut off. Cf. Δ 213 for the opposite process; the barbs not being buried in the flesh the arrow is pulled out backwards. It is apparently implied that Diomedes wore no cuirass; for we should have to suppose either that Sthenelos took off the back-plate, or that the arrow had pierced this also, and was drawn through it.

113. Here again the mention of the χιτῶν alone seems clearly to shew that Diomedes has no breastplate; for it would be strange if the blood were said to spurt through the tunic concealed by the breastplate while the visible breastplate itself is passed over in silence. The meaning of στρεπτός applied to the chiton here and Φ 31 is very uncertain. According to the old interpreters it meant either 'woven'—a sense which cannot be got out of the word or its use—or else, and this was apparently the view of Aristarchos, a 'coat of mail,' chain or scale armour; but this is untenable, as such armour is absolutely

unknown both to H. and to the old monuments. Acc. to Studniczka it implies a mode of weaving in which an extra twist was given to the threads, thus producing a crapy or crinkled surface (Studn. *Beitr.* p. 64). But it is far simpler to understand it to mean no more than *pliant*, as in I 497, O 203, T 248. ἀνηκόντιζε, *darted up*; the metaphor is imitated in Herod. iv. 181 ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἀλὸς ὕδωρ ψυχρόν, Eur. *Hel.* 1587, etc.

115. μοι, dat. as Ω 335 ἐκλυες ὦι κ' ἐθέλησθα, Π 516 ἀκούειν ἀνέρι κηδομένωι, Theog. 4. 13, Solon 13. 2; cf. K 278, etc.—all cases of a god hearkening to prayer. ἀτρυτώνη, B 157.

116. μοι and πατρὶ of course go together, 'my father,' in contrast to the emphatic ἐμέ.

117. φῖλαι: this middle aor. is only used of the love shown to mortals by gods, see 61, K 280, T 304.

118. The variant τὸν δέ (or τόνδε) is accepted by some on the ground that δός may have been inserted to explain the construction of acc. and infin., for which see B 413. The change of subject in ἐλθεῖν, if it means 'that *he* may come,' is very violent, but no emendations are acceptable. It is simple enough to translate 'that *I* may come within spear-

ὅς μ' ἔβαλε φθάμενος καὶ ἐπεύχεται, οὐδέ μέ φησι  
δηρὸν ἔτ' ὄψεσθαι λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο." 120

ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη,  
γυῖα δ' ἔθηκεν ἐλαφρά, πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ὑπερθεν·  
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἵσταμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
“ θαρσῶν νῦν, Διόμηδες, ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι·  
ἐν γάρ τοι στήθεσσι μένος πατρῷον ἦκα 125

ἄτρομον, οἶον ἔχεσκε σακέσπαλος ἵπποτα Τυδεύς·  
ἀγλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλον, ἥ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,  
ὄφρ' ἐν γινώσκῃς ἡμὲν θεὸν ἡδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.  
τῷ νῦν, αἶ κε θεὸς πειρώμενος ἐνθάδ' ἴκηται,  
μή τι σύ γ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖς ἀντικρὺ μάχεσθαι 130  
τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἀτὰρ εἴ κε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη  
ἔλθῃς· ἐς πόλεμον, τήν γ' οὐτάμεν ὀξεί χαλκῶι.”

ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς εἰποῦς' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,  
Τυδείδης δ' ἐξαῦτις ἰὼν προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη·  
καὶ πρὶν περ θυμῶι μεμαῶς Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι, 135

120. ἐόψεσθαι T. 121. φάτο P. 127. δ' om. Q. 128. ΓΙΝΩΣΚΗC  
H<sup>1</sup> (supr. oi) MN<sup>2</sup>O<sup>1</sup>T: ΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΗC N<sup>1</sup>O<sup>2</sup>: ΓΙΝΩΣΚΕΙC Q: ΓΙ(Γ)ΝΩΣΚΟΙC Ω. || ἡδὲ καὶ  
ἄνδρα: ἡδ' ἄνθρωπον Zen. 130. ΜΗ ΤΙ CΥ Γ': μὴ σύ γε NS: μὴ κύπερ  
M. 131. αὐτὰρ JM. 132. ΤΗΝ Γ' and ΤΗΝ Ar. διχῶς: ΤΗΝ δ' JM Par. d:  
ΤΗΝ Γ' οὐτάσαι Zen. 134. ἐξαυθίς C. 135. καὶ περ πρὶν G.

cast of him.' **ἐλεῖν**, *kill*, is put first by a slight *prothysteron*, cf. Ω 206, A 251, and Virgil's *moriamur et in media arma ruamus*. In all cases the second member, though precedent in time, is only secondary in importance. The hiatus is illicit; there is no other evidence of an initial *F*, and very many passages exclude it. *ἀνέρ' ἐλεῖν* (Heyne) or *ἄνδρ' ἐλεῖν* (Brandreth) are simple conjectures.

126. **σακέσπαλος** is proparoxytone, though the verbal element of the compound is employed in a transitive sense; the converse is the case with *μαιφόνος*.

128. The subj. **ΓΙΝΩΣΚΗC** is undoubtedly right after *ἔλον*, because the object of the past action is still future; *H. G.* § 298. 2. It is noteworthy that the mss. have with hardly any exception retained the forms *γινώσκω* and *γίνομαι* against the old Attic *γινγν-*. *γιν-* is common to Ionic, Doric, Thessalian, and Boiotian, and appears to represent a primitive Greek assimilation, through the stage *gingn-* (Brugm. *Gr.* i. p. 364). On the other hand, it prevailed also in

the later *κοινή*, which may of course have affected the mss.

129. **πειρώμενος**, *making trial of thee*, 220, etc.

130. **ἀντικρὺ** is found with the last syllable short only here and 819; this may be counted among the linguistic peculiarities of the passages dealing with the wounding of the gods.

135. **μεμαῶς**, a *nominativus pendens*, the construction being changed in the following line, cf. Z 510. **καὶ** is here probably not *and*, but *even*, and is to be taken closely with **περ**, as elsewhere when the two words occur together; the line being thus added *asyndetically* in explanation of 134. For *καὶ . . περ* at the beginning of a sentence see ν 271 *καὶ χαλεπὸν περ ἔδοντα δεχόμεθα μῦθον, Ἀχαιοί*. In all other instances *καὶ περ* follows the principal verb. Hence many edd. place the comma after *ἐμίχθη*, and the colon after *μάχεσθαι*, so that *μεμαῶς* agrees with *Τυδείδης* in 134. But this gives an entirely false antithesis; *Dionides* does not return to the battle



δὴ τότε μιν τρὶς τόσσον ἔλεν μένος, ὥς τε λέοντα  
 ὦν ῥά τε ποιμὴν ἀγρῶι ἐπ' εἰροπόκοις δῖεσσι  
 χραύσῃ μὲν τ' αὐλῆς ὑπεράλμενον, οὐδὲ δαμάσση·  
 τοῦ μὲν τε σθένος ὤρσεν, ἔπειτα δέ τ' οὐ προσαμύνει,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ σταθμοὺς δύεται, τὰ δ' ἐρήμα φοβεῖται· 140  
 αἱ μὲν τ' ἀγχιστῖναι ἐπ' ἀλλήλησι κέχυνται,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐμμεμαὼς βαθὲς ἐξάλλεται αὐλῆς·  
 ὥς μεμαὼς Τρώεσσι μίγῃ κρατερὸς Διομήδης.  
 ἐνθ' ἔλεν Ἀστυνοὸν καὶ Ὑπείρονα ποιμένα λαῶν,  
 τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ μαζοῖο βαλὼν χαλκῆρεϊ δουρί,  
 τὸν δ' ἕτερον ξίφεϊ μεγάλῳι κληῖδα παρ' ὦμον  
 πλῆξ', ἀπὸ δ' αὐχένος ὦμον ἐέργαθεν ἡδ' ἀπὸ νώτου.

136. ΔΗ ΤΟΤΕ: καὶ δὴ Par. f. || ἔλεν: ἔχεν Ptol. Oroand. 138. χραύσει  
 CO. || δαμάσσει CQTU: δαμάσει Vr. A. 141 om. M (hab. Harl. a). || ἀγχι-  
 στῖναι DJQR: ἀγχιτῖναι or ἀγχιτῖναι Ω. || ἀλλήλοισι DHQR Vr. c, Mosc. 1 2:  
 ἀλλήλοισι G. 144. ὑπείρονα MN: ὑπείρονα PQ. 145. δουρί: χαλκῷ J (γρ.  
 δουρί). 146. τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου Zen. || ἄλλον Vr. b (γρ. ἕτερον). 147. νώτῳ P.

although, but because, he was eager before.

137. ἀγρῶι, i.e. away from the habitations of men.

138. χραύσει: prob. conn. with the aor. (ἐπ)έχραον, ἔχραε, ε 396, II 352, Φ 369, etc., and meaning *grazed*. But Ahrens would separate the two, and explains χραύω to mean 'strike', comparing Herod. vi. 75 ἐνέχραυε ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον τὸ σκῆπτρον, and Hesych. χραύσει· καταξύσει, πλῆξει. αὐλῆς here=the wall of the stading; from 140 it would seem that the stalls are regarded as arranged, with the shepherds' huts, around a courtyard; cf. Σ 589, from which it is clear that such a 'sheep-station' must have been rather extensive.

140. As the line stands τὰ must be the subject, 'they (the sheep) are put to flight, being left alone.' The change from the fem. σῖττα to the neuter, and then immediately back to the fem. αἱ, is however very harsh, far more so than in the passages which are quoted as parallel: II 353 μῆλων . . αἱ τε, Δ 244 χίλια . . αἶγας ὁμοῦ καὶ δῖς, τὰ οἱ ἄσπετα ποιμαίνοντο, Φ 167 τῶι δ' ἐτέρῳ . . ἡ δέ. H. moreover elsewhere uses ἐρῆμος (this is the traditional Epic accentuation) only of places. If we reject 141-2 (see below) we can take the neuter in a vague sense, 'everything is deserted and put to flight.' But it is then tempting to read τὰ δέ μῆλα. δύεται: the nom. may be either

the shepherd, *hides*; or the lion, *enters in*. The associations of the frequent δοῦναι ὄμιλον, πόλεμον, etc., are in favour of the latter.

141. ἀγχιτῖναι, elsewhere only with ἐπιπτον (P 361, χ 118, ω 181, 449), are *thrown down in heaps*. Many mss. read ἀγχιστῖναι, perhaps on the analogy of προμνηστῖναι, λ 233, but the word is evidently a secondary formation from ἀγχιστος.

142. ἐμμεμαὼς answers to μεμαὼς in 135; the lion, like Diomedes, is only the more aroused by the wound, cf. P 735. Bentley, feeling natural difficulty in the conjunction of ἐμμεμαὼς with the retreat implied in ἐξάλλεται, conj. ἐμμαπέως, cf. 836; but the inconsistency lies in the word ἐξάλλεται in its relation to the next line. It is feeble to say 'as furiously as a lion retreats, so furiously did D. attack.' Hence Bayfield would reject 141-2 as an awkward addition meant to supply ἐμμεμαὼς to answer μεμαὼς in 135; the real answer being sufficiently implied in σθένος ὤρσεν. There is no doubt that the omission makes the simile more effective; but in the Epic style one would expect to be told the fate of the sheep. βαθὲς, as ι 239 βαθεῖς ἔκτοθεν αὐλῆς: we should use the converse 'high.'

147. πλῆξε: a change from the participial construction, as Γ 80. ἐέργαθεν: so Δ 437.

τοὺς μὲν ἔασ', ὁ δ' Ἄβαντα μετώιχετο καὶ Πολύιδον,  
 υἱέας Εὐρυδάμαντος ὄνειροπόλοιο γέροντος·  
 τοῖς οὐκ ἐρχομένοις ὁ γέρων ἐκρίνατ' ὀνείρους, 150  
 ἀλλὰ σφεας κρατερὸς Διομήδης ἐξενάριξε.  
 βῆ δὲ μετὰ Ξάνθον τε Θόωνά τε Φαίνοπος υἱε,  
 ἄμφω τηλυγέτω, ὁ δ' ἐτείρετο γήραϊ λυγρῶι,  
 υἷον δ' οὐ τέκετ' ἄλλον ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι λιπέσθαι.  
 ἔνθ' ὃ γε τοὺς ἐνάριξε, φίλον δ' ἐξάλυντο θυμὸν 155  
 ἀμφοτέρω, πατέρι δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ  
 λείπ', ἐπεὶ οὐ ζῶοντε μάχης ἐκνοστήσαντε  
 δέξατο· χηρωσταὶ δὲ διὰ κτήσιν δατέοντο.  
 ἔνθ' υἱας Πριάμοιο δύω λάβε Δαρδανίδαο  
 εἰν ἐνὶ δῖφρῳι ἑόντας, Ἐχέμμονά τε Χρομίον τε. 160  
 ὥς δὲ λέων ἐν βουσὶ θορῶν ἐξ αὐχένα ἄξει

148. ΤΟΥΣ: ΤΟΝ P (*supr.* ΤΟΥΣ). || ΠΟΛΥΕΙΔΟΝ GN<sup>1</sup>O<sup>2</sup>ST (Eust. says that both -ει- and -ι- were ancient). 149. ΕΥΡΥΜΕΔΟΝΤΟΣ M. 152. ΘΕΩΝΑ J.N. 153. ὅδ' ἑτείρατο H. 154. ΤΕΚΕΝ H: ΤΕΚΕ\* U. 155. ΕΝΑΡΙΞΕ D<sup>1</sup>MNOQR (*e corr.*) S Vr. a b A, Mose. 1 3. 156. ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΩΝ Zen. JMNPT Harl. b, Par. f, Cant. Vr. b: ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙΝ King's, Par. j. || ΠΑΤΕΡΙ ΔΕ: ΠΑΤΡΙ ΜΕΝ ΓΕ G. || ΚΗΔΕΪ A. 158. ΔΑΤΕΟΝΤΑΙ Herakleides. 159. ΔΥΟ GH. 160. ΕΟΝΤΑΣ: ΕΟΝΤΕ Aph. ? cf. on A 103. 161. ἄξει CJ (L *supr.*) NR: ἑάξει Q.

150. This line is susceptible of two different interpretations: (a) *the old man interpreted no dreams for them when they were coming (to Troy), i.e. had he foreseen their fate he would have kept them from the war*; (b) *they came not back for the old man to interpret dreams for them.* Though the second has found defenders, yet there can be no doubt that the first is right. The use of *ἐρχόμενος* is exactly the same as in 198; and the sense is quite what is wanted, though the next line is added in a way which is not usual in Homer, as we should have expected to find it explicitly stated, 'if he had they would not have been killed.' But in the second alternative the mention of the discerning of dreams seems quite otiose, unless we are prepared to suppose that the old man thought that a specimen of his peculiar skill would be the best welcome for his returning sons. Moreover, the word for *return home* is not *ἔρχεσθαι* but *νίσσεσθαι* or *ροστεῖν*. A third possibility is given by the Schol. A, *their father prophesied to them that they would not come back.* But even if such a construction of the participle could be admitted it would still remain

a fatal objection that we should want a future, not a present.

153. ΤΗΛΥΓΕΤΩ: see Γ 175; it is obvious here that the word cannot mean 'only child.'

158. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 606 ἀποφθιμένον δὲ διὰ κτήσιν δατέονται χηρωσταί. The general meaning of the word *χηρωσταί* is sufficiently evident from the context, 'inheritors of the bereaved father,' i.e. the next-of-kin, οἱ μακρόθεν συγγενεῖς (Hesych.). The form of the word, however, is not so easily explicable; it should have an active sense, perhaps originally 'those who divided up the estate of the bereaved' for distribution among the tribe at large. But we have no evidence whether in Homeric days the reversion of property (i.e. chattels, not land) belonged to the family or the tribe; nor does the word itself recur, except in the two passages named, and in Qu. Smyrnaeus. Eust. explains it by ὀρφανισταί, *guardians*, used by Soph. *Aj.* 512, and identical in form.

161. Mr. Auden (*C. R.* x. 107) calls attention to the accurate observation embodied in this line, quoting Selous *Big Game Shooting* (Badminton Library)

πόρτιος ἡὲ βοός, ξύλοχον κάτα βοσκομενάων,  
 ὥς τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἐξ ἵππων Τυδεὸς υἱὸς  
 βῆσε κακῶς ἀέκοντας, ἔπειτα δὲ τεύχε' ἐσύλα·  
 ἵππους δ' οἷς ἐτάροισι δίδου μετὰ νῆας ἐλαύνειν. 165  
 τὸν δ' ἶδεν Αἰνεΐας ἀλαπάζοντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν,  
 βῆ δ' ἵμεν ἄν τε μάχην καὶ ἀνὰ κλόνον ἐγχειάων  
 Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζήμενος, εἴ που ἐφεύροι.  
 εὔρε Λυκάονος υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε,  
 στῇ δὲ πρόσθ' αὐτοῖο ἔπος τέ μιν ἀντίον ἦῤα· 170  
 "Πάνδαρε, ποῦ τοι τόξον ἰδὲ πτερόεντες οἶστοι  
 καὶ κλέος; ὦι οὐ τίς τοι ἐρίζεται ἐνθάδε γ' ἀνὴρ,  
 οὐδέ τις ἐν Λυκίῃ σέο γ' εὐχεται εἶναι ἀμείνων.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε τῶιδ' ἔφες ἀνδρὶ βέλος, Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχών,  
 ὅς τις ὅδε κρατέει καὶ δὴ κακὰ πολλὰ ἔοργε 175  
 Τρῶας, ἐπεὶ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἐσθλῶν γούνατ' ἔλυσεν·  
 εἰ μὴ τις θεὸς ἐστι κοτεσσάμενος Τρώεσσιν,  
 ἱρῶν μῆνισας, χαλεπὴ δὲ θεοῦ ἐπὶ μῆνις."

162. πόρτιος : βουκόλου Zen. 166 om. O<sup>t</sup>. || ἀλαπάζοντα P. 167. βα  
 ρ' P. 169. εὔρε δὲ MOPT. 172. γ' om. JQ. 173. γ' om. Q. 174.  
 ἀφες GJ (γρ. ἔφες) PQ Vr. a. 178. ἱερῶν G.

i. 327 'A single large male lion will kill a heavy ox or a buffalo cow without using his teeth at all, by *breaking its neck*, or rather causing the frightened beast to break its own neck' in the manner there described. So also A 175.

162. For ἡὲ Bentley conj. ἡδέ, on the ground that the point of the simile lies in the *double* slaughter, and hence the plural βοσκομενάων, which may, however, with a slight but natural irregularity, be taken to mean 'as they (i.e. one or other of them) are feeding.'

164. κακῶς seems to go closely with ἀέκοντας, as 698 κακῶς κεκαφῆότα θυμόν, β 266 κακῶς ὑπερηγορόεντες.

165. οἶς: αῶ Heyne, αῖθ' Brandreth, to save the F.

168-9. See Δ 88-9.

170. ἦῤα: only here with double accus., which is, however, often found with προσῆδα and προσέειπε. We have Ἑρμείαν ἀντίον ἦῤα ε 28, and Ἐκτορα εἶπε M 60.

171. ποῦ τοι τόξον: cf. O 440 ποῦ νύ τοι τοί; In the next line ὦι may refer either to τόξον or to κλέος in the sense of 'famous skill.'

175. ὅδε, predicative = *here*; cf. T 117 Αἰνεΐας ὅδ' ἔβη, α 185 νηὺς δέ μοι ἦδ' ἔστηκεν. 175-6 = II 424-5.

178. ἱρῶν μῆνισας, like εἴ ταρ ὃ γ' εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται ἡδ' ἐκατόμβης A 65, q.v. The exact connexion of the clause χαλεπὴ . . μῆνις is not clear; it may mean *the wrath of a god weighs heavy upon men*, or it may go with the preceding, *and the wrath of the god be heavy upon us*. The former will give a reason why, if this enemy be a god, it is not well to provoke him further, the latter will explain why a god should condescend to such slaughter. But Ameis-Hentze read, with Ar., ἐπιμῆνις, taking ἐπι- to indicate wrath aimed in a particular direction; on the ground that in all other cases where ἐπι=ἐπεστι it is used of the actual presence of something with a distinct relation to some person. This is a strong argument against taking the clause as a general reflexion; but it leaves untouched the alternative of taking it closely with the preceding εἰ-clause, and perhaps this is the most probable explanation, as ἐπιμῆνις is a compound which can hardly be supported by analogy.

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·  
 "Αἰνεία, Τρώων βουλευφόρε χαλκοχιτώνων, 180  
 Τυδεΐδῃ μιν ἐγὼ γε δαΐφρονι πάντα ἔϊσκω,  
 ἀσπίδι γινώσκων αὐλώπιδί τε τρυφαλείῃ,  
 ἵππους τ' εἰσορόων· σάφα δ' οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ θεός ἐστιν.  
 εἰ δ' ὃ γ' ἀνὴρ ὃν φημι, δαΐφρων Τυδέος υἱός,  
 οὐχ ὃ γ' ἀνευθε θεοῦ τάδε μαίνεται, ἀλλὰ τις ἄγχι 185  
 ἔστηκ' ἀθανάτων νεφέλῃ εἰλυμένος ὦμος,  
 ὃς τούτου βέλος ὠκὺ κιχήμενον ἔτραπεν ἄλλῃ.  
 ἦδη γάρ οἱ ἐφῆκα βέλος, καὶ μιν βάλον ὦμον  
 δεξιόν, ἀντικρὺ διὰ θώρηκος γυάλοιο,  
 καὶ μιν ἐγὼ γ' ἐφάμην Ἀἰδωνῇ προΐάψειν, 190  
 ἔμπης δ' οὐκ ἐδάμασσα· θεός νύ τίς ἐστι κοτήεις.  
 ἵπποι δ' οὐ παρέασι καὶ ἄρματα, τῶν κ' ἐπιβαίην·  
 ἀλλὰ πού ἐν μεγάροισι Λυκάονος ἔνδεκα δίφροι  
 καλοὶ πρωτοπαγεῖς νεοτευχέες, ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλοι

181. ΜΙΝ: ΜΕΝ G (O *supr.*) Harl. d; Ar. διχῶς. 182. ΓΙΝΩΣΚΩ P: ΓΙΓΝΩ-  
 ΣΚΩΝ CJLM<sup>2</sup>N<sup>2</sup>U. 183 ἀθ. Ar. || ἵππους δ' MQ. || σάφα οὐκ Q. 184. δ':  
 ο' J. || ὃ γ': ὅδ' JP Cant. 185. ὃ γ': ὅδ' Q: ὅς' J. 187 ἀθ. Zen. ||  
 ΚΙΧΗΜΕΝΟΣ S *supr.* 188. γάρ ρ D. 191. ΝΥ: ΔΗ J (γρ. ΝΥ). || ΤΙΣ: ΤΟΙ C.  
 193. ΜΕΓΑΡΟΙΣ HT. 194. Ζηνόδοτος μετέθηκεν An. (Ludw. conjectures that Zen.  
 omitted the line and wrote πρωτοπαγεῖς for πέπανται in 195).

181. The variant μὲν for μιν may  
 point, as Platt says (*J. P.* xvii. 129),  
 to an older μὲν ἐγὼ Fe.

182. There is no distinct trace in H. of  
 the devices borne on shields which play  
 so prominent a part in the *Septem* of  
 Aischylos, and are frequently repre-  
 sented on vase-paintings; nor of course  
 can the mention of the helmet be taken  
 to indicate anything like the mediaeval  
 crest. But every chieftain would be  
 sure to adopt some peculiarity in the  
 shape of his shield and helmet. Cf. A  
 526 εὖ δέ μιν ἔγνω· εὐρὺ γὰρ ἀμφ'  
 ὤμοισιν ἔχει σάκος. For τρυφαλείῃ see  
 on I' 372.

183. εἰ θεός ἐστιν: we say 'if he is  
 not a god'; the words imply a slight  
 disposition to accept the affirmative.  
 Cf. γ 216 τίς δ' οἶδ' εἰ κέ ποτέ σφι  
 βίας ἀποτίσεται ἐλθών; Ar. needlessly  
 athetized the line, on the ground that  
 Pandaros has really no doubt. But the  
 very next words obviously imply at least  
 a rhetorical uncertainty.

187. (ἡ διπλῇ περιεστιγμένη) ὅτι Ζηνό-  
 δοτος ἠθέτηκεν αὐτόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπάπτετο

ἄλλῃ τὸ βέλος, ἀλλ' ἐτυχεν αὐτοῦ. οὐ  
 λέγει δὲ ὅτι καθόλου ἀπέτυχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι  
 ἐπὶ καίριον τόπον φερόμενον παρέτρεψεν.  
 But this explanation seems forced, and  
 most edd. agree with Zenod. in reject-  
 ing the line. Nor is it a satisfactory  
 resource to take ἔτραπεν ἄλλῃ as =  
*brought to naught*; such a derived sense  
 of ἄλλος is rather Attic than Homeric,  
 and is not sufficiently supported by A  
 120. For the gen. τούτου, away from  
 him, we may compare πάλιν τράπεθ' υἱὸς  
 εἰσο Σ 138. Or we may take it, as gen.  
 of hitting, with ΚΙΧΗΜΕΝΟΝ, just as it  
 was reaching him.

189. An interpolated line to bring in  
 the cuirass; see on 99.

190. Ἀἰδωνῇ προΐάψειν, as Ἀἰδὲ προ-  
 ἵαψεν A 3. The name Ἀἰδωνεύς occurs  
 again only T 61 in H.; it is not Pindaric,  
 but appears rather to be a word of the  
 tragedians. For προΐάψειν La R. would  
 prefer προΐάψαι, 'I thought I had dis-  
 patched him.'

194. πρωτοπαγεῖς (with the rare con-  
 traction), generally explained 'joined  
 together for the first time,' i.e. newly



πέπτανται· παρὰ δέ σφιν ἐκάστωι δίζυγες ἵπποι 195  
 ἐστᾶσι κρῖ λευκὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι καὶ ὀλύρας.  
 ἦ μὲν μοι μάλα πολλὰ γέρων αἰχμητὰ Λυκάων  
 ἐρχομένωι ἐπέτελλε δόμοις ἐνι ποιητοῖσιν·  
 ἵπποισίν μ' ἐκέλευε καὶ ἄρμασιν ἐμβεβαῶτα 200  
 ἀρχεύειν Τρώεσσι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας·  
 ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην, ἦ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον ἦεν,  
 ἵππων φειδόμενος, μή μοι δευοῖατο φορβῆς  
 ἀνδρῶν εἰλομένων, εἰωθότες ἔδμεναι ἄδην.  
 ὥς λίπον, αὐτὰρ πεζὸς ἐς Ἴλιον εἰλῆλουθα,  
 τόξοισιν πίσυνος· τὰ δέ μ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ὀνήσειν. 205  
 ἥδη γὰρ δοιοῖσιν ἀριστήεσσιν ἐφῆκα,  
 Τυδεΐδῃ τε καὶ Ἀτρεΐδῃ, ἐκ δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν  
 ἀτρεκές αἶμ' ἔσσενα βαλὼν, ἥγαιρα δέ μάλλον.

198. ἔΝΙ: εὔ Vr. a. 199. μ' ἐκέλευε O: τ' ἐκέλευε H. || ἐμμεμαῶτα  
 Mor. Vr. c (and so apparently *τινές* *ap. Didl.*). 201. ἦ τ' ἄν: γρ. εἴτ' ἄν O.  
 203. ἄΔΗΝ Ar. D<sup>h</sup>R<sup>1</sup>U: ἄδδην others (and Ω). 204. ἀτὰρ DO: αὐτὰρ ὁ P. ||  
 ἐς om. G: εἰς CMNO. || ἡλῆλουθα O. 205. ἄρ': ἄν Q. || ἔμελλεν ADO.

made. Cf. Ω 267. In θ 35 we have νῆα πρωτόπλοον, which is also translated 'making her first voyage.' But this is a doubtful compliment to a ship; the alternative, 'a first-rate sailer,' suits the context better, and so here 'of first-rate build,' *primarie compacti* (Döderl.), avoids the awkward tautology with νεο-τευχέες which made Zenod. athetize the line. Unfortunately neither the simple πρῶτος nor any of its compounds seems to involve the pregnant meaning of *primarius*, so that we have to acquiesce in the ordinary explanation. The same ambiguity is found in πρωτόπλους, Eur. *Hel.* 1531. (Compounds of πρῶτος are very uncommon in classical Greek.)

195. For the practice of covering chariots with cloths when not in use cf. B 777.

200. For ἀρχεύειν with dat. see B 345.

202. For the crowding within the city walls compare Σ 286-7.

203. ἄΔΗΝ only here with ᾱ, though we have ἀδήσειε, ἀδηκότες, etc. The variation in quantity is unexplained; it is possibly here due to the sixth arsis, see Schulze *Q. E.* p. 452. ἄδην, which Ar. read, will be right if the word comes from root *sa* (*sa-tur*, etc.); but this is not certain. See note on K 98.

204. The neglect of the F of Ἴλιον is

rare. Brandreth conj. πεζὸς ἐὼν ἐς Φίλιον ἦλθον, comparing Δ 231, Δ 230, 721.

205. ἄρ' ἔμελλον (or -εν) is the traditional reading; but the rule against the trochaic caesura in the 4th foot would require ἄρα μέλλον, and presumably Ar. read this in accordance with his custom of omitting the augment ("Ἰακῶς") when possible.

208. ἀτρεκές: this simple form recurs in H. only π 245 οὐτ' ἄρ δεκάς ἀτρεκές οὐτε δύ' οἶαι, where it is an adverb; the form ἀτρεκέως is of course familiar. The original meaning of the word is not certain; if it be conn. with τρέπω (Curt. *Gr. Et.* no. 633) and mean 'directly,' 'not swerving from the straight line,' it can here hardly be an epithet of αἶμα. On the other hand, it cannot be taken with βαλὼν, which is too far off, and does not require an adv. to qualify it, as of itself it implies 'hitting the mark' (ὅτι τρώσας, καὶ οὐ ρίψας ἀπλῶς τὸ βέλος). We must therefore take it with ἔσσενα, 'I truly, surely, brought forth blood.' So Schol. B ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀτρεκέως εἶδον αὐτό, οὐκ ἠπάτημαι. But 206-8, which contain a feeble repetition of 188-91, are almost certainly interpolated for the sake of the allusion to the Ὀρκίων σύγ-χυστις, an episode which is evidently unknown to the author of this book, who

τῷ ῥα κακῇ αἴσῃ ἀπὸ πασσάλου ἀγκύλα τόξα  
 ἤματι τῷ ἐλόμην, ὅτε Ἴλιον εἰς ἐρατεινὴν 210  
 ἡγεόμην Τρώεσσι, φέρων χάριν Ἑκτορι δῖωι.  
 εἰ δέ κε νοστήσω καὶ ἐσόψομαι ὀφθαλμοῖσι  
 πατρίδ' ἐμὴν ἄλοχόν τε καὶ ὑψερεφὲς μέγα δῶμα,  
 αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φῶς,  
 εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τάδε τόξα φαεινῶι ἐν πυρὶ θείην 215  
 χερσὶ διακλάσσας· ἀνεμῶλια γάρ μοι ὀπηδεῖ.”  
 τὸν δ' αὖτ' Αἰνείας Τρώων ἀγὸς ἀντίον ἦῤδα·  
 “μὴ δ' οὕτως ἀγόρευε· πάρος δ' οὐκ ἔσσεται ἄλλως,  
 πρίν γ' ἐπὶ νῶ τῶιδ' ἀνδρὶ σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν  
 ἀντιβίην ἐλθόντε σὺν ἔντεσι πειρηθῆναι. 220  
 ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐμῶν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσεο, ὄφρα ἰδῇαι  
 οἷοι Τρώϊοι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμενοι πεδίοιο·  
 κραιπνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διωκόμεν ἡδὲ φέβεσθαι·  
 τῷ καὶ νῶϊ πόλινδε σαώσεται, εἴ περ ἂν αὐτε  
 Ζεὺς ἐπὶ Τυδείδῃ Διομήδεϊ κῦδος ὀρέξῃ. 225  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία σιγαλόεντα  
 δέξαι, ἐγὼ δ' ἵππων ἀποβήσομαι, ὄφρα μάχωμαι·  
 ἡὲ σὺ τόνδε δέδεξο, μελήσουσιν δ' ἐμοὶ ἵπποι.”

210. ὅτε τ' CR: ὅτε γ' G. || ἐς Q. 211. ἔκτορι δῖωι: ἱπποδάμοισιν *τινὲς*  
*ap. An.* 213. ὑψερεφὲς GJL<sup>2</sup>M: ὑψηρεφὲς DNOPR (H *in ras.*) Lips. Vr. b c.  
 214. ἐμοῖο JN (*p. ras.*) PQS. || τάμῃ Vr. a. 215. εἰ: ἂν G. 218. ἔσσει Q.  
 219. τῶιδ': τῶι D. 220. πειραεῖναι M (not Harl. a). 224. πόλιν: γρ.  
 πάλιν J. || περ ἂν: κεν Vr. a. 225. ὀρέξει OQ (*supr.* H). 226. νῦν: δὴ  
 MN. 227. ἀποβήσομαι Ar. Ω: ἀποσοβήσομαι Par. g: ἐπιβήσομαι Zen. CO'S  
 (*supr.* ἀπο) King's, Par. d j<sup>2</sup>, Vr. c, Mose. 1 3, and γρ. Harl. a, Par. b. 228. τόν  
 γε N.

otherwise could not have failed to allude to it again.

209. κακῇ αἴσῃ, A 418. ἀπὸ πασσάλου: cf. φ 53, Penelope *ἔνθεν ὀρεξάμενη ἀπὸ πασσάλου αἶνυτο τόξον*.

212-6 are to be compared with π 99-103, where 214 is not only repeated, but stands also in exactly the same position, as an apodosis with *two* protases, one preceding, the other following. It is possible to take *νοστήσω* and *ἐσόψομαι* as aor. subjunctives; compare, for another instance of an aor. form \*ὥψόμην, Ω 704, where *ὤψεσθε* is more natural if it be taken as aor. imper. than as fut. indic. But there is no valid reason against regarding them as fut. indic. except that such a constr. is not Attic. In any case there is no appreciable difference in sense. The second

protasis has the opt. under the influence of the pure wish *τάμοι*: we might equally have had fut. indic. as B 259 *μηκέτι . . εἶην, εἰ μὴ . . δύσω*, where again the constr. of the sentence is the same. *ἀλλότριος*: a foreigner is of course an inferior, and therefore defeat from such is the deepest degradation.

218. οὐκ ἔσσειται ἄλλως, *no change will be made*, nothing will be effected, till, etc. *ἄλλως* has the connotation 'better' in θ 176, υ 211, and cf. also Λ 391. The euphemism by which *ἄλλως* = *κακῶς* is not Homeric.

219. *νῶς* for *νῶϊ* here only in H. (in ο 475 read *νῶϊ*). *πρίν νῶϊ τῶιδ'* Brandr. (with ictus-lengthening), *ἐπὶ νῶϊ τῶι δ.* van L.

222. Τρώϊοι, the breed of Tros. Cf. 265, Λ 597, Υ 230, Ψ 291, 377.

227. ἀποβήσομαι, i.e. when the time

- τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·  
 “Αἰνεία, σὺ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχ' ἡνία καὶ τεῶ ἵππῳ· 230  
 μᾶλλον ὑφ' ἡνιόχῳ εἰωθότι καμπύλον ἄρμα  
 οἴσεται, εἴ περ ἂν αὖτε φεβώμεθα Τυδέος υἱόν·  
 μὴ τῷ μὲν δείσαντε ματήσεται, οὐδ' ἐθέλητον  
 ἐκφερέμεν πολέμοιο, τεὸν φθόγγον ποθέοντε,  
 νῶϊ δ' ἐπαίξας μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱός 235  
 αὐτῷ τε κτείνῃ καὶ ἐλάσσει μώνυχας ἵππους.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ γ' αὐτὸς ἔλαυνε τέ' ἄρματα καὶ τεῶ ἵππῳ,  
 τόνδε δ' ἐγὼν ἐπίοντα δεδέξομαι ὀξείῃ δουρί.”  
 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσαντε ἐς ἄρματα ποικίλα βάντε  
 ἐμμεμαῶτ' ἐπὶ Τυδεΐδῃ ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους. 240  
 τοὺς δὲ ἶδε Σθένελος Καπανηῖος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,  
 αἶψα δὲ Τυδεΐδην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “Τυδεΐδῃ Διόμηδες, ἐμῶι κεχαρισμένε θυμῶι,  
 ἄνδρ' ὀρώω κρατερῶ ἐπὶ σοὶ μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι,  
 ἵν' ἀπέλεθρον ἔχοντε· ὁ μὲν τόξων ἐν εἰδῶς, 245  
 Πάνδαρος, υἱὸς δ' αὖτε Λυκάονος εὐχεται εἶναι·  
 Αἰνείας δ' υἱὸς μὲν ἀμύμονος Ἀγχιῖσαι  
 εὐχεται ἐκγεγάμεν, μήτηρ δέ οἱ ἐστ' Ἀφροδίτη.

231. Εἰωθότι Ar. (καὶ σχεδὸν ἅπαντες) Ω: εἰωθότε P. 232. ἂν om. Q.  
 234. ποθέοντες DPQ Eust. 236. κτείνει . . ἐλάσει G. 237. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς  
 κύ γ' C. 239. φωνήσαντε . . βάντε GJP Mosc. 1: φωνήσαντες . . βάντες  
 Ω. 240. ἐμμεμαῶτες HM. 242. αἶψα δὲ: αἶψ' ἐπὶ L. 245. ἔχοντε  
 GMN Mosc. 1, Vr. b: ἔχοντες Q: ἔχοντας Ω. 247. δ' om. U: ο' C. || μὲν  
 ἀμύμονος: μεγαλήτορος (A *supr.*) DHSU. 248 om. Vr. a.

comes I will dismount to fight, ἐπιβήσο (221) referring to the present moment, *mount the chariot* in order to reach the scene of action. This entirely agrees with the Homeric style of fighting, where the heroes use their chariots only for movement from one part of the field to another, and do the serious work on foot. Compare especially P 480, where the reading is certain. The variant ἐπιβήσομαι is due no doubt to the fact that in the sequel (275 ff., 294) Pandaros does make his spear-cast from the chariot. That, however, is an irregularity which Aineias does not contemplate. It is curious that Ar. while reading ἀποβήσομαι gave the perverse interpretation οἶον τῆς ἵππων φροντίδος, *I will resign the care of the horses*.

230. ἔχε goes with both ἡνία and ἵππῳ by a slight zeugma, *hold the reins and drive the horses*. Compare the difference in the sense of δέξαι = *take*, and δέδεξο = *await* the attack, above.

232. φεβώμεθα, *flee from*, cf. 223.

233. μαθήσεται, *grow wild*, 'lose their heads' as we say; cf. II 474. In Ψ 510 it means 'lost no time.' Compare also Aisch. *Sept.* 37, P. V. 57.

236. μώνυχας, *with single (solid) hoofs*; not from μόνος (Hom. μῶνος) but, as is now generally agreed, for \*σμ-ώνυξ where σμ = σεμ- of εἰς (σεμ-), *simplex*, etc. (Brugm. *Gr.* i. 171). Compare Virgil's *solo ungula cornu*.

248. Cf. φ 335 πατὴρ δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ γένος εὐχεται ἐμμεναι υἱός, for the use of

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ χαζώμεθ' ἐφ' ἵππων, μηδέ μοι οὔτω  
θῦνε διὰ προμάχων, μή πως φίλον ἦτορ ὀλέσσης." 250  
τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
"μή τι φόβονδ' ἀγόρευ', ἐπεὶ οὐδέ σε πεισέμεν οἶω·  
οὐ γάρ μοι γενναῖον ἀλυσκάζοντι μάχεσθαι  
οὐδὲ καταπτώσσειν· ἔτι μοι μένος ἔμπεδόν ἐστιν·  
ὀκνεῖω δ' ἵππων ἐπιβαινέμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτως 255  
ἀντίον εἶμ' αὐτῶν· τρεῖν μ' οὐκ ἔαι Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

249. δοκεῖ Ζηρόδοτος τοῦτον καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς ἡθετηκέναι An. || ἐφ' ἵππων Ar. Ω: there was a variant, but Schol. A does not say what; probably ἀφ' ἵππων rather than ἐφ' ἵππους. || μοι: μὲν G. 251. ἄρ': αὐ J. 252. φόβον T' P<sup>1</sup>R: φόβον μ' L. || οὐδέ με S. 253. γὰρ ἐμοὶ S Mosc. 1. || ἀλυσκάζοντι ἢ ἀλυσκάζοντα Eust. 255. ἐπιβήμεναι M Eust. || οὕτως T Lips. 256. ἀντίος S. || μ': δ' S. || ἔα Herod. ATU.

ἐκγεγάμεν. But the line, which is omitted by one ms., looks suspiciously like an interpolation.

249. δοκεῖ Ζηρόδοτος τοῦτον καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς ἡθετηκέναι, Ariston.; an important remark, as it shows that the later Aristarchean school knew Zenodotos only at second hand. ἐφ' ἵππων, ὅτι Ἀττικῶς ἐξενήνοχεν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους (in the direction of the chariot), *ibid.* For the Attic use compare ἐπ' οἶκου = *homewards*, ἢ ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ὁδοῦ Xen. *Cyr.* v. 3. 45, etc. It occurs also in H., e.g. Γ 5, E 700. But it is hardly possible that this should be the sense here, for we cannot suppose that Sthenelos, whose function is that of charioteer, can have left the horses so far as to advise Diomedes to retreat in their direction. We must therefore take it in the ordinary sense, 'retreat upon the chariot' (as Ω 356).

252. φόβονδ' ἀγόρευε: for this pregnant use we may compare II 697 φύγαδε μνῶντο. It is easily derived from the literal sense which we have in Θ 139 φόβονδ' ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους, and may be compared with such phrases as εἰπεῖν, μυθεῖσθαι εἰς ἀγαθὰ, I 102, Ψ 305; thus it means 'say nothing in the direction of, tending to, flight.' φόβος is of course an exaggeration, as Sthenelos merely meant him to fight in the throng, not among the πρόμαχοι. ἀλυσκάζοντι καὶ καταπτώσσειν are equally invidious names for retirement to the δῖλος, where an individual was protected by numbers (cf. Z 443). So Idomeneus says, N 262 οὐ γὰρ οἷω ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων ἐκάς ἰστάμενος πολέμιζεν. οὐδέ ce: so

Ptol. Ask.; Herod. οὐδὲ σέ, *not even thee*. But it is more Homeric to take οὐδέ with the whole clause, *for neither do I think that thou wilt persuade me*.

253. ΓΕΝΝΑῖον, a ἄπ. λεγ. in Homer; nor does he use γέννα or γεννάω; σημειοῦνται τινες ὅτι οὕτως εἴρηται ἐγγενές, πάτριον Schol. A. It is practically indifferent whether we explain the word thus, 'it is not in my blood,' or in the later sense 'it is not honourable for me to shirk'; this sense is immediately derived from the former, as with our word 'high-bred,' worthy of a man of family. To a chieftain whatever is hereditary is honourable as a matter of course. τὸ γενναῖον ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ ἐξιστάμενον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως Aristot. *H. A.* i. 1. 14.

256. This line is a compendium of sins against Homeric diction—the weak αὐτῶν = *them*, τρεῖν for τρέειν, and worst of all ἔαι in one syll. for ἔδει in three. The couplet may be an Attic interpolation, though it does not look like it. If it is to be restored to archaic form, violent measures must be employed. Of many conjectures perhaps the best is van Leeuwen's ἀντίος εἶμ'· τρέειν μ' οὐκ εἶε II. Ὑ. A. In the old Attic alphabet, with contractions, this would be τρειν μουκα II., which would easily assume its present form with αὐτῶν, a gloss imported to fill up the apparently deficient measure. The well-attested ἔα supports this. For the imperf. εἶ. 819. (Synizesis of the first syll. of εἶω is found in our texts in K 344, where see note, and φ 233, ψ 77.)



τούτω δ' οὐ πάλιν αὖτις ἀποίσετον ὠκέας ἵπποι  
 ἄμφω ἀφ' ἡμείων, εἴ γ' οὖν ἕτερός γε φύγησιν.  
 ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σήμισιν·  
 αἶ κέν μοι πολύβουλος Ἀθήνη κῦδος ὀρέξῃ 260  
 ἀμφοτέρω κτείνειν, σὺ δὲ τούσδε μὲν ὠκέας ἵππους  
 αὐτοῦ ἐρυκακέειν, ἐξ ἄντυγος ἡνία τείνας,  
 Αἰνείαιο δ' ἐπαῖξαι μεμνημένος ἵππων,  
 ἐκ δ' ἐλάσαι Τρώων μετ' ἐνκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς.  
 τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς, ἧς Τρωῖ περ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς 265  
 δῶχ' υἱὸς ποιμήν Γανυμήδεος, οὐνεκ' ἄριστοι  
 ἵππων, ὅσσοι ἔασιν ὑπ' ἡῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε·  
 τῆς γενεῆς ἔκλεψεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγχίσης,  
 λάθρῃ Λαομέδοντος ὑποσχὼν θήλεας ἵππους·  
 τῶν οἱ ἐξ ἐγένοντο ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γενέθλη· 270

257. ΤΟΥΤΩΝ M (not Harl. a). || ὠκέας ἵππους C (*supr.* οἱ over οὐς) R *supr.*  
 258. Εἴ γ' οὖν Δτ. διὰ τοῦ γ: others εἴ κ' οὖν? 260. ὀρέξει P. 263.  
 αἰνείω Zen. || ἐπαῖξας (). || ΜΕΜΝΗΜΕΝΟΣ: καλλίτριχας St (μεμνημένος Sm).  
 264. ἐξελάσαι A (*supr.* κ δ'). 270. ΓΕΝΕΘΛΗΣ N *supr.*, γρ. Jm: ΓΕΝΕΘΛΑ  
 Vr. b.

258. For the double γε cf. II 30 μὴ  
 ἐμέ γ' οὖν οὗτός γε λάβοι χόλος. 287-8  
 and X 266 are doubtful cases. Schol.  
 A (Didymos) remarks, οὕτως γοῦν διὰ τοῦ  
 γ' Ἀρίσταρχος: this perhaps indicates  
 the existence of a variant εἴ κ' οὖν, which  
 is at least unobjectionable, perhaps prefer-  
 able, and is conjectured by Heyne.

261. ΤΟΥΣΔΕ, pointing to his own  
 horses, which must therefore be close at  
 hand; an additional argument in favour  
 of the explanation adopted in 249.

262. It is not uncommon in vase-  
 pictures of a chariot about to start to  
 see the reins fastened to the front of the  
 ἄντυξ or rail which ran round the car  
 and formed a handle behind by which  
 the riders could mount. This again  
 seems clearly to shew that Sthenelos at  
 the moment is in the car and holding  
 the reins.

263. ἸΠΠΩΝ may be gen. after ἐπαῖξαι,  
 cf. N 687 ἐπαῖσσοντα νεῶν and other  
 genitives after verbs of aiming (*H. G.* §  
 151 c). ΜΕΜΝΗΜΕΝΟΣ is then added as  
 in T 153 ὧδέ τις ὑμείων μεμνημένος ἀνδρὶ  
 μαχέσθω, both lines being instances of  
 the common Greek habit of expressing  
 by the participle what we give in the  
 principal verb: 'do not forget to spring

at the horses.' On the other hand  
 ἐπαῖσσειν is commonly used absolutely,  
 so that it is equally possible, though  
 less idiomatic, to make ἵππων dependent  
 on μεμνημένος, 'spring forward thinking  
 only of the horses.' 323 is in favour  
 of this; there, however, ἐπαῖξας may  
 directly govern ἵππους (cf. H 240, M  
 308; it takes the dat. also, κ 322, ξ 281,  
 Ψ 64 ?).

265. Ἡς, an ablative gen., expressing  
 the source, as Z 211 ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε  
 καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι, and τῆς γενεῆς  
 ἔκλεψε below. The attraction ἧς for  
 ἥν assumed by some is not Homeric,  
 Hesiodic, or Pindaric. Bekker (*H. B.*  
 ii. 12) instead of supplying εἰσὶν after  
 γενεῆς takes it with ἔκλεψε in 268,  
 regarding γενεῆς there as a mere res-  
 sumption after the parenthetical ἧς . .  
 ἡέλιόν τε, and putting a comma at the  
 end of 267. He would also read ἥν for  
 ἧς, but this seems needless.

266. ΟὐΝΕΚΑ, *because*. For Ganymede  
 see T 231-5.

269. ΛΑΘΡΗ ΛΑΟΜΕΔΟΝΤΟΣ, Ω 72.  
 ΘΗΛΕΑΣ, as θῆλυς ἑέρση ε 467, "Ἥρη θῆλυς  
 εἴουσα T 97. Others read θηλέας for  
 θηλέας, with the Doric ᾶ of the acc.  
 plur. fem.; but this is not an epic form.

270. ΓΕΝΕΘΛΗ, a stock, stud.

τοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας αὐτὸς ἔχων ἀτίταλλ' ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,  
τῷ δὲ δὴ Δινείαι δῶκεν, μῆστωρε φόβοιο.  
εἰ τούτῳ κε λάβοιμεν, ἀροίμεθά κε κλέος ἐσθλόν."

ὧς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,  
τῷ δὲ τάχ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθον ἐλαύνοντ' ὠκείας ἵππους. 275  
τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·  
"καρτερόθυμε δαΐφρον ἀγανοῦ Τυδέος υἱέ,  
ἦ μάλα σ' οὐ βέλος ὠκὺ δαμάσσατο, πικρὸς οἰστός·  
νῦν αὐτ' ἐγχείῃ πειρήσομαι, αἶ κε τύχωμι."

ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀμπεπαλὼν προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, 280  
καὶ βάλε Τυδεΐδαο κατ' ἀσπίδα· τῆς δὲ διαπρὸ  
αἰχμῇ χαλκεῇ παμένη θώρηκι πελάσθη.  
τῷ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄυσε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·  
"βέβληαι κενεῶνα διαμπερές, οὐδέ σ' οὔτω  
δηρὸν ἔτ' ἀνσχίσεσθαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγ' εὖχος ἔδωκας." 285

271. τοὺς: τῶν M. 272. μῆστωρι S (*supr.* ε) T<sup>1</sup> (?) Par. j, Plato *Laches* 191 v. 273. ἀραίμεθα M. 274. οἱ: τοῖ Q. 276. τὸν: τῷ Mosc. 1: τῶν N. 277. καρτερόθυμε P. 278. ἦ: εἰ T<sup>2</sup>. 279. τύχωμι A Schol. T: τύχοιμι Ω. 280. προΐη Vr. a. 282. ὠράκι G. || πέλασσε Q. 285. ἀνασχίσεσθαι PQ: γρ. ἀνασχέσαι J.

272. Bekker, Nauck, Christ, and others have adopted the variant *μῆστωρι* in preference to the vulg. *μῆστωρε*: it was read by Plato *Lach.* 191 v; καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Δινείαν κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐνεκωμίασε, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φόβου ἐπιστήμην, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτὸν εἶναι μῆστωρα φόβοιο. There can be no doubt that Homeric usage is on the same side, for *μῆστωρ φόβοιο* is always used of heroes (Z 97, 278, M 39, Ψ 16, cf. *μῆστωρ ἀντῆς* N 93, etc.), except in the parallel passage Θ 108, where the ms. authority is more evenly divided. The nearest Homeric analogy is in the late passage B 767 *φόβον Ἀρης φορεούσας*, of the horses of Eumelos. We may, however, accept the phrase here as an unusually exaggerated encomium; the horses in virtue of their divine descent are actually put on a level with human beings.

273. For the first *κε* (here and Θ 196) most edd. (including Bekker, Nauck, and Christ) following J. H. Voss in his conj. γε: but the change is needless, as appears from the considerable number of cases of *εἰ κε* with opt. in protasis quoted in *H. G.* § 313. The separation of *εἰ . . . κε* is found again in the same phrase Θ 196, and in Ψ 592; the

particles are still far from coalescing into an Attic *ἐάν*. See also *M. and T.* § 461.

274. For this line see note on 431.

278. Schol. A mixes up in his note two interpretations, according to one of which we should read ἦ as a particle of asseveration; the other would take ἦ *ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰ*. Though the former view is doubtless right, yet it may be said that the parataxis of the two clauses shews exactly how the use of *εἰ* with the indicative arose, to express a concession made unconditionally.

279. The form *τύχωμι* has as usual been almost universally corrupted to the more familiar *τύχοιμι*. The opt. with *κε* is quite out of place in these conditional protases expressing a hope. So also H 243.

281. For τᾱς δέ La R. suggests (and Nauck and Christ adopt) ἡ δέ, comparing E 66, H 260, T 276. This is no doubt right, as ἡ δέ would be likely to be changed, in order to avoid the (perfectly normal) hiatus in the bucolic diaeresis.

282. ὠόρηκι may here mean the *μῆτηρ*: see App. B.

285. *μέγα* is here to be taken as an adv. (cf. A 78), *thou hast given me my wish to the full*. If it is closely con-

τὸν δ' οὐ ταρβήσας προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
 “ἤμβροτες, οὐδ' ἔτυχες· ἀτὰρ οὐ μὲν σφῶτί γ' οἷω  
 πρὶν ἀποπαύσεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ ἕτερόν γε πεσόντα  
 αἵματος ἄσαι Ἄρηα ταλαύρινον πολεμιστήν.”

ὧς φάμενος προέηκε· βέλος δ' ἵθυνεν Ἀθήνη 290  
 ῥίνα παρ' ὀφθαλμόν, λευκοὺς δ' ἐπέρησεν ὀδόντας.  
 τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν γλώσσαν πρυμνὴν τάμε χαλκὸς ἀτειρής,  
 αἰχμὴ δ' ἐξελύθη παρὰ νείατον ἀνθερέωνα.  
 ἥριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
 αἰόλα παμφανόωντα, παρέτρεσαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι 295  
 ὠκύποδες· τοῦ δ' αὖθις λύθη ψυχὴ τε μένος τε.  
 Αἰνείας δ' ἀπόρουσε σὺν ἀσπίδι δουρί τε μακρῶι,

288. πρὶν ἀποπ. P: πρίν γ' Ω. || ἀποπαύσεσθαι (A *supr.*) DNU: ἀποπαύ-  
 σεσθαι Ω (including T). || πρὶν ἢ LU: πρίν γ' ἢ Ω. 289. ταλαύριον PR.  
 293. ἐξελύθη Ar. AHM Mor. Bar. Cant. Vr. c, Harl. a, Par. a b e f<sup>1</sup> (Λ *in ras.*)  
 j: ἐξελάσθαι S (*supr.* u): ἐξεχύθη Mosc. 1 (*in ras.*), Par. h k: ἐξέκυτο T Lips.  
 Harl. b: ἐξεκούθη Zen. Ω. 295. παμφανόωντα G. 297. ἐπόρουσε PRS<sup>2</sup>U<sup>2</sup>  
 (H *supr.*): ἐπώρουσε N.

nected with εἶχος as epithet, it produces the forbidden trochaic caesura in the fourth foot.

288. The fourfold repetition of **re** in the vulg. led Barnes to drop it after either *πρίν*, and the MSS. give some support. *πρίν* was originally long by nature (cf. *πρίν* in the Gortynian inscr.), and though it is occasionally short in H. (nineteen times), yet it remains long in thesis in Z 81, and some eight other passages. It is true that *πρίν* has a special affinity for γε, the combination occurring nearly thirty times in Homer, yet Z 465 (?), O 74, α 210, δ 255, η 196, σ 289 are the only passages where the γε is not elided; this very small proportion and the preponderance of passages in the *Odyssey* are in favour of the omission. See Hartel *H. S.* 109, La Roche *H. U.* 256. For ἀποπαύσεσθαι and ἀποπαύσασθαι see note on Γ 28; and for ταλαύρινον H 239.

291. The course of the dart has given great trouble to critics ancient and modern. Some thought that the dart being miraculously guided need not pursue a natural course; others, that Pandaros was leaning forward to see the effect of his shot; others, that the plain was not level, and that the chariots ran on the lower ground while the footmen fought from the heights (!). None of

them seem to have hit on the absurdly simple explanation that Pandaros may have attempted to 'duck,' bending his head forward a moment too late. The result would obviously be what Homer describes. (This explanation was, I find, first given by Brandreth.)

293. ἐξελύθη was explained by Ar. τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐπαύσατο, which the word cannot mean; ἐξεσύθη of Zen. and vulg. = *issued forth*. But there can be little doubt that Ahrens, Brandreth, and Christ are right in restoring ἐξέλυθε = ἐξῆλθε. The form with ε for η is not elsewhere found, but has very likely been sometimes suppressed in favour of the more familiar ἦλθον. The misunderstanding will of course have arisen in transcription from the old Attic alphabet. This is an interesting, because evidently accidental, proof that in the oldest form of the Epic poems the ictus in the penthemimeral caesura sufficed to lengthen a final short syllable without the aid of the ν ἐφέλκυστικόν, which originally was not used to make position. (See also on A 549.)

295. παρέτρεσαν, *swerved aside*. For the canon of Ar. that in H. *τρεῖν* means '*fugere, non timere*' see Lehrs *Ar.* 77 sqq. Hence Aineias leaps down (297), because his horses are running away. But the variant ἐπόρουσε is equally good.

δείσας μή πώς οἱ ἐρυσαιάτο νεκρὸν Ἀχαιοί.  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτῷ βαίνει λέων ὥς ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς,  
 πρόσθε δέ οἱ δόρυ τ' ἔσχε καὶ ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' εἴσῃν, 300  
 τὸν κτάμεναι μεμαῶς ὅς τις τοῦ γ' ἀντίος ἔλθοι,  
 σμερδαλέα ἰάχων. ὁ δὲ χερμάδιον λάβε χειρὶ  
 Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ οὐ δύο γ' ἄνδρε φέροιεν,  
 οἶοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰς· ὁ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἶος·  
 τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείαιο κατ' ἰσχίον, ἔνθά τε μηρὸς 305  
 ἰσχύϊ ἐνστρέφεται, κοτύλῃν δέ τέ μιν καλέουσι·  
 θλάσσε δέ οἱ κοτύλῃν, πρὸς δ' ἄμφω ῥήξε τένοντε·  
 ὥσε δ' ἀπὸ ῥίνον τρηχὺς λίθος. αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἦρως  
 ἔστη γυνῆξ ἐριπῶν καὶ ἐρείσατο χειρὶ παχείῃ  
 γαίης· ἀμφὶ δὲ ὅσσε κελαινὴ νῦξ ἐκάλυψε. 310  
 καὶ νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Αἰνείας,

301. **ΤΟΥ Γ' :** τοῦδ' Mosc. 1. || ἀντίον DHRS. || ἔλθ(η) NQ (*supr.* οἱ) R Vr. A.  
 303. **Δύω Q.** || **Γ'** om. D. || ἄνδρες JT. 305. **ἔνεα γε** G Mosc. 1. 306. **ἰσχίον**  
 Par. b : **ἰνίωι** Cram. *An. Ox.* ii 372. 307. **τένοντα** Q *supr.* 308. **τραχύς** P.  
 310. **Θέ :** **δέ οἱ** Eust.

300. **οἱ** is *dat. ethicus*, **πρόσθε** a pure adverb, as in 315, etc. The prepositional use with *gen.* is commoner.

301. **ΤΟΥ Γ' ἀντίος :** cf. P 8; the expression is very strange, and might easily be emended *ἐο ἀντίος*, the hiatus being normal in the bucolic diaeresis. As it stands, *τοῦ* must mean 'the dead man.'

303. **μέγα ἔργον**, a great feat, added parenthetically, 'in apposition to the sentence,' as it is usually called, though it really forms part of the complement of the verb *λάβε*. We may compare A 294 *πάν ἔργον ὑπέξομαι*, and similar usages which will be found in *H. G.* § 136. 2-4. There is nothing in Homeric usage to justify us in taking *ἔργον* in apposition with *χερμάδιον*, as though = a great thing; or in comparing such Herodotean phrases as *μέγα χρῆμα ὕδρ.* **φέροιεν :** for this 'concessive' or potential opt. without *ἂν* see *H. G.* § 299 f, where reference is made to the similar use in a principal clause, *ῥεῖα θεὸς γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σάσσαι*. The hiatus after *ὃ* suggests *ὃ κ' οὐ* (P. Knight), or *ὃ γ' οὐ δύο κ'* (van L.), but the *κε* is not grammatically necessary.

304. **οἶοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσι :** compare A 272. The phrase occurs four times in the *Iliad*, but not in the *Odyssey*.

306. **κοτύλη**, the *acetabulum* of Roman and modern anatomy; the socket, suffi-

ciently like a shallow cup, by which the head of the femur is articulated to the pelvis. Compare the use of *κοτυληδών* of the cuttle-fish's suckers in ε 433 (also of the acetabulum in *Ar. Vesp.* 1495).

310. **γαίης :** the *gen.* is compared in *H. G.* § 151 a with *τοίχων τοῦ ἐτέροιο* I 219, and with the *gen.* after verbs of *taking hold of*. But it must be admitted that the analogy is not very satisfactory, and the use is strange. The line recurs in A 356, and is there generally condemned as an interpolation; it may fairly be suspected here too. The last part looks like an adaptation of the familiar *τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νῦξ ἐκάλυψε*. For **δέ** Brandreth and others conj. **δέ F'**, where *F* would naturally represent *Fe*: but *δέ οἱ* in Eust. looks as though some mss. in his time still retained a tradition of *For*, which is of course possible. Cf. the *οἱ* of Ambr. in l. 4.

311. **ἀπόλοιτο** for the *ἀπώλετο* which is normal in Homeric as in later Greek; see *H. G.* § 300 c, *M.* and *T.* § 440. The opt. is in itself merely concessive or potential, without reference to past or present; but the need for a more exact expression of time clearly led early to the prevalence of the indicative. Hence the opt. is almost confined to a few formulae, such as this (repeated in 388),



εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυν νόησε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη,  
μήτηρ, ἣ μιν ὑπ' Ἀγχίση τέκε βουκολέοντι·  
ἀμφὶ δ' ἔον φίλον υἱὸν ἐχεύατο πῆχες λευκῶ,  
πρόσθε δέ οἱ πέπλοιο φαεινοῦ πτύγμ' ἐκάλυψεν, 315  
ἔρκος ἔμεν βελέων, μή τις Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων  
χαλκὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο.

ἣ μὲν ἔον φίλον υἱὸν ὑπεξέφερεν πολέμοιο·  
οὐδ' υἱὸς Καπανῆος ἐλήθετο συνθεσιῶν  
τάων ἃς ἐπέτελλε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης, 320

ἀλλ' ὃ γε τοὺς μὲν εἰς ἡρύκακε μῶνυχας ἵππους  
νόσφιν ἀπὸ φλοίσβου, ἐξ ἄντυγος ἡνία τέϊνας,

Αἰνείαιο δ' ἐπαΐξας καλλίτριχας ἵππους  
ἐξέλασε Τρώων μετ' ἐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς, 325

δῶκε δὲ Δηϊπύλῳ ἐτάρῳ φίλῳ, ὃν περὶ πάσης  
τίεν ὁμηλικίης, ὅτι οἱ φρεσὶν ἄρτια ἦιδη,  
νῆυσιν ἔπι γλαφυρήσιν ἐλαυνέμεν. αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἥρως  
ὦν ἵππων ἐπιβὰς ἔλαβ' ἡνία σιγαλόεντα,  
αἶψα δὲ Τυδεΐδην μέθεπε κρατερώνυχας ἵππους

317. ἔκ: ἀπο T. || ἔλῃται NQ Par. c g: ὄλοιτο Ar. (?). 318. ἔδῃ: τεὸν  
Mosc. 1. || πτολέμοιο N. 323. αἰνείω Zen. (cf. 263). 324. ἐξέλασε: ἐκ δ'  
ἐλασσε T. 326. ἦιδει C. 327. ναυσὶν P. 329. κρατερωνύχεσ' ἵπποις Zen.

φαίης κεν, οὐδέ κε φαίης, οὐκ ἂν γνοίης, οὐκ ἂν (οὐ κε) ἴδοις, οὐ κεν ὀνόσαιτο, and is much commoner in *Il.* than *Od.*

313. τέκε, conceived; cf. B 741, 820.

314. ἐχεύατο: cf. π 214 ἀμφιχυθεὶς πατέρ' ἐσθλόν.

315. ἐκάλυψεν, put as a covering; so P 132, Φ 321, X 313. Cf. note on 89.

320. For the position of τάων cf. 332 and β 119. For συνθεσιῶν, agreement, cf. B 339 πῇ δὴ συνθεσίου;

323. See note on 263.

326. For the phrase ἄρτια ἦιδη cf. Π 72 εἰ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων ἦπια εἰδείη. ἄρτιος seems to be the opposite of ἀν-άρισ-ος, and to mean 'friendly,' agreeing with his wishes. But in Ξ 92, θ 240, ἄρτια βάζειν means 'to speak suitably, to the point,' and so it might be here; οἱ would then be an ethic dative, 'because he found him have apt knowledge.' But this is a less Homeric use of εἰδέναι, which is regularly used to express disposition of character; compare numerous phrases such as αἵσιμα (O 207),

ἀθεμίστια, ἄγρια εἰδέναι, and the fuller θυμὸς ἦπια δῆνεα οἶδε Δ 361.

327. For the dat. instead of the acc. after verbs of motion cf. the common phrase ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες, and others. *H. G.* § 198 ad fin.

329. μέθεπε with a double accus. only here; in Π 724 we have Πατρόκλῳ ἔφεπε κρατ. ἵππους. The word ἔπειν, from its primary sense 'handle,' came to imply 'handling' or managing a team of horses, and hence=drive. But it is not necessary to follow von Christ in reading μέθ' ἔπε: the constr. 'drove the horses after T.' may be justified by such common constructions as μετιέναι τινα and the like, combined with the constr. of Θ 126 ἥριοχον μέθεπε θρασύν, 'drove in quest of a charioteer,' where the direct object ἵππους is omitted in Greek as in English. Compare also ἵππους ὑπάγειν ζυγόν Π 148. It must, however, be admitted that Τυδεΐδῃ would be a more usual constr. The reading of Zen. (v. supra) is not to be commended, as it introduces the short form of the dat. pl. ἵπποις for ἵπποισι.

ἐμμεμαώς. ὁ δὲ Κύπριον ἐπώιχετο νηλεῖ χαλκῶι, 330  
 γνώσκων ὃ τ' ἀναλκίς ἦν θεός, οὐδὲ θεάων  
 τάων, αἶ τ' ἀνδρῶν πόλεμον κάτα κοιρανέουσιν,  
 οὐτ' ἄρ' Ἀθηναίῃ οὔτε πτολίπορθος Ἐννῶ.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐκίχανε πολὺν καθ' ὅμιλον ὀπάζων, 335  
 ἔνθ' ἐπορεξάμενος μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱὸς  
 ἄκρην οὔτασε χεῖρα μετάλμενος ὀξείῃ δουρὶ  
 ἀβληχρήν· εἶθαρ δὲ δόρυ χροὸς ἀντετόρησεν  
 ἀμβροσίου διὰ πέπλου, ὃν οἱ Χάριτες κάμον αὐταί,  
 πρυμνὸν ὕπερ θέναρος. ῥέε δ' ἀμβροτον αἶμα θεοῖο,

331. ΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΩΝ LN. || θεᾶ G. 334. ῥὰ κίχανε G. 336. (Hence to l. 635  
 is a lacuna in A, supplied by a later hand, quoted as A.) δουρὶ: χαλκῶι H Lips.  
 337. ἀβληχρήν LRS. || δόρυ: διὰ PQ.

330. The name Κύπρις is used only in this episode (422, 458, 760, 883), and the Cyprian worship of Aphrodite is not elsewhere alluded to in the *Iliad*. Her connexion with Paphos appears, however, in the certainly late passage θ 362, which in several respects may be compared with the adventures of the gods recorded in the present book. In the sequel Kypris is made the daughter of Dione (371), an ancient goddess, probably pre-Hellenic, the wife of the Pelasgian Zeus at Dodona. It is certain, therefore, that the name cannot be meant to imply the Cyprian origin of the goddess. Enmann (*Kypros* p. 21) suggests that the name is really European, and compares the Italian *Dea Cupra* (of whom we know nothing but the title); and that the Greeks named the island from the goddess, not *vice versa*, when they colonized it, and, in their usual fashion, identified their Aphrodite with the Phoenician Astarte whom they found in possession. Cyprus is alluded to in H. only in δ, θ, ρ, and the clearly late passage Δ 21, but Aphrodite is fully established as an Olympian, and shews no sign of Phoenician parentage.

332. Compare 824 μάχην ἀνὰ κοιρανέοντα, and Γ 241 μάχην ἀνδρῶν, θ 183 ἀνδρῶν πολέμους, from which it is clear that ἀνδρῶν here is gen. after πόλεμον, not after κοιρανέουσιν.

334. ὀπάζων: cf. Θ 341 ὥς Ἐκτωρ ὤπαξε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοῦς, and P 462. The word seems to be closely conn. with ἔπειν (compare the use of ἐφέπειν), and means *pressing hard*. It recurs in this sense in the metaphorical

phrase γῆρας ὀπάξει Θ 103, Δ 321; else it is always causal, 'to cause to attend upon,' i.e. to attach to.

337. ἀβληχρήν, a word of doubtful origin and sense, cf. ἀβληχρὸς θάνατος (*easy*?) λ 135, ψ 282; here apparently *feeble* (οἱ μὲν ἀπαλήν, οἱ δὲ ἀσθενῆ Ap. Lex.). Herodianos on Θ 178 mentions a form βληχρὸς in the same sense; cf. βλάξ (and μαλακός?). ἀντετόρησεν may be either ἀν-τετόρησεν or ἀντ-ετόρησεν, probably the former. The reduplicated τετορεῖν is given by Hesych. and ἀντι- seems to have no particular force here. Cf. ἀμ-πεπαλόν, and see K 267.

338. The very rare neglect of the F of Φοι led Heyne to conj. ὄ for ὄν, though πέπλον as neuter is not found in H., nor indeed anywhere except in the form πέπλα in very late authors (cf. on Z 90). Another easy correction, made by Nauck and others, is αἶ for οἱ. Still better, perhaps, is Brandreth's δν ἄρ, cf. δν ῥ' αὐτὴ ποιήσατο 735. But in a fragment of the *Kypría* we find εἴματα μὲν χροῖ ἔστο τὰ οἱ Χάριτες τε καὶ Ὀραι ποίησαν, and this is certainly the more Homeric construction, cf. Ξ 178 ἀμβρόσιον ἑανὸν ἔσθ', ὃν οἱ Ἀθήνη ξυσ' ἀσκήσασα (similarly Ap. Rhod. iv. 424). The line is superfluous, and as we should not expect the garment to cover the πρυμνὸν θέναρος, it may well be interpolated.

339. πρυμνὸν ὕπερ θέναρος must be the same as χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῶι 458. θέναρ appears to mean 'the palm of the hand.' πρυμνόν is here taken to be a substantive, the 'root of the palm.' But it is very tempting to read χροᾶ for χροός in 337 with van L. (altered to avoid the

ἰχώρ, οἶός πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν·  
 οὐ γὰρ σίτον ἔδουσ', οὐ πίνουσ' αἶθοπα οἶνον·  
 τούνεκ' ἀναίμονές εἰσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται.  
 ἦ δὲ μέγα ἰάχουσα ἀπὸ ἔο κάββαλεν ἰόν·  
 καὶ τὸν μὲν μετὰ χερσὶν ἐρύσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
 κυανέηι νεφέλῃ, μή τις Δαναῶν ταχυπώλων  
 χαλκὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο·  
 τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄνσε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 "εἶκε, Διὸς θύγατερ, πολέμου καὶ δηϊοτήτος·  
 ἦ οὐχ ἄλῃς ὅττι γυναικας ἀνάλκιδας ἡπεροπεύεις;  
 εἰ δὲ σύ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πωλήσῃαι, ἦ τέ σ' οἴω  
 ῥιγῇσιν πόλεμόν γε, καὶ εἴ χ' ἐτέρωθι πύθῃαι."  
 ὥς ἔφαθ', ἦ δ' ἀλύνουσ' ἀπεβήσето, τείρετο δ' αἰνῶς.  
 τὴν μὲν ἄρ' Ἴρις ἐλοῦσα ποδὴνέμος ἔξαγ' ὀμίλου  
 ἀχθομένην ὀδύνῃσι, μελαίνετο δὲ χρόα καλόν.  
 εὗρεν ἔπειτα μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ θούρον Ἄρῃα

343. μέγα [DJ]J[NO]PQR: μέγ' Ω. || κάμβαλεν ACNPQST. 346. ἔλῃται  
 CHQ. 347. τῇι: τῶι Vr. a. 348. ευγάτηρ CJNO. || πολέμοιο JO. 350.  
 κύ γ': ἐν τισι γρ. καὶ Schol. T. 351. πόλεμόν δε C (supr. γε) DNQR: πόλε-  
 μόντε Vr. b. || εἴγ' H. || ῥιγῇσιν καὶ εἰ χ' ἐτέρωθι πύθῃαι G. 352.  
 ἀπεβήσето ADJQ Vr. b<sup>1</sup> c: ἀπεβήσ«το M Harl. a: ἀπεβήσατο Ω. || τείρετο δ':  
 τείρε γὰρ U.

hiatus, and perhaps with the idea that ἀμβροσίον belonged to it); then πρυμνόν will be an adj. as usual, the spear pierced the flesh to the bottom ('to the bone') above the palm. And it may be questioned whether we should not give the same explanation even with χρός, taking πρυμνόν as an adv. Cf. also P 619, where the same constr. is possible. If χρός is kept, it would be better to read διά for δόρυ with PQ.

340-2 appear to be a very poor interpolation. ἰχώρ is mentioned again only in 416 in an anomalous form. It is used by Aisch. Ag. 1480 in the sense of 'blood' simply; in later writers it means the serum of the animal juices of all sorts, including blood. Thus the appropriation of it to the divine blood, which is not adopted by any later poets, seems due to a mistaken attempt to reconcile 416 with 339 by this interpolation. 342 is a meaningless non sequitur; and with it 341 must be condemned.

344. ἐρύσατο, saved, see A 216.

349. ἦ οὐχ ἄλῃς, rather οὐ ἑάλῃς: the ἦ is superfluous and the synzesis intolerable (so Brandreth).

350. The original reading must surely have been ἦε σύ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πωλήσῃαι; ἦ τέ σ' ὅτω κτλ.: 'wilt thou frequent the battle-field?' The mistake was easily made in transcription from old Attic; Hartmann's οὐ σύ γ' ἔτ' ἐς π. adopted by van L. is very violent, and gives a less vigorous sense. As the text stands, the two clauses beginning with εἰ are evidently not co-ordinate or even consistent. We can only explain them by supposing that the train of thought is, 'if you mean to frequent (cf. A 490) the battle-field, you will (be taught to) dread the battle if you so much as hear the sound of it anywhere'; which is possible, but not very satisfactory. πυνέσσαι is probably used of direct hearing, not in the sense of 'hearing battle talked about,' cf. O 379 ἐπύθοντο κτύπον, 224 μάχης ἐπύθοντο.

354. μελαίνετο, i.e. Aphrodite was stained by the μέλαν αἷμα (or ἰχώρ?). The scholia take it to mean grew livid.

355. ἐπ' ἀριστερά: it seems most natural to suppose that the Greek poet always looks at the battle from the Greek side. The left would then mean

ἦμενον, ἥερι δ' ἔγχος ἐκέκλιτο καὶ ταχέ' ἵππω·  
 ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐριποῦσα κασιγνήτοιο φίλοιο  
 πολλὰ λισσομένη χρυσάμπυκας ἤτεεν ἵππους·  
 "φίλε κασίγνητε, κόμισαί τέ με, δὸς δέ μοι ἵππους,  
 ὄφρ' ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἵκωμαι, ἵν' ἀθανάτων ἔδος ἐστί.  
 λῆν ἄχθομαι ἔλκος, ὃ με βροτὸς οὐτάσεν ἀνὴρ,  
 Τυδεΐδης, ὃς νῦν γε καὶ ἂν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο."  
 ὥς φάτο, τῇ δ' ἄρ' Ἀρης δῶκε χρυσάμπυκας ἵππους.  
 ἡ δ' ἐς δίφρον ἔβαινε ἀκηχεμένη φίλον ἦτορ,  
 παρ δέ οἱ Ἴρις ἔβαινε καὶ ἡνία λάξετο χερσί,  
 μᾶστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν, τῷ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην.  
 αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκοντο θεῶν ἔδος, αἰπὺν Ὀλυμπον·  
 ἔνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε ποδὴνemos ὠκέα Ἴρις  
 λύσας' ἐξ ὀρέων, παρὰ δ' ἀμβρόσιον βάλεν εἶδαρ·  
 ἡ δ' ἐν γούνασι πίπτε Διώνης δι' Ἀφροδίτῃ,

353. ἐλίσσομένη S. 359 om. Lips.<sup>t</sup> || κασίγνητ' ἐκκόμισαι AC<sup>3</sup>PQ (app. corr. from ἐκκόμισον) RU Lips.<sup>m</sup> : κασίγνητε ἐκκόμισαι S. | δέ με G. | δὸς δέ : δός τέ C. 361. λίαν G. 363. ἄρ' om. ADMNPT. 364. ἀκαχεμένη H<sup>2</sup>R : ἀκαχημένη GJPQ (S *supr.*) T. 366. μᾶστιξεν(n) LN<sup>2</sup>. || ἀέκοντε GOP Cant. : ἄκοντε Ω. 369. παρ G Cant.

the part of the battle most distant from the Skamander, on the right bank of which the fighting must, according to the actual geography, have taken place. But this will be inconsistent with l. 36, where Ares is left beside Skamander. However, it has been shewn by Hercher that it is impossible to reconcile Homer's geographical statements either with themselves or with the reality. The Skamander in particular is an arbitrary quantity, sometimes treated as running transversely between the city and the ships, sometimes as lying alongside the field, and often forgotten altogether (*Hom. Aufsätze* pp. 50 sqq.; cf. Ribbeck in *Rhein. Mus.* xxxv. 610).

356. ἐκέκλιτο can hardly be right, for in the first place the idea of a spear leaning upon mist is quite un-Homeric; and in the second it can only apply to ἵππω by a violent zeugma, for which support can hardly be found in Γ 327 ἵπποι ἀερίποδες καὶ ποικίλα τεύχε' ἔκειτο (see note). Various emendations have been proposed, from Bentley's ἥερι δ' ἄρ' ἐκαλύπτετο on; but none are satisfactory. Some of the schol. derive the word from κλείω, *was enclosed*.

357. κασιγνήτοιο is of course to be

taken with ἵππους, not with ἤτεεν, which would require an accusative. λίσσομένη: for the lengthening of the preceding short vowel see on A 15.

359. For δὸς δέ Barnes and most following edd. read δός τε. But the collocation of τε and δέ is not very rare in H.; a very similar instance is Ω 430 αὐτὸν τε ῥύσαι, πέμψον δέ με σύν γε θεοῖσιν: so also Ψ 178, π 432, and (according to many mss.) π 140; and Ω 368 οὔτε . . δέ. This seems sufficient defence for the traditional reading here. The δέ makes the second clause more emphatic, because it is contrasted, instead of being co-ordinated, with the first; there is a slight anacoluthon, but vigour of expression is gained.

361. ἔλκος: the accus. of a subst. is found only here with ἄχθομαι, but we have a neut. pronoun in Z 523 (cf. I 77); and the accusative of a participle N 352. We might compare also E 757 οὐ νεμεσίξῃ Ἀρηι τὰδε καρτερὰ ἔργα. Perhaps, however, in this case it is to be regarded rather as an accusative of the part affected, 'I have pain in the wound,' like ἄχθομαι χεῖρα.

370. Dione appears only here in Homer; she is named incidentally,



μητρὸς ἐῆς· ἡ δ' ἀγκὰς ἐλάζετο θυγατέρα ἦν,  
χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξε, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
“ τίς νύ σε τοιάδ' ἔρεξε, φίλον τέκος, Οὐρανιῶνων  
μαυιδίως, ὥς εἴ τι κακὸν ῥέζουσιν ἐνωπῇ ; ”

τὴν δ' ἡμέλβετ' ἔπειτα φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη· 375

“ οὐτά με Τυδέος υἱὸς ὑπέρθυμος Διομήδης,  
οὔνεκ' ἐγὼ φίλον υἱὸν ὑπεξέφερον πολέμοιο  
Αἰνείαν, ὃς ἐμοὶ πάντων πολὺ φίλτατός ἐστιν.  
οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπις αἰνὴ,  
ἀλλ' ἤδη Δαναοὶ γε καὶ ἀθανάτοισι μάχονται.” 380

τὴν δ' ἡμέλβετ' ἔπειτα Διώνη διὰ θεῶων·  
“ τέτλαθι, τέκνον ἐμόν, καὶ ἀνάσχεο κηδομένη περ·  
πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τλήμεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες  
ἐξ ἀνδρῶν, χαλέπ' ἄλγε' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι τιθέντες.  
τλή μὲν Ἄρης, ὅτε μιν Ὀτος κρατερὸς τ' Ἐφιάλτης, 385  
παῖδες Ἀλωῆος, δῆσαν κρατερῶι ἐνὶ δεσμῶι·  
χαλκέωι δ' ἐν κεράμωι δέδετο τρισκαίδεκα μῆνας.

372. κατέρεψεν G. 374. ἐνιπᾶ Q (so *τινὲς* Schol. B L): ἐν ὧπῃ Harl. b: ἐνωπῇ Par. d, and γρ. JO. 375. φιλομῆδης Q. 377. πτολέμοιο N. 380. γε om. R: τε Vr. a b. 383. πολλὰ OS.

among other daughters of Okeanos and Tethys, in Hesiod *Theog.* 353, and as present at the childbearing of Leto, *Hymn. Apol.* 93. These appear to be only attempts to connect with the Olympian system an earlier goddess who did not really belong to it. Her cult seems to have been Thesprotian and connected with that of Zeus at Dodona, where she was his *σύναος*. She also had an altar in Athens near the Erechtheion (with Ζεὺς ὕπατος? See Preller *G. M.*<sup>4</sup> i. 125), which all points to an antiquity more remote than that of Hera. The name itself is probably connected with Lat. *Diana*, and in formation it resembles Διώνυσος.

374. ἐνωπῇ only here (and Φ 510?); it evidently means *openly*, in the sight of all.

383. Cf. 873-4. τλάμεν, with the usual punctuation after ἐξ ἀνδρῶν, is here used absolutely; but this is hardly to be paralleled in H., the expression τλήτε, φίλοι, B 299, being rather different. It would perhaps be better, as suggested by Heyne, to take ἄλγεα as the object of τλήμεν as well as of ἐπιτιθέντες. For the use of the latter verb cf. B 39. Fulda (*Unters. über die Sprache der Hom. Ged.*

224) says that ἄλγος was originally used of mental pain only, and that the three passages in which it is used of bodily pain (here, 895, B 721) are of late origin. He might have added λ 582.

385. For the legend of Otos and Ephialtes, the youthful giants who piled Pelion upon Ossa, see λ 308 sqq. The traditional explanation makes them a personification of the triumph of agricultural pursuits (Ἀλωεύς from ἀλώη) over warlike passions. τοὺς Ἀλωείδας φασὶ καταπαῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς ἐς αὐτὸν παρασκευάς, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ποιῆσαι βιοτεύειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, Schol. D on λ 308. Mr. Frazer (*C. R.* ii. 222) suggests that the idea of imprisoning the war-god was rather to make sure of his presence when needed. However that may be, the legend—which is at home in various parts of Greece, particularly in Boiotia and Naxos—seems to be founded on a vegetation-myth. See Preller *G. M.*<sup>4</sup> i. 103-5. The thirteen months are of course a lunar year. As to why Ares was imprisoned mythographers differ.

387. The κέραμος reminds us of the enormous jars, quite large enough to hold a man comfortably, found by Dr.

καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο Ἄρης ἄτος πολέμοιο,  
εἰ μὴ μητριυὴ περικαλλῆς Ἡερίβοια  
Ἑρμέαι ἐξήγγειλεν· ὁ δ' ἐξέκλεψεν Ἄρῃα  
ἤδη τειρόμενον, χαλεπὸς δέ ἐ δεσμὸς ἐδάμνα.  
τλῇ δ' Ἥρῃ, ὅτε μιν κρατερὸς πᾶϊς Ἀμφιτρώωνος  
δεξιτερὸν κατὰ μαζὸν οὔστῳι τριγλώχινι

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388. ἄτος: ὤτος P. 390. ἐρμείαι AC: ἐρμει S: ἐρμέα τ' M.

Schliemann at Hissarlik; see the illustrations to *Ilios* pp. 33, 378, 589. These jars are of course of earthenware. The epithet **χάλκεος** is added in accordance with the usual practice of describing the utensils of the gods as made of the more valuable metals, while men used baser materials; cf. 724 sqq. Eurystheus, according to the legend, of which representations on archaic vases are not uncommon, lived in a brazen **κέραμος** sunk in the ground, for fear of Herakles. Acc. to the *Et. Mag.* (98. 31) **κέραμος** was the Cyprian name for 'prison' (our slang 'jug').

388. For the construction see 311.

389. **μητριυή**, of the sons of Aloeus, apparently; but according to others, of Hermes. But it is evidently meant that the step-mother does what she can to thwart her step-sons. Their mother is called Iphimedeia in λ 305.

391. **ἐδάμνα**: rather **ἐδάμνη**, as Nauck suggests, from **δάμνημι** (893). Cf. however **ἠῦδα**, which, as Fick has remarked, is an analogous form from **αὔδημι** (Aeol. ? **αὔδαμι**), not a contracted imperfect.

393-400 have an obvious echo in the *Heraclea* of Panyasis (fr. 16) **τλῇ μὲν Δημήτηρ, τλῇ δὲ κλυτὸς ἀμφιγυῖεις**. Probably enough they are adapted from some older epic dealing with Herakles; cf. T 95 ff. They seem to belong to the legend of the campaign of Herakles against Pylos, which recurs, but without the divine elements, in Δ 690, where the schol. says, **Ἡρακλῆς παρεγένετο εἰς Πύλον χρήζων καθαρσίῳ, οἱ δὲ Πύλιοι ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὐκ εἰσεδέξαντο αὐτόν· ἐφ' ᾧ ὄργισθεὶς ὁ ἥρως ἐπόρθησε Πύλον. συνεμάχουν δὲ τῷ μὲν Νηλεῖ τρεῖς θεοί, Ποσειδῶν Ἥρα Ἀἰδωνεύς, τῷ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ δῦω, Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ζεὺς**. According to Hesiod, *Scut. Her.* 359-67, Ares was among the victims on the same occasion:

**ἤδη μὲν τέ ἐ φημι καὶ ἄλλοτε πειρηθῆναι  
ἐγχεὸς ἡμετέρου, δθ' ὑπὲρ Πύλου ἡμαθέντος  
ἀντίος ἔστη ἐμείοι, μάχης ἄμοτον μενεαίνων.**

So also Pind. *Ol.* ix. 31-5:

**ἀντίον πῶς ἂν τριδόντος Ἡρακλῆς σκύτα-  
λον τινάξει χερσίν,  
ἀνίκ' ἀμφὶ Πύλον σταθεὶς ἥριεδε Ποσειδᾶν,  
ἥριεν δὲ μιν ἄργυρέῳ τόξῳ πελεμίζων  
Φοῖβος, οὐδ' Ἀἰδᾶς ἀκινήταν ἔχε ῥαβδόν.**

(Cf. Apollod. ii. 7. 3, and Pausanias vi. 25. 3.) The legend no doubt belongs to the journey to Hades, to recover Alkestis or to bring back Kerberos. There was clearly some primitive idea that Pylos (here the Elean, not the Messenian, v. on B 591) was the gate of the under-world; a cult of Hades there is mentioned by Pausanias, l.c., as being founded on the gratitude of the Pylians for his alliance with them against Herakles on this occasion. But Schol. T says **Ἀρίσταρχος "πύλῳι" ὥς χόλῳι καὶ ἐσπέρῳ**, i.e. Ar. took **πύλος** to be not the name of a town but=**πύλη**, like **χόλος** and **ἐσπερος** beside **χολή** and **ἐσπέρα**, and understood it to mean 'in the gate of the underworld.' This is not impossible, for the gates of hell are often spoken of (cf. 646, I 312, and the epithet **πυλάργης** applied to Hades), and a masc. **πύλος** = **πύλη** is actually found in a Thessalian inscription (see H. W. Smyth in *A. J. P.* ix. 491). But this appears to be the only other case in Greek, and H. uses only the pl. **πύλαι**. It seems therefore practically certain that the word is really local, though it is of course possible, in view of the chthonian myths connected with Pylos, that the name of the town meant, or was supposed to mean, the gate of Hades. Ar.'s difficulty arose presumably from the fact that the Hades legend was not attached to the Messenian Pylos. **ἐν νεκυέεσσι** would most naturally mean 'in the country of the dead,' and this would agree with such a double sense of **Πύλῳι**, but there is no strong reason why it should not be the same as **ἐν νεκάδεσσιν**, 886. In any case it can hardly go with **βαλῶν**, which means 'hitting him';

βεβλήκει· τότε καὶ μιν ἀνήκεστον λάβεν ἄλγος.  
 τλῆ δ' Ἀΐδης ἐν τοῖσι πελώριος ὠκὺν οἰστόν, 395  
 εὖτε μιν ὠτύος ἀνὴρ, υἱὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,  
 ἐν Πύλῳ ἐν νεκύεσσι βαλὼν ὀδύνησιν ἔδωκεν.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ πρὸς δῶμα Διὸς καὶ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον  
 κῆρ ἄχεων, ὀδύνησι πεπαρμένος, αὐτὰρ οἰστός  
 ὦμῳ ἐνι στιβαρῶι ἡγήλατο, κῆδε δὲ θυμόν. 400  
 τῶι δ' ἐπὶ Παιήων ὀδυνήφατα φάρμακα πάσσω  
 ἡκέσατ'· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητός γ' ἐτέυκτο.  
 σχέτλιος, ὀβριμοεργός, ὃς οὐκ ὄθет' αἴσυλα ῥέζων,  
 ὃς τόξοισιν ἔκηδε θεούς, οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι.  
 σοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀνῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη· 405  
 νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὸ οἶδε κατὰ φρένα Τυδέος υἱός,  
 ὅττι μάλ' οὐ δηναῖος ὃς ἀθανάτοισι μάχεται,  
 οὐδέ τί μιν παῖδες ποτὶ γούνασι παππάζουσιν  
 ἐλθόντ' ἐκ πολέμοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηϊοτήτος.  
 τῶ νῦν Τυδείδης, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστι, 410  
 φραζέσθω μή τίς οἱ ἀμείνων σεῖο μάχεται,  
 μὴ δὴν Αἰγιάλεια περίφρων Ἀδρηστίνη

394. καὶ μιν : κέν μιν Ar. (ἐν τῇ ἐτέραι) HMNOPTU Harl. b d, King's Par. a b f k : κύμῳ Harl. a : κέν μιν J : καὶ περ C (γρ. κέν μιν) R Par. c (*supr.* μιν) d g h : κέν περ Q : καὶ μιν περ G. || εὐχος N (*supr.* ἄλγος). 395. πελώριον Q. 397. ὀδύναισιν G. 399. ὀδύνασι G. 400. ἐνήλατο P : ἐλήλατο MNOQ (Harl. a *supr.*) Vr. a b A. || κῆδε δ' ἔ θυμῶι G. 402. κατὰ ἐννητούς ar. Eust. 403. ὀβριμοεργός ACG Par. e : ὀβριμουργός S : αἰσυλοεργός Ar. || ὅς : διὰ τοῦ τ ὅ τ' Ar. (?) : ὅς τ' P. 406. Τυδέος υἱός : καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν Eust. 407. μαχεῖται Q : μάχοιτο ACGJORSU. 408. τι and τε Ar. διχῶς. 411. ἀμείνω σοῖο S. || μαχεῖται Q : μάχοιτο Vr. a. 412. ἀδραστήν G.

for there is no Homeric analogy for translating it 'casting him among the dead.' *ωτύος* for *ὁ αὐτός*, here only—an obviously late form, for which we can at once write the Homeric *αὐτός*, or still better *οὔτος*. See note on Z 260.

401-2=900-1, q.v. Παιήων is only mentioned again by Homer in 899 and δ 232, where he is the progenitor of the race of physicians; see Solon fr. 13. 57, and Pindar P. iv. 270 *ἔσσι δ' ἰατὴρ ἐπικαιρότατος*, Παιὼν δέ σοι τιμᾶι φάος. He is apparently not identical with Apollo, who in Homer has no healing function (cf., however, II 514-29). So schol. on δ 232, *διαφέρει ὁ Παιήων Ἀπόλλωνος ὡς καὶ Ἡσίοδος μαρτυρεῖ, "εἰ μὴ Ἀπολλῶν Φοῖβος ὑπὲρ θανάτοιο σώσσαι, ἢ καὶ Παιήων, ὃς ἀπάντων φάρμακα οἶδεν."*

403-4. For the exclamatory nom. see

*νήπιος* 406, and A 231. But in all other cases the adj. immediately follows the mention of the person referred to, whereas here Herakles has not been mentioned since 397. This suggests that 398-402 have been rather violently interpolated. Heyne remarks that Olympus is not the home of Hades. For *ὀβριμοεργός* Ar. seems to have read *αἰσυλοεργός*, which to our taste does not go well with the *αἴσυλα* immediately following. But cf. note on Θ 527.

407. Cf. Z 130. *μάλα* goes with the whole clause, 'of a surety.' Cf. B 241.

408. *παππάζουσιν* : so Nausikaa calls her father *πάππα*, ζ 57; compare also μ 42, and for the addition of the participle in the next line the similar Z 480.

412. Aigialeia, wife of Diomedes, was the youngest daughter of Adrestos, and

ἐξ ὕπνου γούωσα φίλους οἰκῆας ἐγείρειν,  
 κουρίδιον ποθέουσα πόσιν, τὸν ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ἰφθίμη ἄλοχος Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο.” 415  
 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀμφοτέρησιν ἀπ’ ἰχῶ χειρὸς ὁμόργνυ·  
 ἄλθετο χεῖρ, ὀδύναί δὲ κατηπύωντο βαρεῖαι.  
 αἱ δ’ αὖτ’ εἰσορόωσαι Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη  
 κερτομίους ἐπέεσσι Δία Κρονίδην ἐρέθιζον.  
 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη· 420  
 “Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥά τί μοι κεχολώσεται, ὅττι κεν εἴπω ;  
 ἦ μάλα δὴ τινα Κύπρις Ἀχαιιάδων ἀνιείσα  
 Τρωσὶν ἅμα σπέσθαι, τοὺς νῦν ἔκπαγλ’ ἐφίλησε,  
 τῶν τινα καρρέζουσα Ἀχαιιάδων εὐπέπλων

413. ἀγέρηι Lips. Mosc. 1. 416. ἀμφοτέραισιν G. || ἰχῶ AJ (γρ. ἰχώρ) NS  
 (ἰχώ) Ambr. Mor. Ven. B Et. Mag. al. : ἰχώρ (ἰχώρ) Ω (ἰχώρα Q) (τὸ δὲ γράφειν  
 ἰχώρ μετὰ τοῦ ρ . . οὐ πάντῃ ἀρέσκει τοῖς παλαιοῖς Eust.). || χειρὸς Ar. Ω : χερσὶν  
 Zen. || ὁμορρεν Et. Mag. 417. ἄλφετο H. 418. ἥρα P. 422. ἀχαϊάδων  
 P. || ἐνιείσα Ambr. 423. ἅμ’ ἐσπέσθαι ALOS Lips. Ambr. : ἅμα πέσσεσθαι P. ||  
 ἔκπαγλα φίλησε P. 424. ἀχαϊάδων P.

aunt of her husband ; for Tydeus had married her elder sister Deipyle, see E 121. So in A 226 Iphidamas is married to his maternal aunt. This seems to shew that relationship through the mother alone ceased to be recognized in Greece at an early date ; though Mr. M'Lennan thought that traces of it existed till historic times, and that the change to the recognition of paternal kinship is recorded in the trial scene in the *Eumenides*. If this be the case, it must have been a peculiar instance of survival in Attica. It may be said generally that in Homer the idea of kinship is almost the same as our own, though relationship through the mother is not quite so close as with us. δῆν must go with γούωσα, with *long lament* ; but this is not very appropriate. Perhaps the original reading was δῆ F, lamenting *him*. For the feminine patronymic Ἀδρηστήν cf. I 557 Εὐρηνήν, E 319 Ἀκρισίωνη.

415. This line seems to be an interpolation, and out of place, like 403-4 above. If it is to be accepted at all it evidently ought to come after 412. For ἰφθίμη cf. A 3 ; as used of women it is an Odyssean word, except T 116.

416. mss. are divided between ἰχῶ, ἰχώρ, and ἰχώρ. As the word is masculine in 340 and elsewhere in Greek, the first form is preferable. Barnes conj. ἀμφοτέρησ' ἰχώρ' ἀπὸ χειρὸς.

418. The return of Athene from the battle-field to Olympus has not been mentioned ; see 510. The 'taunt'—which almost descends, it must be admitted, to the level of 'chaff'—looks like a conscious allusion to Δ 7-12. For 421 cf. E 762, α 158.

423. The choice between σπέσθαι and ἐσπέσθαι (i.e. σε-σπ-έσθαι, reduplicated aor.) is not easy. The former is fixed by metre in χ 324, with σπείω in K 285. But mss. prefer forms in ἐσπ- wherever possible (K 246, M 395, N 570, μ 349, τ 579, φ 77 unanimously ; M 350, 363 by a majority ; here and in δ 38 alone is there a majority for ἅμα σπέσθαι), though they are in H. invariably preceded by elision, so that those in σπ- can always be substituted. In compounds the form in σπ- alone is known throughout Greek. In Pindar both σπομέναν (P. iv. 40) and ἐσπῃται (O. viii. 11) are certain ; in Attic σπέσθαι (Eur. *Phoen.* 426) and ἐσπόμεν (or ἐσπόμεν ? Soph. *Trach.* 563). This points to the forms in σπ- being the older, those in ἐσπ- a later introduction ; we need not be surprised to find them side by side in K 285, but are justified in preferring the shorter where tradition permits. H. G. § 36 (6). τοὺς νῦν ἔκπαγλ' ἐφίλησε : cf. Γ 415.

424. τῶν τινα takes up τινα Ἀχαιιάδων above. Fäsi has remarked that the speech seems to shew something of the



- πρὸς χρυσῇ περόνῃ καταμύξατο χεῖρα ἀραιήν." 425  
 ὧς φάτο, μείδῃσεν δὲ πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,  
 καὶ ῥα καλεσσάμενος προσέφη χρυσῇν Ἀφροδίτην·  
 "οὐ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται πολεμῆϊα ἔργα,  
 ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο,  
 ταῦτα δ' Ἀρηϊ θοῶι καὶ Ἀθήνῃ πάντα μελήσει." 430  
 ὧς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,  
 Αἰνείαι δ' ἐπόρουσε βοήν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης,  
 γινώσκων, ὃ οἱ αὐτὸς ὑπείρεχε χεῖρας Ἀπόλλων·  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' οὐδὲ θεὸν μέγαν ἄζετο, ἵετο δ' αἰεὶ  
 Αἰνείαν κτείνειν καὶ ἀπὸ κλυτὰ τεύχεα δῦσαι. 435  
 τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπόρουσε κατακτάμεναι μενεαίνων,  
 τρὶς δέ οἱ ἐστυφέλιξε φαεινὴν ἀσπίδ' Ἀπόλλων.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸ τέταρτον ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος,  
 δεινὰ δ' ὁμοκλήσας προσέφη ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων·  
 "φράζεο, Τυδεΐδῃ, καὶ χάζεο, μηδὲ θεοῖσιν 440  
 ἴσ' ἔθελε φρονέειν, ἐπεὶ οὐ ποτε φύλον ὁμοῖον  
 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων."

425. ΚΑΤΑΜΥΞΑΤΟ Ar. JNT: κατεμύξατο Ω. 433. ΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΩΝ ALN. ||  
 χεῖρα OR. 434. ἄλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ': ἄλλ' ὃ γε G: ἀλλὰ γὰρ Q: ἄλλ' ὃ γὰρ  
 CDLM (δ γ' ἄρ Harl. a) ORT Lips. Mosc. 1. 437. στυφέλιξε P. 438-9 om.  
 A. 439. δεινὰ γ' Mosc. 1. 441. ἴσα θέλε GJO. || οὔποσ' ὅμοιον φύλον Q.

freedom of familiar conversation. ΤΩΝ for τῶν is a late form.

425. ἀραιήν Ar., ἀραιήν vulgo. The word must once have begun with a consonant, probably F, on account of the hiatus here and Σ 411, T 37; the two other places where it occurs, Π 161, κ 90, prove nothing. No plausible etymology has been suggested. The soft breathing probably arose from the idea that the word meant *destructive*, and came from ἀρή or ῥαίω: but this is not tenable. The vulg. κατεμύξατο shews the strong tendency of the scribes to insert the augment. The verb is of course ἀμύσσω (A 243, T 284). The περόνη is the *fibula* with which the old-Greek ('Doric') πέπλος was fastened over the shoulder, so that ἐνπέπλων is something more than an otiose epithet.

431. This formal line occurs seven times in *Il.* and sixteen in *Od.* It is a 'tag' especially used for a return to scenes on earth after colloquies in Olympus, which commonly shew signs of later insertion; see H 464, Θ 212, Σ 368, Φ 514. It is therefore sufficient in itself

to throw suspicion on the whole preceding section 352-430, with its curious wealth in mythology elsewhere strange to H. The last portion, 418-30, with its half-comic character, bears a suspicious likeness to the buffoonery of the *θεομαχία* in Φ.

436-42. Compare the parallel passages Π 702-11, 784-6, T 445-54, with notes there.

439. δ': F' Brandreth and van Leeuwen.

440. The very marked assonance is curiously overlooked by Bekker in the full list of similar phenomena given in *H. B.* i. 185-95.

441. For ἴσα φρονέειν compare A 187 ἴσον ἐμοὶ φάσθαι.

442. χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων go closely together in the sense of ἐπιχθονίων, hence the position of τε: so Ω 250 βοὴν ἀγαθὸν τε. Compare also phrases like Ἀρηϊ κτάμενος, which are commonly written as a single word (see note on A 74). For the thought cf. P 447 ὅσσά τε γαῖαν ἐπι πνέει τε καὶ ἔρπει.

ὧς φάτο, Τυδείδης δ' ἀνεχάζετο τυτθὸν ὀπίσσω,  
μῆνιν ἀλευάμενος ἐκάτηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος.

Αἰνείαν δ' ἀπάτερθεν ὀμίλου θῆκεν Ἀπόλλων

445

Περγάμῳ εἰν ἱερῇ, ὅθι οἱ νηὸς γ' ἐτέυκτο.

ἦ τοι τὸν Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα

ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀδύτῳ ἀκέοντό τε κύδαινόν τε·

αὐτὰρ ὁ εἶδωλον τεύξ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων

αὐτῷ τ' Αἰνείαι ἵκελον καὶ τεύχεσι τοῖον·

450

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' εἰδῶλῳ Τρῶες καὶ δίοι Ἀχαιοὶ

δήιουν ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι βοείας,

ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισιγῖά τε πτερόεντα.

443. Ἀρίσταρχος **ΤΥΤΘΩΝ** οὐ πολλόν Schol. T, cf. II 710. 444. ἀλευόμενος  
Ar. AGN (P *supr.*) STU Lips. Vr. a b, Mosc. 1 *al.* 445. ἀπάνευθεν S. 446.  
ἐν CDJOR. || ἱρῇ T<sup>1</sup>. || γ' om. G : τ' P. 448. κύδαιόν P (*supr.* N). 450. τ'  
om. NP : δ' R. || τοῖο GJ (γρ. τοῖον). 452. ἀλλήλοισι Q. || κτήεσφι D Vr. b.

444. The choice between ἀλευάμενος and ἀλευόμενος is not easy. In II 711 the former has almost unanimous ms. support. If we read ἀλευόμενος it must be taken as a fut.; there is no pres. ἀλεύομαι, the aor. ἤλευα-το being formed from ἀλέ(F)ομαι as ἔχευα from χέω. See note on A 549.

446. The γε here seems quite out of place, and was no doubt, as Heyne remarks, inserted into the original νηὸς ἐτέυκτο from ignorance of the fact that the ictus was sufficient to lengthen a final syllable. Apollo, as often, shares a temple, mentioned again in H 83, with his mother and sister. This and the temples of Athene in Troy (Z 88 etc.) and Athens (B 549, η 81) are the only temples mentioned in H., for the νηὸς of A 39 cannot be counted as such; see note there. Vaguer allusions are found in ξ 10 and μ 346. So, too, the idea of the ἄδυτον, a holy place 'not to be entered' by the profane, belongs to an order of ideas foreign to Homeric thought. Elsewhere we hear only of the ἄλσος, the τέμενος, and the βωμός as the scene of worship (cf., however, οὐδὸς I 404, θ 80, which may imply a temple at Pytho). See particularly Cauer *Grundfragen* pp. 197 ff. We seem, therefore, to have clear evidence of the intrusion of later ideas into the primitive Epos. As Cauer remarks, the form νηὸς agrees with this; for in similar words which must have existed in the primitive poems the older -ᾰο- has not

given way to the Ionic -ηο-: λαός, Ἀτρεΐδαο, τᾶων, etc.

448. **ΚΥΘΑΙΝΟΝ**, they not only healed him, but made him even more glorious than before. This is worthy of gods when they tend a favourite. Compare T 33 ἔσται χρώς ἐμπεδος ἢ καὶ ἀρίων, and the phrases A 405 etc. κύδεϊ γαίων, ξ 438 κύδαινε θυμόν, π 212 κυδῆναι θνητὸν βροτὸν. It is not necessary to adopt Herwerden's conj. κήδεον or Mme. Dacier's κῆδαινον. (Hesych. κηδαίνει· μερμῶναι).

449. The mention of the 'wraith' is not like Homer, nor does it appear on other occasions when a hero is snatched away by a god. It plays no further part in the action, nor does there seem to be the least surprise shewn at the reappearance of the original Aineias in the field, l. 514. Apparently some rhapsodist thought it necessary to explain why the disappearance of Aineias did not stop the fight, and therefore added 449-53, the two latter lines from M 425-6. Compare the story of Stesichoros and the wraith of Helen, which may have suggested the idea here.

452. **ΒΟΕΙΑΣ** is the genus, **ἀσπίδας** and **λαικήϊα** the species, both being made of leather. For the meaning of the latter and of the epithet **εὐκύκλος** see App. B §§ 1, 9.

453. **ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ**, *fluttering*. The epithet is elsewhere applied only to arrows and ἔπεα. The old explanation that it meant *κούφα*, *ελαφρά*, is untenable.

δὴ τότε θούρον Ἄρηα προσηύδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.  
 “Ἄρες, Ἄρες βροτολοιγέ, μαιφόνε, τειχεσιπλήτα,  
 οὐκ ἂν δὴ τόνδ’ ἄνδρα μάχης ἐρύσαιο μετελθών,  
 Τυδεΐδην, ὃς νῦν γε καὶ ἂν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο;  
 Κύπριδα μὲν πρῶτα σχεδὸν οὕτασε χεῖρ’ ἐπὶ καρπῶι,  
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ’ αὐτῶι μοι ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος.”

455

ὥς εἰπὼν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφέζετο Περγάμωι ἄκρηι,  
 Τρωιάς δὲ στίχας οὖλος Ἄρης ὥτρυνε μετελθών,  
 εἰδόμενος Ἀκάμαντι θεῶι ἡγήτορι Θρηκῶν.

460

υἷαςι δὲ Πριάμοιο διοτρεφέεσσι κέλευσεν·

“ὦ υἱεῖς Πριάμοιο διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος,

εἰς τί ἔτι κτείνεσθαι ἐάσετε λαὸν Ἀχαιοῖς;

465

ἦ εἰς ὃ κεν ἅμφι πύλης εὐποιήτησι μάχωνται;

κεῖται ἀνὴρ ὃν τ’ ἴσον ἐτίομεν Ἐκτορι δῖωι,

Αἰνείας υἱὸς μεγαλήτορος Ἀγχίσαο·

ἄλλ’ ἄγετ’ ἐκ φλοίσβοιο σαώσομεν ἐσθλὸν ἐταῖρον.”

ὥς εἰπὼν ὥτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστω.

470

457. μάχεται Vr. b. 458. πρῶτον JNOQRU (cf. 883). 461. τρω(ι)ᾶς Antim. Sinop. Cyp. C (τρωῖας) D<sup>2</sup>GJNO, γρ. Par. a: τρώας D<sup>1</sup>RU (διττὴ φέρεται γραφή . . ἢ γὰρ κτητικῶς τρωῖας . . ἢ μᾶλλον προπερισπωμένως τρώας Eust.): τρώων Ω (γρ. Ο). || οὖλος: τινὲς ἄλος Cram. Ep. 442. 462. ὁρακῶν G. 463. υἱεῖς NP, γρ. Harl. a. | διοτρεφέεσι G. || κέλευεν [DHMS] Harl. a. 464. διοτρεφέος GHJO. 465. εἰς A. || ἐάσατε T Bar. || ἀχαιῶν CM. 466. πύλαις G. || εὐποιήτησι (εὐ ποιητήσι) Zen. Ω: εὐ ποιητοῖσι (εὐποιήτοισι) Ar. MNOT Vr. b. 468. After this H Vr. b add εὐχεται ἐκγεγάμεν, μήτηρ δὲ οὐ ἔστ’ Ἀφροδίτη (=E 248). 469. φλοίσβου CG. 470. ὥτρυνε Vr. b.

455=31, which is also followed by οὐκ ἂν δὴ.

461. Τρωῖας is a doubtful form, as Τρωῖος almost always has the first syll. in thesis, and should probably be written Τρώιος: cf. on A 129. Wilamowitz (*Herakles*<sup>2</sup> ii. 44) defends Τρώας as a form of the σχῆμα Ἰωνικόν or ‘whole and part’ figure. There are, however, some eight passages in which the form Τρωῖος (or Τρώιος?) cannot be altered. It is better, therefore, to accept it here, though it must be admitted that Τρώας gives the best explanation of the variant Τρώων, as an attempt to get rid of an unfamiliar and harsh construction.

462. Ares, the Thracian god, naturally assumes the form of a Thracian chief. See N 301.

465. For the dat. after κτείνεσθαι we may compare the similar construction after δάμνασθαι (Θ 244), ὑποκλονέεσθαι (Φ 556), etc. The short form Ἀχαιοῖς is

not capable of emendation by anything less violent than van L.’s ἀγανόν.

466. There is nothing to decide between the εὐποιήτησι of Zen. and -οισι of Ar.; in Π 636 we have ἐνποιητῶν, while in γ 434 the mss. all give ἐνποίητον (πυράγην). So εὐξεστος is used with both two and three terminations; in Z 266 Ar. and Zen. were similarly divided. We ought perhaps to read either ἐν ποιητήσιν or ἐνποιήτοισιν. But no such possibility exists in Z 266, where there is a similar variation between ἀνιπτήσιν and ἀνιπτοῖσιν. It is apparently not possible to introduce uniformity into the practice of the Epic language in this respect. To avoid the harsh synizesis Nauck conj. ἦ ἐς ὃ κ’, while Brandreth omits ἦ and the note of interrogation at the end of 465.

470. This oft-repeated line, though presumably part of the ancient stock in trade of the Epos, is remarkable for

ἔνθ' αὖ Σαρπηδὼν μάλα νείκεσεν "Εκτορα δῖον·  
 "Εκτορ, πῆμ' δὴ τοι μένος οἴχεται, ὃ πρὶν ἔχεσκες;  
 φῆς που ἄτερ λαῶν πόλιν ἐξέμεν ἡδ' ἐπικούρων  
 οἶος, σὺν γαμβροῖσι κασιγνήτοισί τε σοῖσι·  
 τῶν νῦν οὐ τιν' ἐγὼ ἰδέειν δύναμ' οὐδὲ νοῆσαι, 475  
 ἀλλὰ καταπτώσσουσι, κύνες ὥς ἀμφὶ λέοντα·  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ μαχόμεσθ', οἳ πέρ τ' ἐπίκουροι ἔνειμεν.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐπίκουρος ἔων μάλα τηλόθεν ἤκω·  
 τηλοῦ γὰρ Λυκίῃ, Ξάνθῳ ἔπι δινήεντι·  
 ἔνθ' ἄλοχόν τε φίλῃν ἔλιπον καὶ νήπιον υἱόν, 480  
 καὶ δὲ κτήματα πολλά, τά τ' ἔλδεται ὅς κ' ἐπιδευής·  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς Λυκίους ὀτρύνω καὶ μέμον' αὐτὸς  
 ἀνδρὶ μαχέσσασθαι· ἀτὰρ οὐ τί μοι ἐνθάδε τοῖον,  
 οἶόν κ' ἥ ἐφύοιεν Ἀχαιοὶ ἢ κεν ἄγοιεν.  
 τύνη δ' ἔστηκες, ἀτὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελεύεις 485  
 λαοῖσιν μενέμεν καὶ ἀμυνέμεναι ὥρεσσι·  
 μή πως, ὥς ἀφίσι λίνου ἀλόντε πανάγρον,

471. ἔνθ' : ἔνθ' P. 472. πῆμ' : ποῖ JNP Vr. b, Mosc. 1. 473. φῆς Ar.  
 CDHP<sup>2</sup>PTU : φῆ(ι)ς Ω. 474. γαμβροῖσι G. 475. ἐγὼ GJMOPQU : ἐγὼν Ω  
 (om. T, ἐγὼ in lemma). || οὐδὲ : οὔτε H. 477. δὲ GJMRTU Lips. Mosc. : τὲ  
 C : δ' αὖ Ω. || τ' om. N. 481. τά τ' : τὰ δ' S. || ὅς κ' : ὅςτ' CHMOQRSU  
 Vr. b : ὅς L : πᾶς P. || ἐπιδεύει O. 483. μαχίσεσθαι Ar. [LM] Harl. a :  
 μαχίσεσθαι P : μάχεσθαι HRU. 487. λίνου ἐλόντε Et. Mag. 183. 33.

the rare neglect of the *F* of *Φεκάστου* (ἀπάντων Brandr., θυμὸν τε Bentley).

471. This is the first entry in the story (excepting of course in the Catalogue B 376) of Sarpedon and his Lykians.

473. φῆς, acc. to tradition, is imperf., φῆς pres.

474. γαμβροῖσι, here *brothers-in-law*, cf. N 464, 466.

478. ἤκω : according to the unanimous tradition of the grammarians, generally confirmed by the mss., the only Homeric form is *ἤκω*, which Bekker accordingly introduced here (v. La R. H. T. p. 287). But *ἤκω* is given by mss. in three other passages, Σ 406, ν 325, ο 329. To the scribes of existing mss. the difference was purely graphical, and it is creditable to their fidelity that the influence of Attic and the *κοινή* should not have introduced *ἤκω* more generally.

481. καὶ δὲ, as though *κατέλιπον* had preceded. Precisely similar cases will be found in Γ 268, Η 168, Ψ 755. Sarpedon means of course that he has left

his wealth, forgetful of the protection which it would need against the raids of his needy neighbours. ὅς κ', sc. *ἔησι* : see on A 547.

484. Observe the effect of the 'bucolic diaeresis' in preserving the length of the last syllable of Ἀχαιοί before a vowel. The other instances in the *Iliad* are B 262, Δ 410, Ε 215, Θ 120, Λ 554, Ο 23, Π 226, Φ 111, Ψ 441, Ω 641, several of which, however, are only instances of contracted forms which have ousted the full forms followed by normal hiatus. See van L. *Ench.* pp. 75 f.

486. ὥρεσσι should be ὀάρεσσι, cf. I 327.

487. The use of the dual here is hard to explain, unless it refer to the wives mentioned in the preceding line, and mean 'caught in pairs, man and wife'; which seems highly improbable (so Schol. B *ὑμεῖς καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες*, see H. G. § 170). Others make it = *σὺ καὶ ὁ λαός* : others explain it as a relic of the primitive origin of the plural from the dual,



ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γέννησθε·  
οἱ δὲ τάχ' ἐκπέρσουσ' ἐν ναιομένην πόλιν ὑμήν.  
σοὶ δὲ χρή τάδε πάντα μέλειν νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμαρ, 490  
ἀρχοὺς λισσομένωι τηλεκλειτῶν ἐπικούρων  
νωλεμέως ἔχμεν, χαλεπὴν δ' ἀποθέσθαι ἐνιπὴν."

488. ΓΕΝΟΙΣΘΕ C. 489. ἐκπέρσωσ'(ιν) CMQ Mosc. 2. || ὕμ(μ)ῖν OQST Lips.<sup>1</sup>  
491. ΤΗΛΕΚΛΗΤΩΝ ACGJMNQ. || τ' ἐπικούρων M: γ' ἐπικούρων H. 492.  
ΧΑΛΕΠΗΝ AHJ (γρ. κρατερὴν) NOPQU Vr. a b and γρ. Harl. a: κρατερὴν Ω.

of which, however, the traces in Homer are excessively doubtful, see note on A 567. (The passages bearing on the point are brought together by von Christ, *Die Interp. bei Homer* p. 195.) Monro suggests that a line alluding to the absence of Paris may have dropped out, so that ἀλόντε may mean 'you and Paris.' But there is no single case in Homer where the loss of a line can be assumed with reasonable probability; the tradition was wonderfully tenacious of all it had got, as well as acquisitive of new matter. Again, the length of the α in *Φαλόντε* is almost without analogy; it is true we have ἔαλων in Attic, but that is simply a case of double augment, like ἔωρων, (ἐάγη?) (*H. G.* § 67. 3). We find, however, ἀλῶναι with ᾱ in Hipponax fr. 74. 1. Bentley's conjecture, *λῖνον πανάγροιο Φαλόντες*, removes both difficulties; but there is no trace of a tradition to support it, nor any obvious reason why it should have been altered to the text; and there is no other case in Homer of a short vowel before γρ, though it might be argued that the analogy of βρ and δρ would justify this. Unfortunately, owing to the lacuna in A, we have no evidence as to the Alexandrian view of the passage. Tryphiodoros, however, seems to have read it as it stands, for he writes (674) ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δέδμηντο λῖνω θανάτοιο πανάγρωι. It may be observed that the emendation *λῖνοιο* for *λῖνου*, though it removes the difficulty of the quantity, introduces what is equally objectionable, an un-Homeric rhythm. *H. G.* § 367 (2).

Fishing with a net is mentioned again only in the simile in χ 383 sqq., nor does fishing with an angle, which is several times mentioned in the *Odyssey* (δ 368, μ 251, 332), occur in the *Iliad*, except in similes, II 406, Ω 80. This all seems in favour of supposing that at all events the lines 487-9, if not the whole speech of Sarpedon, do not belong to the

oldest part of the *Iliad*. It cannot perhaps be proved, but it will I believe be felt, that the periphrase *λῖνον πανάγρον* does not sound like a genuine Homeric name for a net; it is very different from the simple *δίκτυον* πολύωρον of χ 386, and reminds us rather of the Hesiodic style, in which periphrases are so common; or even of the tragedians. Compare Aisch. *Cho.* 507 τὸν ἐκ βυθοῦ κλωστήρα σώζοντες λῖνον: and of the net cast over Troy, *Agam.* 357-61 στεγανὸν δίκτυον . . μέγα δουλείας γάγγαμον, ἀτῆς παναλώτου. The word ἀψίς is ἀπ. λεγ. in Homer, and, in the sense of *mesh*, in all Greek till we come to Orpian.

489. ἐκπέρσουσ', al. -ωσ', but the reversion to the principal construction is more epic.

491. It is doubtful whether we should read *τηλεκλειτῶν* or *-κλητῶν* where the epithet is applied to the Trojan allies (also Z 111, I 233, A 564, M 108). *πολύκλητοι*, Δ 438, is decidedly in favour of the latter; but the former alone is admissible in other cases, Ξ 321, λ 308, τ 546. To our mss. the two are of course practically identical.

492. ἐνιπὴ is here, as always, reproful as felt by him to whom it is addressed, cf. Δ 402, Ξ 104, κ 448. Hector is urged to 'put away from himself,' *silence*, the reproach which is laid upon him by the allies. The expression is the converse of β 86 μῶμον ἀνάψαι, X 100 ἐλεγχέειν ἀναθήσει. It is therefore quite needless to follow Nauck in reading ὑποδέχθαι, 'accept their rebuke.' Paley compares Hes. *Opp.* 762 φήμη . . ἀργαλή φέρεν χαλεπὴ δ' ἀποθέσθαι. Similarly Pind. *O.* viii. 68 ἀπεθήκατο . . ἀτιμωτέραν γλῶσσαν, x. 40 νεῖκος δὲ κρεσσόνων ἀποθέσθ' ἀπορον. The interpretation of the scholia, that Hector is urged 'to give up the habit of severe rebuke' towards his allies, is on every ground untenable.

ὥς φάτο Σαρπηδών, δάκε δὲ φρένας Ἴκτορι μῦθος.  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἔξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε,  
 πάλλων δ' ὀξέα δοῦρα κατὰ στρατὸν ὠίχετο πάντη 495  
 ὀτρύνων μαχέσασθαι, ἔγειρε δὲ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν.  
 οἱ δ' ἐλελίχθησαν καὶ ἐναντίοι ἔσταν Ἀχαιῶν.  
 Ἀργεῖοι δ' ὑπέμειναν ἀολλέες οὐδ' ἐφόβηθεν.  
 ὥς δ' ἄνεμος ἄχνας φορέει ἱερὰς κατ' ἄλωας  
 ἀνδρῶν λικμώντων, ὅτε τε ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ 500  
 κρίνῃ ἐπειγομένων ἀνέμων καρπὸν τε καὶ ἄχνας.  
 αἱ δ' ὑπολευκαίνονται ἀχυρμαί· ὥς τότε Ἀχαιοὶ  
 λευκοὶ ὑπερθε γέγοντο κονισάλοι, ὃν ῥα δι' αὐτῶν  
 οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον ἐπέπληγον πόδες ἵππων,  
 ἅψ ἐπιμισγομένων· ὑπὸ δ' ἔστρεφον ἡμιοχῆες· 505  
 οἱ δὲ μένος χειρῶν ἰθὺς φέρον. ἀμφὶ δὲ νύκτα  
 θοῦρος Ἄρης ἐκάλυψε μάχῃ Τρώεσσιν ἀρήγων,

496. μαχέεσθαι P: μάχεσθαι R. || ἔγειρε R. 500. Πτολεμαῖος τοὺς δωδεκά-  
 συλλάβους στίχους ἐκτιθεῖς φησὶ . . . καὶ τοῦτον οὕτω γράφεσθαι, εὐτ' ἂν Ξ. Δ.  
 Schol. T. 501. κρίνει CDPN: κρίνοι G. 502. ὑπολευκαίνοντο P.

495. **δοῦρα**: Bekker writes *δοῦρε*, no doubt rightly; cf. Γ 18, Ζ 104, Α 43, etc. We need not also write *ὀξέε* with van L. The dual here expresses more than 'two spears'; it means *the pair* of spears which were regularly carried by the Homeric warrior, for in its original use it belongs properly only to things which go in pairs, such as eyes, hands, etc. It is curious that a scholion of Porphyrios on Γ 379 quotes as evidence of the two spears Ζ 104, where as here mss. all have *δοῦρα*.

499. **ἱερὰς**, consecrated to Demeter; cf. Α 631 *ἀλφίτου ἱεροῦ ἀκτῆν*. **ἄλωι**, here and Ν 588, Τ 496, *threshing-floor*, generally *orchard*. But the former meaning seems to be the oldest, cf. *ἀλέω*, *ἀλοάω*, *ἄλως*, and other words with kindred meanings. The question whether the right form is *ἀλωή* or *ἀλωιή* is doubtful; we have a similar variation between *ἀλοάω* and *ἀλοάω*, but the *ι* in any case does not seem to be primitive, and it is therefore best to follow the mss. in reading *ἀλωάς*, though La Roche prefers *ἀλωιάς*, on the strength of the tradition of the grammarians. For another elaborate simile taken from the process of winnowing cf. Ν 588 sqq. It is not clear whether the wind used is

created by a fan, or whether they took advantage of the natural wind; but the probability seems in favour of the former, so that *ἐπειγομένων* will be a passive.

503. **δι' αὐτῶν**, *through the men* (as opposed to the horses), i.e. the *πρόμαχοι* fighting in front of their chariots.

504. **πολύχαλκον**, as γ 2; cf. *χάλκεος* P 425, *σιδήρεος* ο 329. For the thematic pluperfect **ἐπέπληγον** cf. *H. G.* § 27, and note on Δ 492.

505. **ἐπιμισγομένων** seems to apply to the whole of the combatants, not to *ἵππων*, as generally thought. **ὑπέστρεφον**, kept wheeling about, as the line of *πρόμαχοι* on whom they attended swayed backwards and forwards. Cf. 581.

506. For **μένος χειρῶν ἰθὺς φέρον** we may compare Δ 447 *σὺν ῥ' ἔβαλον . . μένε' ἀνδρῶν*, and Γ 7 *ἐριδα προφέρονται*.

507. **μάχῃ** may go either with the preceding or the following words. The rhythm and the analogy of Α 521 are in favour of the second alternative, while II 567 speaks for the first, and the omission of the object around which the darkness is cast produces a rather bare effect. Perhaps *μάχῃ* may be regarded as performing a double function, going both with *ἐκάλυψε* and *ἀρήγων*.

πάντοσ' ἐποιχόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἐκράαιεν ἐφετμὰς  
 Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου, ὅς μιν ἀνώγει  
 Τρῶσιν θυμὸν ἐγείρει, ἐπεὶ ἴδε Παλλάδ' Ἀθήνην 510  
 οἰχομένην· ἡ γάρ ῥα πέλεν Δαναοῖσιν ἀρηγῶν.  
 αὐτὸς δ' Αἰνείαν μάλα πίνος ἐξ ἀδύτοιο  
 ἦκε, καὶ ἐν στήθεσσι μένος βάλε ποιμένι λαῶν.  
 Αἰνείας δ' ἐτάροισι μεθίστατο· τοὶ δ' ἐχάρησαν,  
 ὡς εἶδον ζῶν τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα προσιόντα 515  
 καὶ μένος ἐσθλὸν ἔχοντα· μετάλλησάν γε μὲν οὐ τι·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἔα πόνος ἄλλος, ὃν ἀργυρότοξος ἔγειρεν  
 Ἄρης τε βροτολοιγὸς Ἴρις τ' ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα.  
 τοὺς δ' Αἶαντε δύο καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Διομήδης  
 ὄτρυνον Δαναοὺς πολεμιζέμεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ 520  
 οὔτε βίας Τρώων ὑπεδείδισαν οὔτε ἰωκάς,  
 ἀλλ' ἔμενον νεφέλησιν εἰκότες, ἅς τε Κρονίων  
 νηνεμῆς ἔστησεν ἐπ' ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν

508. ἐκράαιεν P: ἐκράαιεν Ω. 510. ἀγείρει Porph. on Θ 2, Eust.  
 511. ἀρητός CDNR<sup>1</sup>. 514. παρίστατο R. || τοῖ: οἱ M. 516. γε μὲν: δέ  
 μιν Q. || οὐ τι: οὐδὲν D. 520. ὄτρυνον Q: ὠτρυναν Mosc. 2. | οἱ δὲ: ἠδὲ  
 QT Mosc. 1. 521. ἰωκάς: ἰώας O.

508. For the ἐφετμαῖ in question see 455. ἐκράαιεν: B 419.

509. The epithet χρυσαόρος recurs only in O 256 in H. (also *Hymn. Ap.* 123, Hes. *Opp.* 771, Pind. *P.* v. 104), and has caused some surprise, since the sword is not the weapon of Phoebus. So in the oracle of 'Bakis' (Herod. viii. 77) Artemis, and in *Hymn. Cer.* 4 even Demeter are called χρυσαόρος, and according to the schol. on O 256 Πίνδαρος χρυσαόρα Ὀρφέα φησίν. Hence some of the old grammarians explained ἄορ as having meant originally 'implement,' ὄπλον, in the widest sense, to include both the winnowing-fan of Demeter and the lyre of Apollo; or, still more loosely, *having with gold*, i.e. with the golden lyre. But there is no trace in Greek of such a wide meaning of the word ἄορ. The epithet, like other archaic titles of gods, is beyond our knowledge. The acc. χρυσάορα in Pindar, *Hymn. Ap.*, and Hesiod shews that we should read χρυσάορος here. The alteration is evidently due to the hiatus in O 256.

511. οἰχομένην, somewhere between 290 and 418; see note on the latter

passage. But this whole episode 506-18 is highly suspicious. 508-11 do not agree with 455-9 to which they seem to refer; they are in fact no more than a repetition of 461-70. The repetition ἀρηγῶν (507)—ἀρηγῶν (511) is clumsy. The 'night' cast over the battle, without any apparent result, is a stock device of interpolators in later books (see O and P). 516-8 seem designed to evade the difficulty caused by the introduction of the wraith in 449. The intervening 514-5 are perhaps adapted from H 307-8.

517. πόνος ἄλλος is not a Homeric phrase; we can only explain it to mean 'toil of different sort,' i.e. war as opposed to curiosity. Heyne has remarked that for ἄλλος we should rather expect an epithet such as αἰπός. ἀργυρότοξος is not elsewhere used as a substantive, but we may compare γλανκώπις Θ 373, etc., ἡριγένεια χ 197. The last half of 518 is from Δ 440. ἔα for ἔαε is a doubtful form.

523. νηνεμῆς: for this genitive of time see *H. G.* § 150. We may also compare the use of the gen. with ἐπὶ in Attic.

ἀτρέμας, ὅφρ' εὐδησι μένος Βορέας καὶ ἄλλων  
 ζαχρειῶν ἀνέμων, οἳ τε νέφεα σκιόοντα 525  
 πνοιήσιν λιγυρήσιν διασκιδνᾶσιν ἀέντες·  
 ὥς Δαναοὶ Τρῶας μένον ἔμπεδον οὐδ' ἐφέβοντο.  
 Ἄτρεΐδης δ' ἀν' ὄμιλον ἐφοίτα πολλὰ κελεύων·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, ἄνδρες ἔστε καὶ ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔλεσθε,  
 ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας. 530  
 αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σοοὶ ἢ ἐπέφανται,  
 φευγόντων δ' οὔτ' ἄρ κλέος ὄρνυται οὔτε τις ἀλκή.”  
 ἦ καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ θοῶς, βάλε δὲ πρόμον ἄνδρα,  
 Αἰνεία' ἔταρον μεγαθύμου, Δηϊκόωντα  
 Περγασίδην, ὃν Τρῶες ὁμῶς Πριάμοιο τέκεσσι 535  
 τίον, ἐπεὶ θοὸς ἔσκε μετὰ πρῶτοις μάχεσθαι.  
 τὸν ῥα κατ' ἀσπίδα δουρὶ βάλε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 ἦ δ' οὐκ ἔγχος ἔρυτο, διαπρὸ δὲ εἶσατο χαλκός,  
 νειαίρῃ δ' ἐν γαστρὶ διὰ ζωστήρος ἔλασσε.  
 δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ. 540  
 ἔνθ' αὖτ' Αἰνείας Δαναῶν ἔλεν ἄνδρας ἀρίστους,  
 υἱὲ Διοκλῆος Κρήθωνά τε Ὀρσίλοχόν τε,  
 τῶν ῥα πατὴρ μὲν ἔναιεν ἐκτιμένην ἐνὶ Φηρήνῃ

525. ζαχρειῶν τ' Q. 528. πολλὰ ἢ μακρὰ Eust. 530. τ' om. PQ.  
 531. αἰδομένων Ar. GP Par. c: αἰδομένων δ' Ω. 532. ὄρνυται C (supr. o) Q.  
 533. ἀνδρῶν Q. 534. αἰνεία': αἰνείας JOR: αἰνείας Ω. || μεγάρου Q. ||  
 δημοκῶντα CH Vr. b. 538. χαλκός AOPT Ven. B Bar. and γρ. U Harl. a,  
 Vr. b: καὶ τῆς Ω. 540. δούπησεν δὲ πεσών: ἔριπε δὲ πρηνῆς M Mosc. 1.  
 542. κρίωνά DQ. 543. ἐνὶ φηρήνῃ: γρ. <ἐν> ἐφῆρήνῃ T(?).

525. ζαχρειῶν: the nom. ζαχρηῖς is found in M 347 (360), N 684, of men and horses. The variation between -ει- before ω and -η- before ει is in accordance with the practice of MSS. (H. G. p. 384). The word is usually conn. with χρα- (see 138), but this is doubtful.

529. ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔλεσσε only here; but cf. ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχων II 209, 264. The phrase has a superficial resemblance to our 'take heart.' In the repetition of these lines O 561-4 we have αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ. For the contracted αἰδεῖσσε we should read αἰδεσθε, as αἰδομένων shews.

538. See on Δ 138.

539. νειαίρῃ, only with γαστήρ (also 616, II 465, P 519) conn. with νέας, νειόθι, in the sense 'lowest' (root νί, which is found in Skt. in the sense 'down'). The ordinary derivation from

νέ(φ)ος is untenable, as the local sense of νέος is not to be established from a few casual uses of Lat. *novissimus*, when it does not occur in all Greek, much less in Homer. νέας (cf. 857, I 153), it is true, is used occasionally in Attic Greek = νεώτατος, but this is likely enough to happen, as a word in universal use is always apt to attract to itself sporadic archaic forms which resemble it. For the fem. suffix -αιρα cf. ἰοχέαιρα (πίερα). διὰ ζωστήρος, as in Δ 187. Here there seems to be neither θώρηξ nor μίτρη.

543. Φηρήνῃ, also in plur. Φηραί, in Messenia; see I 151, γ 488, ο 186. It is generally identified with the modern Kalamata, but Pernice would place it three miles farther E. at Janitza (see Frazer *Paus.* iii. p. 422). In the house of this Diokles Telemachos lodges (γ 489). and in the house of his father Ortilochos



ἀφνειὸς βίοτιοι, γένος δ' ἦν ἐκ ποταμοῖο  
 Ἀλφειοῦ, ὅς τ' εὐρὺ ρέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης, 545  
 ὅς τέκετ' Ὀρσίλοχον πολέεσσ' ἀνδρεσσιν ἀνακτα·  
 Ὀρσίλοχος δ' ἄρ' ἔτικτε Διοκλῆα μεγάλυμον,  
 ἐκ δὲ Διοκλῆος διδυμάονε παῖδε γενέσθην,  
 Κρήθων Ὀρσίλοχός τε, μάχης ἐν εἰδότε πάσης.  
 τὼ μὲν ἄρ' ἠβήσαντε μελαινῶν ἐπὶ νηῶν 550  
 Ἴλιον εἰς εὐπωλον ἄμ' Ἀργείοισιν ἐπέσθην,  
 τιμὴν Ἀτρεΐδης Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Μενελάω  
 ἀρνυμένω· τὼ δ' αὖθι τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψεν.  
 οἶω τὼ γε λέοντε δύω ὄρεος κορυφήσιν 555  
 ἐτραφέτην ὑπὸ μητρὶ βαθείης τάρφεσιν ὕλης·  
 τὼ μὲν ἄρ' ἀρπάζοντε βόας καὶ ἵφια μῆλα  
 σταθμοὺς ἀνθρώπων κεραΐζετον, ὄφρα καὶ αὐτῷ

546. ΤΕΚΕΝ Mosc. 2: ΤΕΚ' H. || ὈΡΤΙΛΟΧΟΝ (D *supr.*) U (*supr.* c) Harl. b (altered—by *man.* 1?—to ὄρε.) : ὄρ\*ίλοχον T (τ *in ras. man.* 2, probably Rhosos, the scribe of Harl. b) (TU Harl. b read the same in 547). See Schol. T ὁ πρόγονος (546-7) διὰ τοῦ τ, ὁ παῖς (542, 549) διὰ τοῦ σ (Ar.): but Zen. (Schol. on γ 489) read ὄρ-τίλοχος in 549 (and 542). 551. Εἰς : ἐς O. || ἄμ' : ἄ\* T, μ *in ras. man.* 1. 555. ἔΤΡΑΦΕΤΗΝ J. 557. ΣΤΑΘΜΟΥΣ τ' N. || αὐτοὶ N (P *supr.*).

(as the almost complete consensus of mss. of the *Odyssey* calls him) Odysseus received his bow (φ 16). The variant Ὀρτίλοχος in 546-7 is an attempt to reconcile the traditions of *Iliad* and *Od.*; but it is not likely that the grandfather and grandson bore different names.

553. ἀρνυμένω: cf. note on A 159.

554. οἶω τὼ γε as it stands must be for τὼ γε, οἶω, by a violent hyperbaton, the phrase being thus an anticipation of τοῖω τὼ in 559; or else it must mean 'even as they, were two lions bred.' Neither alternative is agreeable, the second perhaps being the worst, as there is no case in H. where a simile is thus introduced as a direct statement, the relation of the thing illustrated and the instance illustrating it being reversed. "θῆρε?" Nauck, for τὼ γε: but then the corruption is inexplicable. The same may be said of Heyne's οἶω τ' αὖτε, and Förstemann's τὼ οἶω τε. οἶω αἰθωνε conj. Düntzer, when the synizesis might explain the corruption but is itself unparalleled. Agar conj. τὼ τε (J. P. xxiv. 276), where τὼ is dual of τις on the analogy of του, τωι. Cf. ὥς ὅτε τις τε λέων P 61, and so Θ 338, P 542. But there is no analogy for οἶός τις in a

simile; the only clear cases of it are quite different (ι 348, ν 377; see on 638 below). The evil is probably past remedy, τὼ γε representing some adjective which was thrust out because it was unintelligible and forgotten. As to the dual Schol. B mentions the legend that two lion's cubs were always born at one birth, and that the lioness never had more. This is mere fiction; litters of four are common, and six are not unknown. The dual probably implies a *couple*, lion and lioness.

555. For the intransitive use of ἐτραφον cf. B 661.

556. Ἰφια: this adjective occurs only in the phrase ἵφια μῆλα. Unlike ἵφι (for which see note on Z 478) the word shews clear traces of F (Knös p. 128). The nom. may be *Fίφιος* or *Fίφης*. It might be supposed that ἵφια was formed by a mistake from ἵφι, wrongly supposed to be a neuter; but this is highly improbable in view of the fact that ἵφι has lost the F, and that the adj. occurs only in a single stereotyped phrase, which therefore presumably is a part of the original furniture of Epic poetry. The whole question of the relation of the two words is very puzzling. Cf. also note on ἵφθιμος, A 3.

ἀνδρῶν ἐν παλάμησι κατέκταθεν ὀξείῃ χαλκῶι·  
τοίω τῷ χεῖρεσσιν ὑπ' Αἰνείαιο δαμέντε  
καππεσέτην ἐλάτησιν ἐοικότε ὑψηλῇσι. 560

τὼ δὲ πεσόντ' ἐλέησεν ἀρηϊφίλος Μενέλαος,  
βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων κεκορυθμένος αἶθοπι χαλκῶι,  
σειῶν ἐγχείην· τοῦ δ' ὥτρυνεν μένος Ἄρης,  
τὰ φρονέων, ἵνα χερσὶν ὑπ' Αἰνείαιο δαμείη.  
τὸν δ' ἶδεν Ἀντίλοχος μεγαθύμου Νέστορος υἱός, 565  
βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων· περὶ γὰρ διέ ποιμένι λαῶν,  
μή τι πάθοι, μέγα δέ σφας ἀποσφῆλκει πόνοιο.  
τὼ μὲν δὴ χεῖράς τε καὶ ἔγχεα ὀξυόοντα  
ἀντίον ἀλλήλων ἐχέτην μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι,  
Ἀντίλοχος δὲ μάλ' ἄγχι παρίστατο ποιμένι λαῶν. 570  
Αἰνείας δ' οὐ μέινει, θοός περ ἔων πολεμιστής,  
ὥς εἶδεν δύο φῶτε παρ' ἀλλήλοισι μένοντε.  
οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν νεκροὺς ἔρυσαν μετὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν,  
τὼ μὲν ἄρα δειλῶ βαλέτην ἐν χερσὶν ἐταίρων,  
αὐτῷ δὲ στρεφθέντε μετὰ πρώτοισι μαχέσθην. 575

ἐνθα Πυλαιμένεια ἐλέτην ἀτάλαντον Ἄρηϊ,  
ἀρχὸν Παφλαγόνων μεγαθύμων ἀσπιστάων·  
τὸν μὲν ἄρ' Ἀτρεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος  
ἐσταότ' ἔγχεϊ νύξε, κατὰ κληῖδα τυχήσας·  
Ἀντίλοχος δὲ Μύδωνα βάλ' ἡνίοχον θεράποντα, 580  
ἐσθλὸν Ἀτυμνιάδην, ὃ δ' ὑπέστρεφε μώνυχας ἵππους,

559. τοιούτω Par. e (γρ. τοίω τῷ). || τῷ : τοῖ O. || δαμέντες Mor. Bar. 560.  
ἐοικότε Ar. P Mosc. 1 (Par. e *supr.*): ἐοικότες Ω. || ὑψηλοῖσι C. 561. ἀρηϊ-  
φίλος: Βοήν ἀγαθός T. 563. σεῖων T' Q. || τοῦ: τῷ Mosc. 1. 567. πάθοι  
LO: πάθῃ Ω. || σφας ACDNT. 568. ὀξυόοντα S. 574. τῷ: τοῦς Q.  
575. στραφέντε M: στραφέντε O (γρ. στρεφέντε). 578. τὸν: τῷ M. ||  
δουρικλειτὸς [HO] P [S]: δουρικλυτὸς Ω. 579. κατὰ: παρὰ PT.

567. ἀποσφῆλκει, ἀποτυχεῖν ποιήσειεν, Schol. B. For the word cf. γ 320 ὄντινα πρῶτον ἀποσφῆλῳσιν ἀελλαι ἐς πέλαγος μέγα τοῖον: and for the thought Δ 175. πάθοι is preferable to the vulg. πάθῃ, though not perhaps absolutely necessary; see H. G. § 298. σφᾶς is found only here, elsewhere σφεας (see, however, θ 315). Ahrens conj. σφε.

574. δειλῶ: for this phrase, which is not so much an expression of a sense of pathos on the poet's part as a euphemism for 'dead' (so Döderlein), cf. Ψ 65, ι 65, with X 76.

576. ἐλέτην, in accordance with Ho-

meric usage, can only mean 'slew.' In N 658 (q.v.) this same Pylaimenes is alive, and weeping at the bier of his son. This inconsistency has caused infinite searching of heart to critics for hundreds of years. But it is really just such a slip as is often made even by authors who write; in works which must at first have been recorded as well as conceived by the brain alone, it is only strange that more such errors are not found.

581. The charioteer was following close behind his master, and seeing him slain was beginning to turn for flight.

χερμαδίῳ ἀγκῶνα τυχῶν μέσον· ἐκ δ' ἄρα χειρῶν  
 ἡνία λεύκ' ἐλέφαντι χαμαὶ πέσον ἐν κονίησιν.  
 Ἀντίλοχος δ' ἄρ' ἐπαΐξας ξίφει ἤλασε κόρσην,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἀσθμαίνων ἐνεργέος ἔκπεσε δίφρου 585  
 κύμβαχος ἐν κονίησιν ἐπὶ βρεχμόν τε καὶ ὤμους.  
 δηθὰ μάλ' ἐστήκει, τύχε γὰρ ἀμάθοιο βαθείης,  
 ὄφρ' ἵππω πλήξαντε χαμαὶ βάλον ἐν κονίησι,  
 τοὺς ἵμας' Ἀντίλοχος, μετὰ δὲ στρατὸν ἤλας' Ἀχαιῶν.  
 τοὺς δ' Ἐκτωρ ἐνόησε κατὰ στίχας, ὄρτο δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 κεκληγώς· ἅμα δὲ Τρώων εἶποντο φάλαγγες 591  
 καρτεραί· ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν Ἄρης καὶ πότνι Ἐννώ,

582. χερὸς Vr. A. 583. πέσεν L. 584. ἄρ' om. NPQ: ἄν R. || ὑπαΐτας  
 J. 585. ὁ: ὁ P: ὅ γ' Ω. 586. βρεγμός (A *supr.*) NU<sup>1</sup> (Γ *in ras.*: *supr.* φραγμός  
 U<sup>2</sup>) Cant.: βρεγμών S. 587. ἐστήκει Ar. R: εἰστήκει Ω. || γὰρ D<sup>2</sup>HJMNOPQ  
 Vr. a, Mosc. 1 3<sup>1</sup>: δ' ἄρ Γ: γάρ ρ' Ω. || ψαμάθοιο D<sup>2</sup>HPQ. 590. τοὺς: τὸν  
 δ' J.

582. *τυχεῖν* takes the genitive; hence *ἀγκῶνα* must be construed with *βάλε* above, *τυχῶν* being used absolutely, 'not missing him.' See *H. G.* § 151 c.

583. *ἐλέφαντι*: for the use of ivory in adorning harness see Δ 141.

585. ὁ for ὅ γ', see note on B 105.

586. *κύμβαχος* as adj. and *βρεχμός* are ἀπαξ λεγόμενα in Homer. The former recurs, however, in the sense of 'helmet' in O 536. Düntzer connects the two by explaining the adj. here to mean 'in a curve,' and the substantive 'the curved,' i.e. vaulted part of the helmet; cf. *κύπτω*. Compare note on ἀνακυβαλίσσον Π 379. The Gramm. quote a doubtful *κύβη* = the head, whence also *κυβιστᾶν* Π 745, Σ 605. Instead of *βρεχμός* the forms *βρεγμός*, *βρέγμα*, *βρέχμα* are found in later Greek.

587. The manner in which Mydon falls is not very obvious. The most probable event would be that he would fall out of the back of the car; for in any other direction the rail and framework of the car would support him. He might then lie with his feet still in the car, and his head and shoulders upon the ground. But then it is hard to see how the horses could be said to kick him: and the Homeric chariot was hardly large enough to hold the whole of the legs and part of the trunk of a man in a reclining position. It would seem, therefore, that he was standing

sideways in the car, so as to look at his enemy while he wheeled; and when wounded fell backwards over the side of the car, his knees hooking over the *ἀντυξ*. The 'soft sand' explains why the car was brought for a while to a standstill; it would be absurd to suppose, as some commentators have done, that his head dug a hole in the sand so as to keep him fixed. γὰρ ρ' and ψαμάθοιο seem to be mere makeshifts for the sake of the metre. The old glossographers distinguish ψάματος sea-sand from ἀματος dust; but it is doubtful if the distinction is real. ἀματος occurs also in *Ηγημν. Ar.* 439, but not elsewhere before Ap. Rhod. Compare ἄμμος (in Attic prose) by ψάμμος.

589. *τοὺς* is apparently relative, though this is not very Homeric. The obvious *τοὺς δ'* of all printed editions before La R. seems to be a conjecture of Dem. Chalcondylas.

592-3 look like an interpolation. For Ἐννώ see 333, the only other passage where she is named. *κυδοιμός* seems to be another personification, as in Σ 535, Hes. *Scut. Her.* 156, Ar. *Pax* 255; compare ἀλκή and ἰσκή E 740, and perhaps φύξα I 2. ἔχουσα then means 'having as her attendant.' But compare Δ 4 "Εριδα . . πολέμοιο τέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαν: it is quite possible that *κυδοιμός* may be an attribute of Enyo, which she is regarded as carrying in her hand. The epithet ἀναιδής, which is some-

ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα κυδοιμὸν ἀναιδέα δηϊοτήτος,  
 Ἄρης δ' ἐν παλάμησι πελώριον ἔγχος ἐνώμα,  
 φοίτα δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν πρόσθ' Ἑκτορος, ἄλλοτ' ὀπίσθε. 595  
 τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ῥίγησε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ ἀπάλαμνος, ἰὼν πολέος πεδίοιο,  
 στήνῃ ἐπ' ὠκυρόωι ποταμῶι ἄλαδε προρέουσι,  
 ἀφρῶι μορμύροντα ἰδὼν, ἀνά τ' ἔδραμ' ὀπίσσω,  
 ὥς τότε Τυδεΐδης ἀνεχάζετο, εἰπέ τε λαῶι. 600  
 “ὦ φίλοι, οἶον δὴ θαυμάζομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον  
 αἰχμητὴν τ'. ἔμεναι καὶ θαρσαλέον πολεμιστὴν.  
 τῶι δ' αἰεὶ πάρα εἰς γε θεῶν, ὅς λαιγὸν ἀμύνει.  
 καὶ νῦν οἱ πάρα κείνος Ἄρης βροτῶι ἀνδρὶ ἑοικώς.  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς Τρῶας τετραμμένοι αἰὲν ὀπίσσω 605  
 εἴκετε, μηδὲ θεοῖς μενεαινέμεν ἱφί μάχεσθαι.”  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, Τρῶες δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν ἤλυθον αὐτῶν.  
 ἔνθ' Ἑκτωρ δύο φῶτε κατέκτανεν εἰδότε χάρμης,  
 εἷν ἐνὶ δίφρῳ ἑόντε, Μενέσθην Ἀγχιάλόν τε.  
 τῶ δὲ πεσόντ' ἐλέησε μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας. 610  
 στή δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰὼν καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεινῶι,  
 καὶ βάλεν Ἀμφιον Σελάγου υἱόν, ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ Παισῶι  
 ναῖε πολυκτῆμων πολυλήϊος, ἀλλὰ ἐ μοῖρα  
 ἦγ' ἐπικουρήσονται μετὰ Πριάμόν τε καὶ νῆας.  
 τὸν ῥα κατὰ ζωστήρα βάλεν Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, 615

596. ΤὸΝ: τοὺς Μ. 600. ἀναχάζετο S. εἶπε δὲ P. 609. μενεαίνεμεν Ar.: others μενέστην (μενέ\*\*\*ην Par. a, cō in ras.). || ἐγχιάλόν JO. 612. ἀμφιάλῳ R. || ὅς ῥ': ὅς γ' O. || πεσσῶ P. 614. ἦγ': ἦκ' C.

times applied to inanimate objects (see on Δ 521), decides nothing.

597. ἀπάλαμνος, which occurs only here in H., may mean, as suggested by Autenrieth, 'unable to swim, *sine palmis*. But it is more likely to be *shiftless*, without resource, as in later Greek (= ἀπάλαμος, Hes. *Opp.* 20, etc.).

601. οἶον, neuter, used as an exclamation, 'how,' i.e. how wrongly. θαυμάζομεν is probably an imperfect.

603=T 98. πάρα εἰς: the hiatus here can hardly be right; van Herw. conj. *πάρ' ἄρ' εἰς*, Bentley *πάρα τίς γε* (Brandreth *τίς τε*), Nauck *πάρ' ἔεις*, a form which is found in Hesiod *Theog.* 145, but is evidently only a false case of 'Epic diectasis.' The simplest change would be *πάρ' ἰός γε*: *ἰῶι* is found in Z 422 and is now recognised as a genuine

form beside *ἰῆς, ἰῆι, ἰαν*. There is no reason why the nom. should not have been used, and the rarity of it would explain the corruption.

604. κείνος, *there*; Γ 391, cf. E 175, K 341, 477.

606. μενεαίνεμεν: -ειν Brandreth, -εττε Bentley. But see on 556, Z 478. θεοῖς: θεῶι Nauck.

612. Παισῶι: this would seem to be the same as Ἀπαισός in B 828. Of course we might read ἐν Ἀπαισῶι here. But the shorter form is supported not only by the mss., but by Strabo and Steph. Byz. as well as Herod. and the *Et. Mag.* For 614 compare B 834; it is evident that the composer of the lines in B had this passage before him, though there Amphios is called son of Merops.



νειαίρῃ δ' ἐν γαστρὶ πάγῃ δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,  
 δούπησεν δὲ πεσών. ὁ δ' ἐπέδραμε φαίδιμος Αἴας  
 τεύχεα συλήσων· Τρῶες δ' ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχεναν  
 ὀξέα παμφανώνοντα· σάκος δ' ἀνεδέξατο πολλά. 620  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ λαξ προσβὰς ἐκ νεκροῦ χάλκεον ἔγχος  
 ἐσπάσας· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτ' ἄλλα δυνήσατο τεύχεα καλὰ  
 ὦμοιιν ἀφελέσθαι· ἐπείγετο γὰρ βελέεσσι.  
 δεῖσε δ' ὁ γ' ἀμφίβασιν κρατερὴν Τρώων ἀγερῶχων,  
 οἳ πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ ἐφέστασαν ἔγχε' ἔχοντες,  
 οἳ ἐ μέγαν περ ἔοντα καὶ ἴφθιμον καὶ ἀγαθὸν 625  
 ὦσαν ἀπὸ σφείων· ὁ δὲ χασσάμενος πελεμήχθη.  
 ὧς οἱ μὲν πονέοντο κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην·  
 Τληπόλεμον δ' Ἑρακλεῖδην ἥν τε μέγαν τε  
 ὦρσεν ἐπ' ἀντιθέωι Σαρπηδόνι μοῖρα κραταιή.  
 οἳ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες, 630  
 υἱὸς θ' υἱωνός τε Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο,  
 τὸν καὶ Τληπόλεμος πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·  
 "Σαρπηδὸν, Λυκίων βουληφόρε, τίς τοι ἀνάγκη  
 πτώσσειν ἐνθάδ' ἔοντι μάχης ἀδαήμονι φωτί;  
 ψευδόμενοι δέ σέ φασι Διὸς γόνον αἰγιόχοιο 635  
 εἶναι, ἐπεὶ πολλὸν κείνων ἐπιδεύεαι ἀνδρῶν  
 οἳ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων·  
 ἀλλοῖόν τινά φασι βίην Ἑρακλείην

616. πάγεν L: πήγη P. 618. κυλεύσων (?) P<sup>1</sup>. 620. προβάς ACDNOPQ  
 Lips. 622. ὦμοισιν P. 623. κρατερῶν Ar. *Lex.* 27. 20. 626. πολειίχην  
 GJL. 628. ἥν τε αἴν M (Harl. a e corr.). 630. ἐν τῇ ἐτέραι (τῶν Ἀριστάρχων)  
 ἰόντε Schol. T. 632. πρότερον Q: πρῶτος Mosc. 1. 635. ψευδόμενον J.  
 636. πολλῶν S: πολὺ Q. || (From this line A is again by *man.* 1). 638. ἀλλοῖόν  
 Tyrannio: ἀλλ' οἷον Ar. Ω: ἀλλ' οἷον τινές Schol. T. || φησι M. || Ἑρακλείην Zen.  
 (ἀμείτρως) GQT.

623. ἀμφίβασις, only here (but cf. *πρόβασις* β 75). It clearly means *the defence* of the fallen body by the Trojans; cf. the use of the verb in A 37 (where see note), etc. Döderlein is wrong in taking it to mean 'he feared to be surrounded by the Trojans.'

625-6 = Δ 534-5, q.v.

627-98. For this very spirited episode see the Introduction to this book.

632. The καί here is awkward; it does not elsewhere occur after the often (twelve times) repeated formal line 630. Bentley conj. *τοῖσιν*, Heyne *τῶν καί*.

638. The vulg. ἀλλ' οἷον may be taken in two ways: (1) exclamative, 'but

what a man do they say was H.!' (2) 'But (those sons of Zeus were) such as.' (2) involves an awkward ellipse, and in (1) the presence of ἀλλά is hardly consistent with the sense assumed. οἷος when used exclamatively always begins a clause, e.g. 601, α 32, etc., and in the phrases ὦ πόποι . . . οἷον ἔειπες H 455, cf. O 286, etc. In δ 242, λ 519, where ἀλλ' οἷον begins a line, it is evidently subordinate to a preceding verb. Thus ἀλλοῖον seems to be decidedly the best reading. The objections of Ameis, (a) that ἀλλοῖός τις are not elsewhere found together, (b) that ἀλλοῖος is not elsewhere in H. used of purely mental

εἶναι, ἐμὸν πατέρα θρασυμένονα θυμολέοντα,  
 ὅς ποτε δεῦρ' ἔλθων ἔνεχ' ἵππων Λαομέδοντος 610  
 ἐξ οἷσις σὺν νηυσὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν  
 Ἴλιου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυιάς·  
 σοὶ δὲ κακὸς μὲν θυμός, ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί.  
 οὐδέ τί σε Τρώεσσιν ὀϊόμαι ἄλλκαρ ἔσεσθαι  
 'ἔλθόντ' ἐκ Λυκίης, οὐδ' εἰ μάλα καρτερός ἐσσι, 645  
 ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐμοὶ δμηθέντα πύλας Αἶδαο περήσειν."  
 τὸν δ' αὖ Σαρπηδὼν Λυκίων ἀγὸς ἀντίον ἦδ' αἶ  
 "Τληπόλεμ', ἧ τοι κείνος ἀπώλεσεν Ἴλιον ἱρήν  
 ἀνέρος ἀφραδίῃσιν ἀγανοῦ Λαομέδοντος,  
 ὅς ῥά μιν εὖ ἔρξαντα κακῶι ἠνίπαπε μύθωι, 650  
 οὐδ' ἀπέδωχ' ἵππους, ὧν εἵνεκα τηλόθεν ἦλθε."  
 σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐνθάδε φημὶ φόνον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν  
 ἐξ ἐμέθεν τεύξεσθαι, ἐμῶι δ' ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντα  
 εὖχος ἐμοὶ δώσειν, ψυχὴν δ' Αἶδι κλυτοπόλῳι."

639. ΘΡΑΣΥΜΕΝΟΝΑ S. 640. ὅς: ὡς Ambr. 641. ΟἷΣΙΣ CŪN: ΟἷΣΙ(Ν) D  
 Mosc. 1. 642. δ' ἀγυιάς: δὲ γυναῖκας Q: γυναῖκας Sm. 644. οὐδέ τι:  
 οὐδ' ἔτι HO. || τί σε: τίαι M. 646. ἐμοῦ GJNOQRS. 647. αἶ: ἄρ Mosc. 1.  
 650. ῥέξαντα Vr. a. || ΚΑΚΩΙ: χαλεπῶ Q. 651. ὦν: τῶν A. || ἔνεκα DQ.  
 653. τεύεσθαι U. || δ' om. PQ. || δαμέντι N<sup>1</sup>O. 654. αἶδῃ N<sup>1</sup>Q.

qualities, are only weak special pleading. As for (a) the obvious retort is that *oios* itself out of nearly 200 places where it occurs is only twice joined with *τις* (see on 554); *ἀλλοῖος* recurs only three times altogether (Δ 258, π 181, τ 265). The indefinite pronoun is hardly consistent with either explanation of *oios*. And (b) is not true in the case of τ 265. Finally, it is urged that *ἀλλοῖον τινα* is too weak an expression in this speech. This is a matter of taste; in my opinion the sense 'another sort of man, they say' is vigorous enough. For the masculine adj. with the periphrastic βῆναι cf. Δ 690, etc. (*H. G.* § 166. 1).

639. ΘΡΑΣΥΜΕΝΟΝΑ, here and λ 267 only, probably to be referred rather to μένος (μέμονα) than μένειν. Cf. Ἀγαμέμνων.

640. For the legend that Herakles had saved Hesione, the daughter of Laomedon, from a sea-monster, and had then destroyed Ilios because defrauded of his recompense, the famous mares of the stock of Tros, cf. Υ 145. The variant οἷσις for οἷσις CŪN removes the short form of the dat., but the omission

of the prep. is at least harsh. *oios* σὺν Fick.

646. Cf. Ψ 71; 652-4, Δ 443-5, II 625.

653. ΤΕΥΕΣΘΑΙ, in passive signification, as Γ 101 θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα τέτυκται, M 345 τάχα τῇδε τετεύχεται αἰπὺς ὀλεθρος, and many similar instances. Ameis-Hentze strangely deny the possibility of the use of τεύξεσθαι in this way, and say that it must be from τυγχάνειν: but the only analogy which can be quoted is far from close: Δ 684, ξ 231 τύχε (τύγχανε) πολλά. But the question is one of comparatively small importance, as τεύχω and τυγχάνω are simply different forms of the same verb, the intrans. forms ἐτυχον ἐτύχησα τετύχηκα being said to 'come from' one present, the transitive ἐτενυξα τεύξω and the passive τετεύχομαι τέτυγμα from the other. The present phrase shews exactly where the point of contact between the two lies. The passive fut. is not yet differentiated from the middle in H.; cf. εἰρήσεται in pass. sense, and see note on K 365.

654. The epithet ΚΛΥΤΟΠΩΛΟΣ, which recurs only in the parallel passages Δ

ὥς φάτο Σαρπηδών, ὁ δ' ἀνέσχετο μέλινον ἔγχος 655  
 Τληπόλεμος· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἁμαρτῇ δούρατα μακρὰ  
 ἐκ χειρῶν ἤϊξαν· ὁ μὲν βάλεν αὐχένα μέσσον  
 Σαρπηδών, αἶχμῃ δὲ διαμπερὲς ἦλθ' ἀλεγεινή,  
 τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψε·  
 Τληπόλεμος δ' ἄρα μῆρὸν ἀριστερὸν ἔγχει μακρῶι 660  
 βεβλήκειν, αἶχμῃ δὲ διέσσυτο μαιμῶωσα,  
 ὅστέωι ἐγχριμφθεῖσα, πατὴρ δ' ἔτι λουγὸν ἄμυνεν.  
 οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα δίοι ἐταῖροι  
 ἐξέφερον πολέμοιο· βάρυνε δέ μιν δόρυ μακρὸν  
 ἐλκόμενον· τὸ μὲν οὐ τις ἐπεφράσατ' οὐδ' ἐνόησε, 665

655. ΜΕΪΛΙΝΟΝ : χάλκεον O. 656. ἁμαρτῇ(i) DHOQRST<sup>1</sup>, γρ. J and ap.  
 Eust. : ἁμαρτῇ Ar. 657. ἤϊξαν Ar. Ω : ηἴζεν Ambr. 659. ὀφθαλμῶν Q.  
 661. ΒΕΒΛΗΚΕΙΝ Ar. U (A supr.) : ΒΕΒΛΗΚΕΙ Ω. 662. ἐγχριμφθεῖσα DMQR<sup>1</sup> Vr.  
 b c, Mosc. 3. || Δ' ἔτι : ΔΕ ΤΕ Vr. a : ΔΕ ΤΙ DGPS. 664. μακρῶ Harl. a.  
 665. Τὸ μὲν : ἐν τισι τό οἱ Schol. A (τόσον Schol. T).

445, II 625, may perhaps mean only that Hades, like an earthly king, has splendid horses as a sign of regal magnificence. But as it is used of no other god it is possible that it indicates the connexion of the horse with the under-world. There is no other trace in Homer of such an idea; but the god of death is commonly associated with the horse in Etruscan art, and the modern Greek death-god Charos is always in the popular imagination conceived as riding. So too the horse always has his place in the story of the rape of Persephone, who is herself λεύκιππος in Pind. O. vi. 95. So Paus. (ix. 23. 4) says of an ode of Pindar, otherwise unknown, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ αἰσματι ἄλλαι τε ἐς τὸν "Αἰδην εἰσὶν ἐπικλήσεις, καὶ ὁ χρυκήνιος, δῆλα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Κόρης τῇ ἀρπαγῇ. For the bearing of this on the vexed question of the significance of the horse in sepulchral monuments see Prof. P. Gardner's paper in J. H. S. v. pp. 114, 131. It is probable that we have here a trace of the religious ideas, not of the Greeks strictly speaking, but of the earlier non-Aryan population whom they subdued. Verrall (J. H. S. xviii. pp. 1 ff.) objects to the traditional explanation (a) that πῶλος in H. always means *foal*, not horse; (b) that κλυτός is, with one or two suspicious exceptions, used only of works of handicraft, or of famed individuals. There is some force in these objections; but his proposal to read

κλυτόπῳλος *ranger of the couch* (the dead) is not likely to command acceptance. (This der. from πωλόμαι is mentioned by the scholia, and attributed to Ar. by Ap. Lex., ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ "ψυχ. δ' "Α. κλ." ἀκούει κλυτὴν ἐπιπόλησιν (sic) διὰ τὸ τοὺς τελευτῶντας ἐξακούεσθαι διὰ τε τοὺς θρήνους καὶ τὰς οἰμωγὰς τὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, i.e. 'the god of loud wakes'.)

656. ἁμαρτῇ: ἁμαρτή Ar., who held it to be syncopated from ἁμαρτήδην. This is of course wrong, but very probably the omission of the ι may be a genuine tradition of the fact that the adverb was originally not a dative but an instrumental. The accent should then be ἁμαρτῇ.

659. ὀφθαλμῶν: ὀφθαλμῶ van L., which is clearly right. The gen. is meaningless here, and is probably due only to a reminiscence of κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυντ' ἀχλὺς (696 etc.). Cf. Ξ 438, II 325, 503.

661. μαιμῶωσα: for this personification of the spear cf. λυλαῖόμενα A 574, O 317, and Δ 126.

662. ἐγχριμφθεῖσα, *grazing*; the word is always used of close contact in Homer: κ 516, H 272, N 146, P 405, 413, Ψ 334, 338. For a full discussion of this and cognate verbs see Ahrens *Beiträge* pp. 12 sqq. ἔπι: like 674 a hint of the future death of Sarpedon at the hands of Patroklos.

665. τό anticipates ἐξέρῳσαι, 'this, namely, to draw out.'

μηροῦ ἐξερύσαι δόρυ μείλινον, ὄφρ' ἐπιβαίῃ,  
 σπενδόντων· τοῖον γὰρ ἔχον πόνον ἀμφιέποντες.  
 Τληπόλεμον δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ  
 ἐξέφερον πολέμοιο· νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς  
 τλήμονα θυμὸν ἔχων, μαίμησε δέ οἱ φίλον ἦτορ· 670  
 μερμήριξε δ' ἔπειτα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν  
 ἦ προτέρω Διὸς υἱὸν ἐριγδούποιο διώκοι,  
 ἦ ὃ γε τῶν πλεόνων Λυκίων ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο.  
 οὐδ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ μεγαλήτορι μῶρσιμον ἦεν  
 ἰφθιμον Διὸς υἱὸν ἀποκτάμεν ὅξ' ἔϊ χαλκῶι· 675  
 τῷ ῥα κατὰ πληθὺν Λυκίων τράπε θυμὸν Ἀθήνη.  
 ἔνθ' ὃ γε Κοίρανον εἶλεν Ἀλάστορά τε Χρομίον τε  
 Ἀλκανδρόν θ' Ἀλιόν τε Νοήμονά τε Πρύτανιν τε.  
 καὶ νύ κ' ἔτι πλέονας Λυκίων κτάνε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὅξ' ἔϊ νόησε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ. 680  
 βῆ δὲ διὰ προμάχων κεκορυθμένος αἴθοπι χαλκῶι,  
 δείμα φέρων Δαναοῖσι· χάρη δ' ἄρα οἱ προσιόντι  
 Σαρπηδὼν Διὸς υἱός, ἔπος δ' ὀλοφυνδὸν ἔειπε·  
 “Πριαμίδη, μὴ δὴ με ἔλωρ Δαναοῖσιν ἐάσης  
 κείσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπάμυνον· ἔπειτά με καὶ λίποι αἰὼν 685  
 ἐν πόλει ὑμετέρῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἐμελλον ἐγὼ γε  
 νοστήσας οἰκόνδε φίλῃν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν  
 εὐφρανέειν ἄλοχόν τε φίλῃν καὶ νήπιον υἱόν.”

670. μαίμσε H. 671. μερμήριζε LQ Vr. b. 672. διώκει MQT Lips.<sup>1</sup>  
 674. οὐδ' ἄρ' : οὐ γὰρ R. 676. τρέπε PR Mosc. 2. 678. τ' Ἀλιόν PR.  
 684. δῆ : δὲ JNO. 686. ὑμετέρῃ MQR. || οὐδ' ἄρ' QS : οὐκ ἄν R.

666. ἐπιβαίῃ, *stand on his feet*, cf. μ 434 οὔτε στηρίζαι ποσὶν ἔμπεδον οὔτ' ἐπιβῆναι. The phrase, however, is a curious one, and Nauck and others are perhaps right in rejecting the line as a gloss.

667. ἀμφιέποντες, *dealing with him*, lit. 'handling him'; they had too much to do with the work of carrying and protecting him. Cf. on Z 321.

670. τλήμων, *enduring*, a variant of Odysseus' regular epithet πολύτλας, and so K 231. The sense *wretched* is post-Homeric. μαίμσε here evidently indicates *violent rushing*, as 661; cf. Θ 413 μάλνεσθαι ἦτορ.

673. τῶν πλεόνων Λυκίων : see H. G. § 264, 'the article marks contrast, but not definition, or should take the *lives of more Lykians instead*. Here

οἱ πλέονες does not mean "the greater number" but "a greater number," in contrast to the person mentioned.' But it must be admitted that Heyne's ὅγε καὶ or Nauck's γ' ἔτι sound more Homeric; cf. 679, K 506.

678. This line is taken *verbatim* by Virgil *Aen.* ix. 764, Ovid *Met.* xiii. 258.

683. For the constr. χάρη οἱ see Ψ 556, β 249, κ 419, and with a participle Ξ 504, Ω 705. The acc. is found in Θ 378. On account of Fépos Bentley interchanged Διὸς υἱὸς and προσιόντι.

685. κείσθαι : the long *ai in thesi* is perhaps excused by the strong diaeresis at the end of the first foot. Cf. A 532, B 87, H. G. § 380. But van L. reads κείσθαι, ἀτὰρ μ'(οι), Brandreth κείμενον, ἀλλ'.



ὥς φάτο, τὸν δ' οὐ τι προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ,  
 ἀλλὰ παρήϊξεν λελημένος ὄφρα τάχιστα 690  
 ὤσαιτ' Ἀργείους, πολέων δ' ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο.  
 οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα δίοι ἑταῖροι  
 εἶσαν ὑπ' αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς περικαλλεῖ φηγῶι·  
 ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ μηροῦ δόρυ μείλινον ὥσε θύραζε 695  
 ἴφθιμος Πελάγων, ὅς οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἑταῖρος.  
 τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχή, κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυντ' ἀχλὺς.  
 αὐτὶς δ' ἀμπνύθη, περὶ δὲ πνοῇ Βορέας  
 ζώγρει ἐπιπνεύουσα κακῶς κεκαφηῖτα θυμόν.  
 Ἀργεῖοι δ' ὑπ' Ἀρηϊ καὶ Ἑκτορι χαλκοκορυστῇ  
 οὐτέ ποτε προτρέποντο μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν 700  
 οὐτέ ποτ' ἀντεφέροντο μάχηι, ἀλλ' αἰὲν ὀπίσσω  
 χάζονθ', ὥς ἐπύθοντο μετὰ Τρώεσσιν Ἀρηα.  
 ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἐξενάρηξαν  
 Ἐκτωρ τε Πριάμοιο πάϊς καὶ χάλκεος Ἀρης;  
 ἀντίθεον Τεύθραντ', ἐπὶ δὲ πλήξιππον Ὀρέστην, 705

695. ΠΕΛΑΓΩΝ: CEΛΑΓΩΝ Ptol. Oroandae. 697. Αὔεις CJ. || ἈΜΠΝΥΘΗΝ  
 A (supr. n and γρ. ἀμπνύουσα) Schol. T (lemma): ἀμπνύουσα T King's Harl. b:  
 ἀμπνύουσα Ω: ἐμπνύουσα ἐν τισι Schol. A (Ar.; see Did. on X 475). 698. ΖΩΓΡΕΙ:  
 ΖΩΕΙ P (γρ. ζώγρει) and γρ. R. 700. Οὐδὲ ποτε H. || ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΟΝΤΟ . . ἐπὶ  
 Ar. Ω: προτράποντο . . ἀπὸ ar. Did. 701. Οὐδὲ ποτ' H. || ΑΝΤΙΦΕΡΟΝΤΟ G. ||  
 ΜΑΧΗΝ P (U<sup>2</sup> supr.). 703. ΕΞΕΝΑΡΙΞΑΝ Ar. ACGMU<sup>1</sup> Lips.: ΕΞΕΝΑΡΙΞΕΝ Ω.  
 705. ΤΕΥΘΡΑΝΤ' U.

690. For the construction of ΛΕΛΗ-  
 μένος see note on Δ 465.

693. ΠΗΓΩΙ: this can hardly be the  
 same as the oak which formed a landmark  
 close to the Skaian gate (Z 237, I 354,  
 Λ 170, Φ 549), as there is no hint that the  
 fighting is near the walls. Any oak was  
 equally sacred to Zeus. Cf. on H 22, 60.

694. ΘΥΡΑΖΕ simply = out, as II 408,  
 ε 410, φ 422, etc. It can hardly be  
 meant that the spear is thrust *through*  
 like the arrow in 112.

697. ἈΜΠΝΥΘΗ, came to; so mid. ἀμ-  
 πνύτο, see Λ 359, Ξ 436, X 475, ε 458, ω 349,  
 in all cases after a faint. But the act.  
 forms ἀναπνεῖν, ἀνέπνευσα, ἀμπνύον mean  
*to recover breath*, of a panting warrior,  
 Λ 327 and often (see esp. note on X 222).  
 Ar. observed the distinction, and em-  
 phasized it by writing ἐμπνύουσα, ἐμπνύτο  
 in mid. and pass. (= ἐμπνους ἐγένετο),  
 but, so far as we can tell, without any  
 MS. support for the ε (as for the ν MS.  
 testimony is unimportant; see the vari-  
 ants in forms like ἐκλι(ν)θη, ἀνεγνά(μ)φθη,

δ(μ)βριμος, etc. *passim*. In this case  
 there is no justification for either ν or σ,  
 which are inserted evidently from the  
 analogy of βαρύνθη, etc.). Schulze (*Q. E.*  
 322-4) is probably right, therefore, in  
 separating ἀμπνύτο and ἀμπνύθη from  
 πνέ(F)ω, and referring them to a root  
 πνῦ, meaning originally *to be vigorous*  
 (a) in body, (b) in mind. Hence ποι-  
 πνύειν *to bustle*, πεπνύσθαι (of Teiresias  
 τοῦ τε φρένες ἐμπεδοί εἰσιν, κ 495), πεπνυ-  
 μένος (of the youthful Telemachos rather  
*vigorous than sage*) and πινυτός, πινυτή,  
 ἀπινύσσειν (of a faint, O 10) from πινυτός  
 (ἐμψρων, σάφρων Hesych.).

698. ΖΩΓΡΕΙ, perhaps here from ζωή  
 and ἀγείρειν (or ἐγείρειν), and thus a  
 different verb from the commoner ζω-  
 γρεῖν = to take prisoner (ζωός-ἀγρεῖν).  
 ΘΥΜΩΝ is object of κεκαφηῖτα, as is clear  
 from ε 468 μὴ με . . δαμάσῃ κεκαφηῖτα  
 θυμόν. Compare X 467 ἀπὸ ψυχὴν ἐκά-  
 πυσσε. The verb means *having breathed*  
*out*; cf. Hesych. κέκφε· τέθηκε, and  
 κεκαφηῖτα· ἐκτεπνευκότα.

Τρῆχόν τ' αἰχμητὴν Αἰτώλιον Οἰνόμαόν τε,  
 Οἰνοπίδην θ' Ἐλενον καὶ Ὀρέσβιον αἰολομίτρην,  
 ὃς ῥ' ἐν Ὑλῃ νάεισκε μέγα πλούτοιο μεμηλώς,  
 λίμνῃ κεκλιμένος Κηφισίδι· παρ δέ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 ναῖον Βοιωτοί, μάλα πίονα δήμον ἔχοντες. 710

τοὺς δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη  
 Ἀργείους ὀλέκοντας ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ,  
 αὐτίκ' Ἀθηναίην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ὦ πόποι, αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς τέκος, ἀτρυτῶν,  
 ἧ ῥ' ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν Μενελάωι, 715  
 Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντ' εὐτείχεον ἀπονέεσθαι,  
 εἰ οὕτω μαίνεσθαι ἐάσομεν οὐλον Ἀρηα.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ καὶ νῶϊ μεδώμεθα θούριδος ἀλκῆς.”

ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.  
 ἧ μὲν ἐποιχομένη χρυσάμπυκας ἔντυεν ἵππους 720  
 Ἥρη πρέσβα θεά, θυγάτηρ μέγαλοιο Κρόνιοι·

707. ὑπέρβιον (γρ. ὀρέσβιον) JO: ὑπέρβιον U<sup>1</sup> *supr.* 708. ὕληι: ὕδῃ Zen.  
 711. τοὺς: τὸν M. 718. δῆ: δὲ M. || κηδόμεθα P. 720. ἐπειγομένη O. ||  
 ἔντυεν H<sup>2</sup> JLMNORS: ἔντεινεν P. 721. θεῶν N.

706. Αἰτωλὸν *Φοιν*. Bentley; but see note on B 750.

707. αἰολομίτρην: see App. B and note on Δ 489.

708. Ὑλῃ with ὕ also H 221, but ὕ in B 500; Zenod. Ὑδῃ, but the name of the Boeotian town was certainly Hyle; a Lydian Ὑδῃ is mentioned in T 385. μεμηλώς with gen. only here and N 297, 469. The use may be classed with those mentioned in *H. G.* § 151 c, d. So Aisch. *Sept.* 178 μέλεσθ' ἱερῶν δημίων. But the application of the verb to the person who feels the care, not to the thing which causes it, is rare; hence Nauck *μεμῆως* (= μεμαῶς).

709. κεκλιμένος, on the shore of, cf. O 740 πόντῳ κεκλιμένοι, Π 68 ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης κεκλιᾶται. The word seems properly to be used of land *sloping* to the water's edge, δ 608, ν 235 ἀκτὴ κείθ' ἀλὶ κεκλιμένη. The Kephisian lake seems to be the Kopais as in Pind. *P.* xii. 27; see Pausan. ix. 38. 5.

710. θάμῳ here evidently has the purely local sense *territory*; for which see on B 547.

711. For the following episode as a whole see Introduction to the book. It

contains a large number of lines which occur elsewhere. 753-4 seem to be borrowed, not very appropriately, from Δ 498-9, and, as von Christ has remarked, 791 from N 107. So also 719-21 = Θ 381-3, 733-7 = Θ 384-8, 745-52 = Θ 389-96. It can hardly be said positively that either passage is older than the other, so far as the evidence of borrowing goes; but the general character of Θ would lead us to believe that the lines are originally in place here. Again 711-2 = H 17-18, 713 = Δ 69, 714 = B 157, 716 = B 113, 738 cf. B 45, 743 = Δ 41, 769 = Θ 46, 775-6 cf. 368-9, 782-3 = H 256-7, 787 = Θ 228. This is certainly a suspicious proportion of borrowed lines; but on the other hand the style of the passage is spirited, and does not shew any weakness of imagination.

715. For the use of the accusative with ὑποστάναι cf. B 286, κ 483; and see *H. G.* § 136 (3). τόν is here demonstrative, *that*. We do not hear elsewhere of any such promise made by the goddesses to Menelaos. It is probably from the story of the Judgment of Paris.

Ἥβη δ' ἄμφ' ὀχέεσσι θοῶς βάλε καμπύλα κύκλα,  
 χάλκεα ὀκτάκνημα, σιδηρέωι ἄξονι ἄμφις.  
 τῶν ἦ τοι χρυσήν ἵπυς ἄφθιτος, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε  
 χάλκε' ἐπίσσωτρα προσαρηρότα, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.  
 πλῆμναι δ' ἀργύρου εἰσὶ περίδρομοι ἀμφοτέρωθεν.  
 δίφρος δὲ χρυσείοισι καὶ ἀργυρέοισιν ἱμάσιν  
 ἐντέταται, δοιαί δὲ περίδρομοι ἀντυγές εἰσι.  
 τοῦ δ' ἐξ ἀργύρεος ῥυμὸς πέλεν· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' ἄκρῳ  
 δῆσε χρύσειον καλὸν ζυγόν, ἐν δὲ λέπαδνα

725

730

722. ὀχέεσσι C: ὄχεσσι Vt. a: ὀχέεσσι Ω. 723 om. P<sup>t</sup>. || ὀκτάμνηνα JQ.  
 725. ὀπίσσωτρα P<sup>1</sup>, γρ. Harl. a, and ἐν τισι Did. 727. χρυσέαι καὶ ἀργυρέαισι D.  
 728. εἰσι: ἄμφις J (γρ. εἰσιν) N. 729. ῥυμὸς: γρ. ζυγὸς J. || ἄκρῳ:  
 αὐτῷ D.

722. For a general account of the Homeric chariot see Ω 266 ff. The body of the car was very light, and when not in use was taken to pieces and put upon a stand; see Θ 441 ἄρματα δ' ἄμ βαμοῖσι τίθει, κατὰ λίτα πετάσας. Hence the first thing to be done in making it ready was to put on the wheels, as is done here. For ὀχέεσσι most mss. read ὀχέεσφι, a false form for ὄχεσφι.

723. χάλκεα: so mss.; Bentley conj. χάλκει', but the hiatus is perhaps legitimate after the first foot. The usual number of spokes in the early Greek monuments, as well as in the Assyrian and Egyptian, is six or four; but eight are found in the archaic sarcophagus from Klazomenai published in *J. H. S.* vol. iv. In any case, as Eust. remarks, the largest number possible would be attributed to the divine chariot, for it has all the parts made of metal which in the human car were of wood, even straps of gold and silver instead of leather. For ὀκτάκνημα Cobet reads ὀκτώκνημα, but ὀκτα- is the commoner form from Hesiod (*Opp.* 425) onwards.

725. ἐπίσσωτρον, *tire*, from σῶτρον, another name for the felloe, according to Pollux; cf. εὔσσωτρος Ω 578. But here as elsewhere there is a well-attested variant ὀπίσσωτρον, which would point to a der. from ὀπίσω.

726. περίδρομος is used here in a slightly different sense from 728, though we can translate both by 'running round.' Here it evidently means 'rotating,' while in 728 it means 'surrounding'; B 812 gives yet a third meaning. Hesych. περίδρομοι· περι-

φερεῖς, στρογγύλοι, no doubt applies to 726, but does not give so good a sense. ἀμφοτέρωθεν, on both sides of the car.

727. δίφρος, here in the narrower sense of the platform of the car on which the riders stood. (Hence the breastwork which surrounded it in front and at both sides is called ἐπιδιφριάς, K 475. ὄχεα, which is always used in the plural, implies the whole complex body of the chariot, including axle, pole, etc.). This platform is composed of straps strained tight, and interwoven, which formed a springy surface such as would save the charioteer from the jolting of rough ground. This device is known to have been employed in Egyptian chariots, and gives a simple explanation of the phrase ἐντέταται which has puzzled commentators (cf. also K 263, τ 577, ψ 201 ἐν δ' ἐτάνυσσ' ἱμάντα βοός, to form a springy bed). See Wilkinson *Ancient Egyptians* i. p. 227, *J. H. S.* v. 192.

728. δοιαί, apparently because the ἀντιγές ran symmetrically round the car, forming a handle behind on both sides. There is no reason to suppose that there were two rails one above the other.

729. πέλεν: the transition from the descriptive to the narrative tense is made one step earlier than we should have expected. Hence Bentley conj. πέλει. But, as Hentze has remarked, the imperfect is justified by the fact that the pole was not an immovable part of the chariot, but was put in when the chariot was made ready; so that the word really belongs to the narration, not to the description. πέλεν is not simply = ἦν, but means 'stood out.'

730. δᾶσε: for the details of the

κάλ' ἔβαλε χρύσει· ὑπὸ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν Ἥρη  
 ἵππους ὠκύποδας, μεμανῖ' ἔριδος καὶ αὐτῆς.  
 αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη κόρῃ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
 πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἑανὸν πατρὸς ἐπ' οὔδει  
 ποικίλον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτὴ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμε χερσίν· 735  
 ἡ δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνδύσα Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο  
 τεύχεσιν ἐς πόλεμον θωρήσσετο δακρυόεντα.  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὤμοισιν βάλετ' αἰγίδα θυσανόεσσαν  
 δεινὴν, ἣν πέρι μὲν πάντῃ φόβος ἐστεφάνωται,  
 ἐν δ' ἔρις, ἐν δ' ἀλκή, ἐν δὲ κρυόεσσα ἰωκῇ, 740

731. **ΚΑΛ'**: **ΚΑΛΛ'** JM: **καδδ'** H. || **ἤγαγεν**: **ἔβαλεν** M: **γρ. ἤραρεν** Vr. b.  
 734. **ἐπούδα** M. 734-6 **ἀθ.** Zen. 736. **ἡ δὲ**: **τινὲς ἡδὲ** Schol. A. 738.  
**βάλεν** O: **βάλ'** Lips. || **αἰγίδα**: **ἀσπίδα** Mor. Bar.<sup>mi</sup> 739. **ἐστεφάνωτο** CDGJNOS  
 (*supr.* ai) T and A *supr.* (T.W.A.). 740. **δ' ὀκρυόεσσα** GJ.

process by which the yoke was attached to the pole see Ω 265-80.

734. **ἑανόν**, *pliant*, as elsewhere when it is used as an adj. with *α̃*: it is not to be confused with the substantive *Fe(σ)ἄνός* (I' 385, etc.) *garment*, and should perhaps be written *εἰᾶνός*, as it may be derived from *εἰᾶω*, in the sense of 'yielding.' (See Buttmann *Lexil.* s.v.)

736. Athene dresses entirely in man's attire, and lays aside the long woollen peplos for the linen chiton which fitted closer to the body and was thus more suitable for active exertion. (Reichel p. 107 objects that the 'Doric' peplos could have been girt up, and that Athene is constantly represented in art as wearing it with armour. He concludes that she must here be conceived as wearing a prae-Dorian dress such as the flounced Mykenaeen skirt. But this inference does not seem justifiable.) Zen. rejected 734-6 here as borrowed from Θ 385-7; Ar. maintained the converse.

738. For the *aegeis* see note on B 447.

739-42. The whole of this passage, with 744, is open to the gravest doubt. It bears a most suspicious resemblance to the unquestionably late account of Agamemnon's panoply in A 1-46; note particularly the recurrence of the vague phrase *Διὸς τέρας* in A 4. It is impossible to suppose that the author had any clear idea of what he was describing. *ἔστεφάνωται*, if we are guided by A 36, ought to be used of the central figure, which is 'set on as a crown' (cf. Σ 485); but that from all analogy can only have

been the Gorgoneion, as it is in fact in A. It is impossible to imagine that, as the words imply, *φόβος* is an allegorical figure depicted as a circular ring round the edge of the shield. At best it might be supposed that *φόβος* and the other personified spirits of battle in 740 (for which see Δ 440) are disposed in a circular row round the *ὀμφαλός*: if this is meant, the change from *περί* to *ἐν* in 740 is a most unhappy method of expression. It is equally impossible to understand the description of the helmet—see note on 744 below. And finally, the lateness of the lines is proved by Furtwängler's demonstration (Roscher *Lex.* i. col. 1703) that the Gorgon head is unknown to Greek art before the 7th century B.C. Porphyrios discusses the Gorgon head on B 447, and shows that the difficulty of the passage was felt in early days: *φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι μήποτε ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι οὐκ αὐτὴν εἶχε τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὴν Ἑρὴν οὐδὲ τὴν κρυόεσσαν Ἰωκὴν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκ τῆς Γοργόνος γιγνόμενον τοῖς ἐνορώσι πάθος καταπληκτικόν*, i.e. the shield did not bear any figures, but carried dismay as though it were the Gorgon's head itself (see Schrader *Porph.* i. p. 44 note). So also Eust. on λ 633. The Gorgoneion was probably in its origin a device meant to terrify the enemy, like the hideous faces which Chinese warriors carry on their shields. From this it came in more civilized times to be regarded merely as an *ἀποτρόπαιον* or charm to avert the evil eye and other dangers.



ἐν δέ τε Γοργείῃ κεφαλῇ δεινοῖο πελώρου  
 δεινὴ τε σμερδνὴ τε, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο.  
 κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφίφαλον κυνέην θέτο τετραφάλῃον  
 χρυσεῖν, ἑκατὸν πολλῶν πρυλέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαν.  
 ἐς δ' ὄχρεα φλόγεα ποσὶ βήσето, λάζετο δ' ἔγχος 745  
 βριθὺν μέγα στιβαρόν, τῶι δάμνησι στίχας ἀνδρῶν  
 ἡρώων, τοῖσιν τε κοτέσσεται ὀβριμοπάτρῃ.  
 Ἥρῃ δὲ μάλιστα θοῶς ἐπεμαίετ' ἄρ' ἵππους·  
 αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον ὦραι,  
 τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανὸς Οὐλυμπός τε, 750  
 ἥμην ἀνακλίνει πυκινὸν νέφος ἡδ' ἐπιθεῖναι.

744. **πολίων** Δ (*supr.* ε) ΟΥ: πολέων Ω. 745. **βήατο** Ο. 746. **δάμνησι**  
 Αρ. ΑΗΤ. 747. **οἶσι(ν) τε** Αρ. (Schol. Τ) ΡQ: τοῖσι(ν) δὲ JHO. || **ὀβριμοπάτρῃ**  
 C.JQ. 749. **αὐτόματοι** Q Par. c e g, Eust.: αὐτόμοιοι Par. d<sup>1</sup>. 750. **ταῖς** G:  
 τῆς κ' H.

743. **ἀμφίφαλον, τετραφάλῃον**: see App. B.

744. The sense of this line is anything but clear, and it must share the suspicion attaching to 739-42 above. **ἀραρυῖαν** has been explained 'fitting the warriors of a hundred cities,' i.e. big enough for a hundred armies to wear. But this is too absurdly grotesque for Homer. The alternative is to make it = *fitted with*, i.e. adorned with representations of the warriors of a hundred cities. Some think that this implies a battle-scene between two armies and their allies on a vast and supernatural scale, as a battle-scene was depicted by Pheidias on the shield of his Athene Parthenos. But that was a Gigantomachia in which Athene took a prominent part; nothing of the sort is indicated here, nor does *ἀραρυῖα* seem a likely word to express the metallic adornment of the Homeric age, which consisted of inlaid work. With the *ζώνη* ἑκατὸν θυσάνοις ἀραρυῖα Ξ 181, the πόλις πύργος ἀραρυῖα Ο 737, and the ἀπήνη ὑπερτερὴν ἀραρυῖα ζ 70, the case is evidently different, though they shew that *ἀραρυῖα* can mean 'provided with.' Here we can only conceive the figures as riveted on. **πρυλέεσ** is itself a word of doubtful origin and meaning; it recurs Δ 49, Μ 77, Ο 517, Φ 90, and may mean either *footmen*, as opposed to *ἵππῆς*, or *champions*. It is possibly connected with *πρύλις*, the Cretan word for the war-dance, and may therefore have once meant champions who danced in front of the army to provoke the enemy.

Eustathios and others have seen a further allusion to the hundred cities of Crete; and the line may therefore be one of the passages which seem to have a special connexion with that island. See on Σ 590. Zeus was of course the tutelary god of Crete; and if we suppose that Athene takes his helmet as well as his chiton and aegis, the idea may be that he bears as his blazon chieftains representing the subject cities of his island. But all this is mere conjecture, with no Homeric analogy to support it.

745. **φλόγεα**: this adj. recurs only in the parallel Θ 389; it probably means *sparkling like fire* with the bright metal. Homeric gods do not go, like the Semitic, with flames of fire about them.

746. Αρ. read *δάμνησι*: but the subjunctive is out of place in a direct statement as to the use of the spear; in other words we have here a *particular* statement, although the present implies iteration, not a general statement as in a simile, or as in the next line, where the subj. *κοτέσσεται* implies 'with whomsoever she is wroth.'

749. Observe the freedom of the imagery by which the gate, though said to be a cloud in 751, is made to creak.

750. **ἐπιτέτραπται**: so MSS.; *ἐπιτε-τράφαται* Bergk, from Athenaeus (iv. 134, which is only a parody, not a quotation); but the singular is quite defensible, as *οὐρανός* and *Οὐλυμπός* if not identical are at least closely connected. For the construction of the following infin. see H. G. § 234 (1).

τῇ ῥα δι' αὐτῶν κεντρηνεκέας ἔχον ἵππους.  
 εὔρου δὲ Κρονίωνα θεῶν ἄτερ ἤμενον ἄλλων  
 ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδαιράδος Οὐλύμποιο·  
 755 ἔνθ' ἵππους στήσασα θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη  
 Ζῆν' ὑπατον Κρονίδην ἐξείρετο καὶ προσέειπε·  
 “Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὐ νεμεσίζῃ Ἄρῃ τάδε καρτερὰ ἔργα;  
 ὅσσάτιόν τε καὶ οἶον ἀπώλεσε λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν  
 μάλ', ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχος, οἱ δὲ ἔκηλοι  
 760 τέρπονται Κύπρις τε καὶ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
 ἄφρονα τοῦτον ἀνέντες, ὃς οὐ τινα οἶδε θέμιστα.  
 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥά τί μοι κεχολώσεται, αἶ κεν Ἄρῃ  
 λυγρῶς πεπληγυῖα μάχης ἐξ ἀποδίσσωμαι;”  
 τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·  
 “ἄγρῃ μάν οἱ ἔπορσον Ἀθηναίην ἀγελεύειν,  
 765 ἦ ἔ μάλιστ' εἴωθε κακῆς ὁδύνησι πελάζειν.”  
 ὧς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,  
 μάστιξεν δ' ἵππους· τῶ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην

753. δὲ κρονίωνα : δ' εὐρύοπα N. 756. ἐξήρετο CNPTU. || μετέειπε(N)  
 U Mosc. 2, Eust. 757. Ζεῦ : ὦ Ap. Lex. || ἄρη(i) ADHN<sup>2</sup>U Harl. a, Par. e,  
 Vr. 1, Mosc. 1 2 : ἄρει Ω. || τάδε ἔργ' αἰθῆλα Cant. and ap. Did. : τάδ' αἰθῆλ'  
 ἔργα S : νεμεσίζει ὁρῶν τάδε ἔργ' αἰθῆλα Ap. Lex. 758. ὅσσάτιόν : ὅς\*τοιόν  
 G. 764. τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε PQS Vr. b, Mose.  
 1 : ἐνιοι τὴν δ' αὐτε προσέειπε π. α. τε θ. τε Schol. A (An.). 765. μὴν οἱ G :  
 μῦν μοι Ap. Lex. 766. κακαῖς ὁδύνασι G. 768. μάστιξεν Lips. || ἀέκοντε  
 GJN Vr. a : ἄκοντε Ω.

752. ΚΕΝΤΡΗΝΕΚΕΑΣ only here (= Θ 396),  
 apparently *enduring the goad*. But in  
 all similar compounds (δινηκεῖς, ποδη-  
 νεκῆς, δουρηνεκῆς) the -νηεκ- conveys the  
 idea of *reaching*. This can hardly be  
 introduced here without violence (*with-*  
*in range of the goad*?). For the κέντρον  
 see note on Ψ 387.

753-4 = A 498-9. It seems clear that  
 the poet who borrowed the lines regarded  
 the summit of Olympus as a half-way  
 stage between heaven and earth. If so,  
 he departed from the oldest Homeric  
 tradition, which made the earthly moun-  
 tain Olympus, and not any aerial region,  
 the dwelling of the gods; see note on  
 Θ 25. Ar. tried to put him right by  
 explaining ἀκροτάτῃ to mean 'on a  
 very high peak,' not 'on the topmost  
 summit'; but this is surely a cruel  
 kindness.

754. πολυδαιράδος (also A 499, Θ 3),  
 according to Schulze (Q. E. 95) *rocky*,  
 from δειράς, *rock*, not conn. with δειρή,

*neck*. So also Pind. O. viii. 52. In Attic  
 δειράς is familiar, and never takes the  
 form δερás as it would if related to δέρη  
 (see Jebb on Soph. Phil. 491).

757. For the acc. ἔργα after νεμεσίζῃ,  
 i.e. νεμεσίζε(αι), see H. G. § 136. 3.  
 Both Ἄρῃ and Ἄρει are late forms for  
 the older Ἀρηΐ ("Ἀρεί"); the latter is found  
 again only θ 276, the former Φ 431 (!).

758. ὅσσάτιον, only here; the later  
 Epics have τοσσάτιον. Cf. μεσσάτιος in  
 Kallimachos, and ὑσσάτιος by ὕστατος.

759. See B 214. ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχος, either  
 an accus. expressing the result, or, per-  
 haps more simply, a nom. to which we  
 may supply ἔστι. ἔκηλοι, ironical.

761. ἀνέντες, *setting on* like a dog at  
 the quarry.

765. ἄγρῃ: see on A 526. For the  
 interjectional use we may compare Fr.  
 tiens. The plur. occurs in υ 149. No  
 form of the verb except the imper.  
 occurs in H.

μεσσηγὺς γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.  
 ὅσπον δ' ἡεροιίδες ἀνὴρ ἶδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν  
 ἤμενος ἐν σκοπιῇ λεύσσω ἐπὶ οἶνοπα πόντον,  
 τόσπον ἐπιθρώσκουσι θεῶν ὑψηχέες ἵπποι.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Τροίην ἱξον ποταμῷ τε ῥέοντε,  
 ἦχι ροὰς Σιμόεις συμβάλλετον ἡδὲ Σκάμανδρος,  
 ἐνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,  
 λύσας' ἐξ ὀχέων, περὶ δ' ἡέρα πούλυν ἔχευε·  
 τοῖσιν δ' ἀμβροσίην Σιμόεις ἀνέτειλε νέμεσθαι.  
 αἱ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοίαι,

770

775

769. μεσσηγὺς R. || τε om. G. 770. ὅσσόν τ' H. 772. ὑψηχέες LQ (P  
 συμν. ?); ὑψαυχέες G<sup>2</sup> Mosc. 1: ὑψαύχενες ap. [Longin.] περὶ ὕψους and Schol. B.  
 774. κάμανδρος C (p. ras.) GLM (P<sup>2</sup>?) Vr. A: \*κάμανδρος Harl. a. 776.  
 πούλυν DGMOPQRT: γρ. πολλήν J. 777. ἀμβροσίην L: ἀμβροσίης D. |  
 νέμεσθαι: νέεσθαι M. 778. τῷ . . ὁμοίῳ, see below. || ἴεμασ' Q.

770. *ἡεροιίδες*: an adj. almost confined to the *Od.*, especially as an epithet of the sea; sometimes of *ἄντρον* or *σπέος*, and once of *πέτρα*, μ 233, where it clearly means 'the rock so distant as to be like mist.' When used of the sea it seems to express the vague colour of the distant water, which the haze of distance almost melts into the semblance of the sky. So here, 'so far as a man sees in the haze of distance,' i.e. up to the utmost limit of human vision. As to construction, it is simplest to regard the acc. as adverbial, 'as far as a man has misty vision.'

772. *ὑψηχέες* is generally taken to mean *loud-neighing*, cf. Virgil's *fremit alte*. But this is very doubtful; the sense *high* is not the same as *loud* (*ὑσαγῶρας* and *ὑψιβρεμέτης* are obviously different), and *ἡχή* had a *F*. It is highly probable that the quotation in Longinus preserves the original, *ὑψαύχενες*, though the mistake must be very old. Evidently in some prototype the *v* was accidentally omitted, and the variants *ὑψαυχέες*, *ὑψηχέες* record further steps in the corruption. Schol. B and *Et. Mag.* both give *ὑψαύχενες* as one explanation of *ὑψηχέες*. Cf. *ἐραυύχενες* and *ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει* Ψ 509. The word recurs only in Ψ 27, q.v.

774. Simoeis is mentioned again in Δ 474-8, T 53 by itself, and is distinguished from Skamandros in Z 4, M 22, Φ 307. Of these the two latter are almost certainly of late origin, while in the first what is probably the old reading

omits all mention of Simoeis. There is therefore very strong reason for supposing that there was only one river named in the original legend; Simoeis may possibly, as Hercher thinks, be another name of the Scamander preserved by tradition. If the two are different, the only stream which can be identified with the Simoeis is apparently the pitiful brook of the Dumbrek-Su, which runs from E. to W. on the N. side of Hissarlik, and does not join the Menderes at all. It entirely ceases to run in summer (Schliemann). On the *σχῆμα* 'Αλκμανικόν, by which the plural (or, as here, dual) verb goes with the first of two nominatives, instead of following both, Aristonikos remarks *τούτῳ τῷ ἔθει πεπλέονακε καὶ Ἀλκμάν· διὸ καὶ καλεῖται Ἀλκμανικόν, οὐχ ὅτι αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἐχρήσατο ἀλλ' ὅτι τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἔθει πεπλέονακεν*. He quotes other instances from T 138, κ 513, ξ 216. There is, however, no instance of it in the extant fragments of Alkman. See also Pindar *P.* iv. 179 with the commentators.

776. *πούλυν* is of course a feminine, as in K 27 *πούλυν ἐφ' ὕγρην* (q.v.); so μ 369 *ἡδύς*, and *θῆλυς* generally. *ἀήρ* is never masculine in H. *H. G.* § 116. 4.

777. On *ἀμβροσίην* see note on B 19.

778. All mss. give *αἱ δέ*, but τῷ δέ is found quoted three times by scholiasts (Soph. *El.* 977, O. C. 1676, Eur. *Alc.* 902); there can be little doubt therefore that this rare feminine form is the original, and was excluded because unfamiliar. So in Θ 378, 455 we have

ἀνδράσιν Ἀργείοισιν ἰλεξέμεναι μεμανῖαι.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἴκανον ὅθι πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι 780  
 ἔστασαν, ἀμφὶ βίην Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο  
 εἰλόμενοι, λείουσιν ἐοικότες ὠμοφάγοισιν  
 ἢ συσὶ κάπροισιν, τῶν τε σθένης οὐκ ἀλαπαδύν,  
 ἔνθα στᾶσ' ἦυσε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,  
 Στέντορι εἰσαμένη μεγαλήτορι χαλκεοφώνωι, 785  
 ὃς τόσον αὐδήσασχ' ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα·  
 "αἰδῶς, Ἀργεῖοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, εἶδος ἀγητοί·  
 ὄφρα μὲν ἐς πόλεμον πωλέσκετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,  
 οὐδέ ποτε Τρῶες πρὸ πυλῶν Δαρδανιῶν

785. εἰδομένη HS Vr. b: εἰομένη L. 786. ἐν τισιν οὐκ ἦν ὁ στίχος Schol.  
 A (see below). || ὅς: ἦ S. 787. ἐλεγχέες Ar. P. || ἀγητοί: ἄριστοι L Lips.,  
 Ar. διχῶς. 788. εἰς O. 789. δαρδαν(ε)ίων M Lips.: δαρδανιδῶν [Plut.]  
*Vit. Hom.* 103. 33.

feminine duals identical in form with masculine; and also Hes. *Opp.* 198–9. The word ἰουματα does not seem to recur (before Kallimachos) except in *Hymn. Apoll.* 114 βὰν δὲ (Iris and Eileithyia) ποσὶ τρήρωσι πελειᾶσιν ἰθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι, which is the passage quoted by Aristophanes *Av.* 575 "Ἴριν δέ γ' "Ομηρος ἔφασκ' ἱκέλην εἶναι τρήρωνι πελελίη. There is perhaps a touch of the humour which is so often associated with the gods of Homer in the vivid comparison of the short and quick yet would-be stately steps of the two goddesses to the strutting of a pigeon, so unlike a hero μακρὰ βιβάς. But the word ἰθμα, a verbal subst. from root *l*, *go*, is vague enough to enable those who think this undignified to translate *the flight of doves*; cf. schol. τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ τὴν πτήσιν.

782. The *ei* in λείουσιν is wrong. Hence Brandreth conj. λείουσιν ("Ἐλίσουσιν"), and so afterwards Nauck. *lis* and *lin* are found (A 239, 480 etc.), and *leisun* is quoted by *Et. Mag.* from Kallimachos.

785. Stentor is never named again by Homer, and there seems to have been no consistent tradition about him. Some called him a Greek herald; Schol. A says τινὲς αὐτὸν Θραϊκὰ φασιν, Ἑρμῇ δὲ περὶ μεγαλοφωνίας ἐρίσαντα ἀναρεθῆναι, αὐτὸν δὲ εὐρεῖν καὶ τὴν διὰ κόχλον γραφὴν (sic: Schol. B μηχανήν, *the device of the speaking-trumpet*; this is the rationalizing explanation). τινὲς δὲ Ἀρ-

κάδα φασὶν εἶναι τὸν Στέντορα, καὶ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ πλάττουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ στίχους. ἐν τισὶ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ὁ στίχος (sc. 786) διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολήν. χαλκεοφώνος is not elsewhere found; but compare B 490, Σ 222 ὅπα χάλκεον. The Stentorian voice was proverbial in the time of Aristotle; see the well-known passage in the *Pol.* vii. 4. For other instances of the superhuman power of gods see 859, Ξ 148.

787. For ἐλέγχεα see note on Δ 242, and cf. also B 235, A 314. αἰδῶς is a nominative used interjectionally, apparently as a sort of imperative, αἰδῶς ἔστω ὑμῖν, and equivalent to αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ, O 561, 661. The regular meaning of the word is of course *sense of honour*, 'recognition of the just rebukes of men'; it is not used in the sense of *disgrace* like αἰσχος or αἰσχύνη, either in Homer or later Greek. The phrase recurs in Θ 228, N 95, O 502, II 422; and in a slightly varying form P 336 αἰδῶς μὲν νῦν ἦδὲ γ' . . . "Ἴλιον εἰσαναβῆναι, where we must take it to mean 'this is a thing to arouse a feeling of rebuke,' just as we say 'it is a shame to do so and so,' meaning a thing to be ashamed of. εἶδος ἀγητοί, like Γ 39 εἶδος ἄριστε (there is a variant ἄριστοι here).

789. Aristarchos held that the Dardanian gate was the same as the Skaian. Of course the question is insoluble; but see note on B 809. The name recurs again in X 194.



οἴχνεσκον· κείνου γὰρ ἐδείδισαν ὄβριμον ἔγχος· 790  
 νῦν δὲ ἐκάς πόλιος κοίλης ἐπὶ νηυσὶ μάχονται.”  
 ὡς εἰποῦς ὥτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου.  
 Τυδεΐδῃ δ' ἐπόρουσε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
 εὔρε δὲ τὸν γε ἄνακτα παρ' ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν 795  
 ἔλκος ἀναφύχοντα, τό μιν βάλε Πάνδαρος ἰῶι.  
 ἰδρὼς γάρ μιν ἔτειρεν ὑπὸ πλατέος τελαμῶνος  
 ἀσπίδος εὐκύκλου· τῷ τείρετο, κάμνε δὲ χεῖρα,  
 ἂν δ' ἴσχων τελαμῶνα κελαينهφές αἰμ' ἀπομόργνυ.  
 ἱππεῖον δὲ θεὰ ζυγοῦ ἤψατο φώνησέν τε·  
 “ἦ ὀλίγον οἱ παῖδα εἰκότα γείνατο Τυδεύς. 800  
 Τυδεύς τοι μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητής·  
 καὶ ῥ' ὅτε πέρ μιν ἐγὼ πολεμίζειν οὐκ εἴασκον

790. οἴχνεσκον Cant. || ὄμβριμον CGJ. 791. δὲ ἐκάς Zen. Aph. Ω: δ' ἐκάς DQ Lips.: δ' ἔκαθεν Ar. GHR. || κοίλαις G. 792. εἰπὼν H<sup>1</sup>. 793. τυδεΐδην NS. 794. Τὸν γε: τόνδε JO: τόν τε H. 797. εὐκύκλου ἢ ἀμφιβρότης Eust. || τείρετο Ar. Ω: τρίβετο (A *supr.*) CDGHMT Vr. b<sup>m</sup>, Mosc. I 2, Par. b e g<sup>2</sup> h k. || χεῖρα: χερσί D. 798. ἂν τ' Vr. a. || ἀσχῶν Vr. c, Mosc. 3. || ἀπεμόργνυ DHMRST. 799. ζυγοῦ θεὰ RT. 801. μικρὸς: γρ. μικρός J. 802. πολεμίζεμεν H.

791. *νῦν δὲ ἐκάς* is of course right, as *ἔκας* had *F*. But from a scholion by Didymos on N 107 it appears that Zen. and Aph. read *νῦν δὲ ἐκάς*, Ar. *νῦν δ' ἔκαθεν*: a clear proof that Aristarchos did not always know what was the best tradition, or else deliberately rejected it from preconceived notions. The expression *κοίλης ἐπὶ νηυσὶ* is not appropriate here, as it is in N 107, where the Greeks have actually been driven back to the camp. It is evident that the line, which cannot be omitted, has been carelessly borrowed here.

793. *ἐπόρουσε*, *sprang to his side*, cf. ψ 343 ὕπνος ἐπ., and P 481 ἄρμ' ἐπορούσας. Elsewhere it always indicates a hostile onslaught.

795. It might have been supposed that Athene had healed the wound in 122, but there is no explicit inconsistency between that passage and the present. See II 528; when a god miraculously heals a wound we are told so at length. Many critics, however, have made this supposed 'contradiction' a fulcrum for breaking up this book. For the double acc. after βάλε cf. 361, Θ 405, Ω 421.

796. There is evidently no *θώρηκος γυῶλον* here—nothing but the linen tunic

which is of too little importance to be mentioned. The shield hangs on the left side, so the 'broad baldric' goes over the right shoulder.

797. *τῷ* naturally refers to *ἰδρὼς*, not to *τελαμῶνος*, the phrase being a restatement of *ἰδρὼς μιν ἔτειρεν*.

801. *μικρός* recurs in H. only γ 296, *σικρός* P 757, the Epic word being *τυτθός*.

802. There is considerable doubt as to the punctuation of this passage. Fäsi takes 805 as a parenthesis, the apodosis beginning with *αὐτάρ*, 806. Similarly Monro regards it as epexegetic of the preceding. Ameis less probably takes *καὶ ῥ' ὅτε περ . . . ἐκπαφάσσειν* as a general protasis, which is superseded and forgotten in favour of the *special* case introduced by the second protasis, *ὅτε τε . . . Καθμεῖνας*, 805 thus forming the apodosis. Heyne would reject 805 altogether as an interpolation suggested by Δ 386. I strongly suspect that the fault lies in 802, and that *καὶ ῥ' ὅτε περ* has supplanted an original *ἄλλοτε γάρ*, wrongly taken to represent *ἀλλ' ὅτε γάρ*, where *ἀλλὰ . . . γάρ* would obviously need correction. For *ἄλλοτε* = *once upon a time* see A 590, T 90, 187.

οὐδ' ἐκπαιφασσιν, ὅτε τ' ἤλυθε νόσφιν Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἄγγελος ἐς Θήβας πολέας μετὰ Καδμείωνας·  
 δαίνυσθαι μιν ἄνωγον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔκηλον· 805  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ θυμὸν ἔχων ὃν καρτερόν, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ,  
 κούρους Καδμείων προκαλίζετο, πάντα δ' ἐνίκα  
 ῥῆιδίως· τοίη οἱ ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθος ἦα.  
 σοὶ δ' ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼ παρά θ' ἵσταμαι ἠδὲ φυλάσσω,  
 καὶ σε προφρονέως κέλομαι Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι· 810  
 ἀλλὰ σευ ἢ κάματος πολυαῖξ γυῖα δέδουκεν,  
 ἢ νύ σέ που δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον· οὐ σύ γ' ἔπειτα  
 Τυδεὸς ἔκγονός ἐσσι δαΐφρονος Οἰνεΐδαο.”  
 τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
 “γινώσκω σε, θεὰ θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο· 815  
 τῷ τοι προφρονέως ἐρέω ἔπος οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω.  
 οὔτε τί με δέος ἴσχει ἀκήριον οὔτε τις ὄκνος,  
 ἀλλ' ἔτι σὼν μέμνημαι ἐφετμέων, ἃς ἐπέτειλας·  
 οὔ μ' εἰας μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἀντικρὺ μάχεσθαι  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις· ἀτὰρ εἴ κε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη 820  
 ἔλθῃσ' ἐς πόλεμον, τὴν γ' οὐτάμεν ὀξέϊ χαλκῶι.  
 τούνεκα νῦν αὐτός τ' ἀναχάζομαι ἠδὲ καὶ ἄλλους  
 Ἀργείους ἐκέλευσα ἀλήμεναι ἐνθάδε πάντας·  
 γινώσκω γὰρ Ἀρηα μάχην ἀνὰ κοιρανέοντα.”

808. Said to have been added by Zen. (Ζηνόδοτος ὑποτάσσει An.), and not to have been found at all in the edd. of Ar. (Did.). || οἱ om. Q: τοι CT Vr. c, Mosc. 3: δὴ G. || ἐγὼ DOPS. 809. ε': δ' H. 810. ce: γρ. coi Harl. a. 811. ἀλλὰ ce G. || ΔΕΔΟΥΚΕΝ: ΛΕΛΥΚΕΝ P (γρ. U<sup>2</sup>): ΛΕΔΟΥΚΕΝ R (λ in ras., δ supr.): 813. ΕΓΓΟΝΟΣ QU (γγ in ras.) Vr. b (γρ. ΕΚΓΟΝΟΣ). 814. ἐνιοι τὴν δ' αὐτε προσέειπε An. 815. ΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΩ LN. 817. ΟΥΤΕ ΤΙς: οὐδὲ τις HQ. 818. cῶν: cέων Ar. 819. ἀντικρὺ: ἅντα T. 820. αὐτὰρ PR. 821. ἔλεθ MOP Vr. b. || εἰς O. || γ' om. P; cf. 132. 824. ΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΩ LNU.

803. ἐκπαιφάσσειν, *make display*; see B 450. νόσφιν Ἀχαιῶν is the same as μῶνος ἐών in Δ 388.

808. According to Aristonikos this line was inserted here by Zen. but omitted by Ar. on the just ground that Athens is here emphasizing her restraint, not her support, of Tydeus; the interpolation destroys the effect of the following line. But there is no trace of omission in the mss.; the statement about Zen. only means that he did not like Ar. reject it as borrowed from Δ 390 (q.v.). ἐπιτάρροθος: a word which has never been explained. The ancients took it to be = ἐπίρροθος, “πλεονασμῶι τοῦ

ταρ,” and it is obvious that in sense it is identical. Lykophron's τάρροθος is doubtless a learned figment. Outside Homer and the Orphic Hymns ἐπιτάρροθος is found only in an oracle in Herod. i. 66, in the sense *conqueror*.

818. To avoid the synizesis or contraction cῶν (σέων) . . . ἐφετμέων van L. reads σὴν . . . ἐφετμὴν ἦν, remarking that μέμνημαι takes the acc. in Z 222, I 527. (La R. attributes this reading to ‘Schol. Z 129,’ apparently in error.)

819. ἀντικρὺ: see on 130.

824. μάχην in local sense, *the battle-field*. πόλεμος is never used in this way. ἀνά should be ἀνα, as it immediately

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·

825

“Τυδείδῃ Διόμηδες, ἐμῶι κεχαρισμένε θυμῶι,  
μήτε σύ γ' Ἄρῃα τό γε δειδίδι μήτε τιν' ἄλλον  
ἀθανάτων· τοίῃ τοι ἐγὼν ἐπιτάρροθός εἰμι.

ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐπ' Ἀρῇ πρώτῳ ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους,  
τύψον δὲ σχεδίνῃ μηδ' ἄξο θούρον Ἄρῃα

830

τοῦτον μαινόμενον, τυκτὸν κακόν, ἄλλοπρόσαλλον,  
ὃς πρώην μὲν ἐμοί τε καὶ Ἥρῃ στεῦτ' ἀγορεύων  
Τρῶσιν μαχῆσθαι, ἀτὰρ Ἀργείοισιν ἀρήξει,  
νῦν δὲ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὀμιλεῖ, τῶν δὲ λέλασται.”

ὥς φαμένη Σθένηλον μὲν ἄφ' ἵππων ὥσε χαμάζε,

835

χειρὶ πάλιν ἐρύσασ'· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐμπαπέως ἀπόρουσεν.

ἡ δ' ἐς δίφρον ἔβαινε παρὰ Διομήδεα δῖον

ἐμμεανία θεά· μέγα δ' ἔβραχε φήγιнос ἄξων

βριθοσύνη· δεινὴν γὰρ ἄγεν θεὸν ἄνδρα δ' ἄριστον.

827. μή τι σύγ' M. || τό γε: τόν γε J (*supr.* τό) OQT (R *supr.*) Vrat. a<sup>1</sup>, Eust.: τόνδε S Lips. Mosc. 3: τὸν M. || ἄλλων P Cant. Vr. a. 828. ἐγὼ O. 833. μαχῆσασθαι HLOP(?)QR Vr. A. Mosc. 3: μάχεσθαι G (*supr.* ac): μαχέσασθαι Vr. a. || αὐτὰρ JMQR. || ἀρήξει U. 834. λέλῃσται G. 835. ἄφ': καὶ N. 836. ἐμπαπέως: γρ. ἐμμεμαῶς Vr. b. || ἐπόρουσεν N. 837. παρὰ OQS<sup>1</sup>. 838-9 ἄθ. Ar. 838. φήγιнос: φλόγιος P (γρ. φήγιος): πῆγιος *El. Mag.* Hesych. and οἱ παλαιοὶ (Eust.). 839. εἶαν G. || ἄνδρα δ' Ar. P: ἄνδρά τ' Ω. || φέριστον Par. c g.

follows its case; but Ar. refused to be consistent, on the ground that the word would thus be liable to confusion with the vocative of *ἀναξ* and the imperative *ἀνα=arise*. In Δ 230 he wrote *διά*, not *δία*, for a similar reason. The whole theory of accentuation is full of irregularities, which in many cases no doubt represented a genuine usage, but were a subject of helpless groping after principles among the Alexandrian grammarians. See *H. G.* § 180.

827. *τό γε*, for *that matter*; cf. ρ 401 *μήτ' οὖν μητέρ' ἐμὴν ἄξεν τό γε μήτε τιν' ἄλλον*. But it looks almost as if the line were a reminiscence of Ξ 342 *μήτε θεῶν τό γε δειδίδι μήτε τιν' ἀνδρῶν ὀψεσθαι*, where the *τό* is probably governed by *ὀψεσθαι*.

830. *σχεδίνῃ*: it is natural to supply *πληγῇ*, cf. M 192 *αὐτοσχεδίνῃ*. This, however, does not cover forms like *ἀντιβίην*, *ἀμφοδίην*, *ἀπριάτην*, and many in *-δην*, for which see *H. G.* § 110.

831. *ἄλλοπρόσαλλον*, *double-faced*, one thing to one person, another to another. This treachery of Ares is again

alluded to in Φ 413 *οὐνεκ' Ἀχαιοὺς κάλλιπες, αὐτὰρ Τρῶσιν ὑπερφιάλοισιν ἀμύνεις*, but no other trace of it occurs in Homer. *τυκτόν* is another *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* in this sense; it apparently means 'finished, wrought out,' i.e. *complete*; cf. Ψ 741 *τετυγμένον=well wrought*: so *τυκτῆσι βόεσσιν* M 105, and in the sense of 'artificially made' δ 627, ρ 169, 206. Van Herwerden's *στυκτόν* (cf. κ 113, λ 502) is needless.

832. *πρώην*: see B 303. *στεῦτο*, *pledged himself*; cf. on Σ 191.

834. *τῶν δὲ* may be masc., sc. Ἀχαιῶν: but perhaps it is rather more Homeric to take it as neuter, 'those promises.'

838-9. *ἀθετοῦνται* *στίχοι δύο*, ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ γελοῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἐναντίον ἔχοντες. τί γάρ, εἰ χεῖριστοι ἦσαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, εὐεῖδεις δὲ καὶ εὐσαρκοί; i.e. the fact that Diomedes and the goddess were *ἄριστοι* does not involve their being heavier. But the couplet is quite in the spirit of the whole passage, which seems expressly to exaggerate the physical qualities of the gods, e.g. 785, 860. We may compare *Aen.* vi. 413 *gemuit sub pondere*

λάξετο δὲ μάστιγα καὶ ἡνία Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη·  
 αὐτίκ' ἐπ' Ἀρηϊ πρώτῳ ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους.  
 ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν Περίφαντα πελώριον ἐξενάριξεν,  
 Λιτωλῶν ὄχ' ἄριστον, Ὀχησίῳ ἀγλαὸν υἱόν·  
 τὸν μὲν Ἀρης ἐνάριξε μαιφόνος· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη  
 δῶν Ἀϊδος κυνέην, μὴ μιν ἴδοι ὄβριμος Ἀρης.  
 ὥς δὲ ἴδε βροτολογὸς Ἀρης Διομήδεα διόν,  
 ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν Περίφαντα πελώριον αὐτόθ' ἔασε  
 κεῖσθαι, ὅθι πρῶτον κτείνων ἐξαίνυτο θυμόν,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ῥ' ἰθὺς Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο.  
 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες,  
 πρόσθεν Ἀρης ὠρέξαθ' ὑπὲρ ζυγὸν ἡνία θ' ἵππων  
 ἔγχρ' χαλκείῳ, μεμαῶς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἐλέσθαι·  
 καὶ τό γε χειρὶ λαβοῦσα θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 ὤσεν ὑπὲρ δίφροιο ἐτώσιον αἴχθηται.

840. δὲ: δὴ G<sup>2</sup>: γὰρ H. 841. πρώτα (sic) P. || After 841, 846 is inserted  
 by AC (M?) Harl. a (ἐν ἄλλῳ οὔτος ὁ στίχος μετὰ τέσσαρας στίχους κείται Schol. A).  
 842. ἐξενάριξεν Ar. AD (Par. f *supr.*): ἐξενάριξεν Ω (and *τινὲς* An.). 844.  
 μὲν om. Q. || ἐνάριξε(ν) DGJNOQR<sup>ms</sup> Lips. Vr. a c: ἐξενάριξε MP Harl. a.  
 845. ἴδῃ Q. || ὄβριμος CJ. 846. δ' εἶδε QR Vr. b: δ' εἶδε H *e corr.*: δε  
 οἶδε G: δ' οἶδε Vr. A. 848. κείσθ' ὅθι πρῶτον μιν NS Cant. (μιν πρῶτον). ||  
 πρῶτα C. 849. ῥ' om. J. 852. ἐλέσθαι AJNSU Ambr.: ὀλέσθαι Ω (and  
 γρ. A). 853. τό γε: τότε T Harl. a. 854. ὑπὲρ A: ἀπ' ἐκ Vr. A: ὑπ' ἐκ  
 (ὑπέκ) Ω and γρ. A (T.W.A.).

*cymba Sutilis* (of Charon's boat). Virgil imitates 835–40 in *Aen.* xii. 469 ff.; cf. also *Geo.* iii. 172 *valido nitens sub pondere fuginus axis Instrepat*. The variant πῆδινος for Φῆγινος is explained to mean made of a wood called πηδός (see *Lex.*).

842. This is the only case in H. where a god in person condescends actually to slay and despoil a human foe.

845. Ἀἴδος κυνέη, the 'Tarnkappe' or 'Nebelkappe' of northern mythology, not elsewhere mentioned in H. It is alluded to, however, in the *Scutum Her.* 227, and in Aristoph. *Ach.* 390, Plato *Rep.* x. 612 b. It appears too in the legend of Perseus in Pherekydes, and is a piece of the very oldest folklore. References will be found in Frazer *Paus.* iii. p. 346. The name Ἀἴδης here evidently preserves something of its original sense, the Invisible (Ἀΐδης). It is of course not necessary to suppose that the poet conceives Athene as literally putting on a cap; he only employs the traditional—almost proverbial—way

of saying that she makes herself invisible to Ares.

848. This line is perhaps interpolated by a rhapsode who read ἐξενάριξεν in 842, and thought that an infinitive was required after ἔασεν. This idea led to other unmistakable interpolations, see T 312, Ω 558, (O 473 ?).

851. ζυρόν, of Diomedes' chariot; Ares is clearly on foot (he has lent his chariot to Aphrodite, 363).

852. ἐλέσθαι: vulg. ὀλέσθαι, but this by Homeric usage could only mean to lose his own life.

854. ὑπὲρ: vulg. ὑπ' ἐκ, which appears to be accepted by almost all edd., though no approximately satisfactory explanation has been given of the word, which can only mean 'from under.' Athene of course is on, not under, the chariot; and to suppose that she could direct the shaft from a place where she was not herself is to make her very unlike a Homeric deity. Still, the old idea seems to have been that Athene actually put her arm under the chariot, for Schol.



δεύτερος αὐθ' ὥρμᾶτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης 855  
 ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ· ἐπέρεισε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
 νείατον ἐς κενεῶνα, ὅθι ζωννύσκετο μίτρην·  
 τῇ ρά μιν οὐτα τυχάν, διὰ δὲ χροῖα καλὸν ἔδαψεν,  
 ἐκ δὲ δόρυ σπάσεν αὐτίς. ὁ δ' ἔβραχε χάλκεος Ἀρης,  
 ὅσσόν τ' ἐννεάχιλοι ἐπίαχον ἢ δεκάχιλοι 860  
 ἀνέρες ἐν πολέμῳ, ἔριδα ξυνάγοντες Ἀρης.  
 τοὺς δ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ τρόμος εἶλεν Ἀχαιοὺς τε Τρῳάς τε  
 δείσαντας· τόσον ἔβραχ' Ἀρης ἄτος πολέμοιο.  
 οἷη δ' ἐκ νεφέων ἐρεβεννὴ φαίνεται ἀήρ  
 καύματος ἔξ ἀνέμοιο δυσσαέος ὀρνυμένοιο, 865  
 τοῖος Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδεϊ χάλκεος Ἀρης  
 φαίνεθ' ὁμοῦ νεφέεσσιν ἰὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν.  
 καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκανε θεῶν ἔδος, αἰπὺν Ὀλυμπον,  
 πὰρ δὲ Διὶ Κρονίῳ καθέζετο θυμὸν ἀχεύων,  
 δείξεν δ' ἄμβροτον αἶμα καταρρέον ἔξ ὠτειλῆς, 870  
 καὶ ῥ' ὀλοφυρόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “Ζεῦ πάτερ, οὐ νεμεσίζημι ὀρῶν τάδε καρτερὰ ἔργα;

855. δεύτερον DS. || δ' αὐθ' JQ. || ὥρμᾶτο MNQ. 856. ἐπέρεισε Vr. a: ἐπέρησε N *supr.* 857. μίτρην Ar. (μίτρην Harl. a, *supr.* ηὶ ὡς ἀρίσταρχος): ἐν τισὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ὄσι στελλέσκειτο μίτρῃ Did. 859. ἐκ: ἐν AU. || αὐθις C. 860. ὅσων δ' Aph. T. || ἐννεάχιλοι . . δεκάχιλοι (Ar. ? cf. Ξ 148) S, γρ. O Eust. 862. δ' om. P. 863 om. Q. 864. γρ. ἐρεβεννῶν Vr. a. 865. δυσσαέος: δυσχέος J (γρ. δυσσαέος). 867. εὐρύ D. 868. δ' om. Lips. 872. ἔργ' αἰθῆλα N Cant. (τάδ' αἰθῆλ' ἔργα S), γρ. Schol. T.

B on 851 says of ὑπὲρ there τινὲς ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπὸ, ἵνα τρώσῃ αὐτὸν λαθῶν. Ares' 'underhand' stroke is met by Athene in a similar way. With the reading of A there is no difficulty whatever.

857. ὅτι κατὰ τὰ κοῖλα μέρη ἐξώννυντο τὴν μίτραν· καὶ ἐστὶ διδασκαλικὸς ὁ τόπος (i.e. 'this is the *locus classicus*'). For the nature of the μίτρα see App. B. For μίτρην of mss. Ar. read μίτρη: both cases appear to be equally Homeric; see K 77, Ξ 181.

860. This hyperbolical distich recurs in Ξ 148-9. The reading -χειλοι apparently attributed to Ar. by Schol. T on Ξ 148 is not of course from χεῖλος as absurdly explained; χεῖλοι is the old Attic and Ionic form on inscriptions, so the diphthong may be right here. For the last half of 861 compare B 381, Ξ 448, T 275. The metaphorical use of the word Ἀρης (861) in this particular context is curious.

863 is suspected by Nauck; the sus-

picion is confirmed by the omission in Q, though there is no serious ground of objection against the line in itself.

865. καύματος ἔξ, after hot weather; so scholia. Cf. Herod. i. 87 ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίνης τε καὶ νηνεμῆς συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα. It is hardly possible to get any good sense if we join ἔξ with ἀνέμοιο. It is not easy to say what the phenomenon meant may be; perhaps a whirlwind of dust raised by the scirocco. Others take it to be a thunder-cloud 'standing out to the eye from the other clouds.' Or it may simply mean 'a black darkness (*murky air*) coming from (i.e. caused by) clouds' of a thunderstorm.

867. ὁμοῦ: best taken with ἰὼν, with clouds about him, cf. O 118 ὁμοῦ νεκέσσει (and so δ 723, ο 365). Brandreth ἄμα, cf. ἄμα προΐης ἀνέμοιο.

871. ῥ': F' Brandreth, rightly no doubt. Cf. κ 265.

872. See 757. 873-4 seem to be

αἰεί τοι ῥίγιστα θεοὶ τετληότες εἰμὲν  
 ἀλλήλων ἰότητι, χάριν δ' ἄνδρεσσι φέροντες.  
 σοὶ πάντες μαχόμεσθα· σὺ γὰρ τέκες ἄφρονα κούρην, 875  
 οὐλομένην, ἣι τ' αἰὲν ἀήσυλα ἔργα μέμνηεν.  
 ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ πάντες, ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰς' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,  
 σοὶ τ' ἐπιπείθονται καὶ δεδμήμεσθα ἕκαστος·  
 ταύτην δ' οὐτ' ἔπει προτιβάλλεαι οὔτε τι ἔργῳ,  
 ἀλλ' ἀνίης, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐγείναο παῖδ' ἀδῆλον· 880  
 ἦ νῦν Ἵνδρος υἱὸν ὑπερφίαλον Διομήδεα  
 μαργαίνειν ἀνέηκεν ἐπ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.  
 Κύπριδα μὲν πρῶτον σχεδὸν οὔτασε χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ,  
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτῷ μοι ἐπέσσυτο δαίμονι ἴσος·  
 ἀλλὰ μ' ὑπῆνικαν ταχέες πόδες· ἦ τέ κε δηρὸν 885  
 αὐτοῦ πῆματ' ἔπασχον ἐν αἰνῆσιν νεκάδεσσιν,

873. **ΤΟΙ :** **ΤΙ** HP. || **ΤΕΤΛΗΚΟΤΕΣ** N. || **Εἰμὲν** Vr. b. 874. **ΧΑΡΙΝ Δ'** Ar. Ω :  
 χάριν HJNOQT Mose. 2<sup>a</sup>, Cant. Par. e<sup>a</sup> k. 879. **ΠΟΤΙ ΒΑΛΕΑΙ** Q. || **οὔδέ ΤΙ** Q.  
 880. **ΑΝΙΗΣ** NO<sup>2</sup>S Lips.<sup>2</sup> : **ἀνείης** M : **ἀνίεις** Ω. 881. **ΥΠΕΡΦΙΑΛΟΝ** Ar. DGLQ :  
 ὑπερϑυμον αἰ δημῶδεις Ω (incl. A, T.W.A.). 883. **ΠΡΩΤΑ** H Vr. b : **πρώτην** Et.  
 Mag. 885. **ΥΠῆΝΕΚΑΝ** JNPQ. 886. **ΑἰΝΑΤΙ** G.

imitated from 383–4. They are rejected by Bekker and others, as being wide of the aim of the rest of the speech.

876. **ἀήσυλα :** so MSS. ; but there is little doubt, as Clemm has shewn, that the word, which is not found elsewhere, is only an itacistic mistake for *ἀήσυλα*, *ἰνίγμα*, from *Ἰσος* : hence the commoner contracted form *αἰσινος*.

878. **δεδμήμεσθα**, are subject, Γ 183, λ 622. For the change of person cf. H 160, P 250.

879. **προτιβάλλεαι :** the mid. is not found again till Ap. Rhod. (iv. 1046) and Oppian. It is commonly explained *attack*, a sense found in the act. and *προσβολή*. But, as Monro remarks, this is rather too strong for the context ; a more suitable sense is *thou payest no heed to her*. The mid. *βάλλομαι* is constantly thus used of the mind in H., cf. *ἐπιβάλλομαι* Z 68, *βάλλεσθαι ἐν θυμῷ*, *μετὰ φρεσιν* and *προσβάλλειν ὄμματα*, *ᾤψιν* in Attic (e.g. Eur. *Med.* 860), with no sense of violence.

880. For **ἀνίης** the vulg. gives *ἀνείης*, which is wrong, as the accent would only suit the imperf. ; but a thematic *ἀνείης* has the support of the 3rd person, B 752 *προίει*, K 121 *μεθίει* (cf. *τιθεῖ* N 732, α 192, *διδούς*, *διδού*). These are clearly due to invasion of the thematic

forms by analogy ; an invasion which in these particular verbs was finally repulsed, though it overwhelmed many others. As the MSS. are of no authority in a matter such as this, it is impossible now to say whether the 2nd person succumbed like the 3rd, the metre here giving no help. See *H. G.* § 18. But the thematic forms are so rare that they should not be multiplied without necessity. **αὐτός**, explained by Schol. B *μόνος*, i.e. without the intervention of a mother ; and so Hes. *Theog.* 924 *αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκώπιδα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην*. The legend of the birth of Athene from the head of Zeus is found also in *Hymn. Ap.* 314, 323, but not elsewhere in H., unless it be in the obscure title *τριτογένεια* (see on Δ 515) ; and the word here need mean no more than 'thou thyself' didst beget (emphatically) ; *σὺ τέκες* above (875) is also ambiguous. **ἀδῆλον**, *destructive*, as πῦρ B 455. (Welcker explains 'secretly born,' as without a mother. But see 897.)

886. **ΝΕΚΑΔΕΣΣΙΝ**, ἄπ. *λεγόμενον*. Cf. O 118 *κείσθαι ὁμοῦ νεκύεσσι μεθ' αἵματι καὶ κινήσιν*, and Π 661 *ἐν νεκῶν ἀγύρει* : see also note on 397. Ares, being immortal, seems a little confused between his two alternatives ; the contrast to

ἢ κε ζῶς ἀμενηνὸς ἕα χαλκοῖο τυπήσι.”

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·

“μή τί μοι, ἀλλοπρόσαλλε, παρεζόμενος μινύριζε.

ἔχθιστος δέ μοι ἔσσι θεῶν οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν·

890

αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη πόλεμοι τε μάχαι τε.

μητρός τοι μένος ἔστιν ἀάσχετον, οὐκ ἐπικιτόν,

Ἥρης· τὴν μὲν ἐγὼ σπουδῇ δάμνημ' ἐπέεσσι·

τῷ σ' οὔτω κείνης τάδε πάσχειν ἐννεσίησιν.

ἀλλ' οὐ μάν σ' ἔτι δηρὸν ἀνέξομαι ἄλγε' ἔχοντα·

895

ἐκ γὰρ ἐμεῦ γένος ἔσσί, ἐμοὶ δέ σε γέλινατο μήτηρ.

εἰ δέ τευ ἐξ ἄλλου γε θεῶν γένενυ ᾧδ' αἰδής,

καί κεν δὴ πάλαι ἦσθα ἐνέρτερος Οὐρανίωνων.”

887. ἦ: εἵ (H *supr.*) NOR: αἵ Q (τὸ ἦ κεν γράφεται διὰ τοῦ ἦ παρὰ τοῖς ἀκριβεστέροις Eust.). || ζωὸς Q Mor. Vr. b. || χαλκιοτυπαῖσι G (with hyphen).  
890. ἔχθιστος J. 891. τοι om. HP: τις N. 892. ἔστιν: αἰὲν Et. May. ||  
οὐκ: οὐδ' J. 895. μάν: μέν Vr. b. 896. ἔσσι JMO. || ἐμοὶ: ἐμῇ Q (S *supr.*).  
897. ἄλλοιο C *supr.* (man. rcc.). || γε om. CL: τε H. 898. ἦσθας  
ADJO'SU. || ἐνέρτερος: ἐνέρτατος Zen.: νέρτερος T Lips.

ζῶς ἕα should of course be ἔθανον: this being impossible he has to substitute the rather weak expression of the text.

887. ζωὸς for ζωῖος is a highly suspicious form recurring only in the acc. ζῶν II 445; cf. the equally faulty σῶς for σῶος (σῶος) X 332. ἢ ζωὸς ἀμ. Brandreth, ζωῖος κ' van L. ἀμενηνός: only here in *Il.*; it occurs several times in *Od.* in the phrase νεκῶν ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, and once (τ 562) of dreams. It appears to be conn. with μένος, but the formation is not clear. ἕα: see on Δ 321.

891. See note on A 177.

892. ἀάσχετον: the formation of this word, which recurs only in Ω 708, is hardly explicable. According to Bekker it is for ἀν-ἀνάσχετος, through the stage ἀν-ά(ν)σχετος, the second ν being lost before the σ, and the first then having to follow suit, that the word might not be confused with ἀνα-σχετός in the opposite sense. If so, it is probably a late and wrong reading, for which ἀνάσχετον ought to be substituted here (so Wackernagel): mere possibilities of confusion do not set aside the ordinary laws of linguistic formation. According to another view we have a case of 'Epic diectasis' for ἀσχετος, cf. II 549 ἀσχετον, οὐκ ἐπικιτόν. This is likely enough in a passage of late origin, and perhaps contemporaneous with the formation on

false analogy of ὀράαις for ὀράεις through the stage ὀράις, etc. οὐκ ἐπικιτόν, *unyielding, indomitable*, as Θ 32, etc.

893. σπουδῇ, as B 99, etc.

894. ἐννεσίησιν, a purely metrical form for ἐνεσίησιν, which could not otherwise be used. The word (from ἐν-ίημι) is ἀπ. λεγ. in H. but occurs in Hes. *Theog.* 494 and *Hymn. Cer.* 30, and is much affected by Ap. Rhod.

898. The variant ἦσθας is probably a mere fiction to avoid hiatus, formed on the analogy of the common term. -ας of the 2nd sing. (*H. G.* § 5). The two last words of the line apparently mean 'lower than the sons of Uranos,' i.e. the Titans imprisoned in Tartaros, as in O 225 οἱ περ ἐνέρτεροί εἰσι θεοί, Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἔοντες. This, however, is quite unlike the Homeric use of the word Οὐρανίῳνες, and may be another mark of later date; the Titan myths, like those relating to Kronos, seem only to have become part of the acknowledged belief of the Greek nation at large in post-Homeric times. If we take Οὐρανίῳνες in its usual sense, we must either translate *lower than the heavenly gods*, or accept Zen.'s reading ἐνέρτατος, *lowest of the heavenly gods*; either of which interpretations makes the passage intolerably weak. For the threat itself compare Θ 13-16; and for the Titans Θ 479,

ὥς φάτο, καὶ Παιήον' ἀνώγειν ἰήσασθαι.  
 τῶι δ' ἐπὶ Παιήων ὀδυνήφата φάρμακα πάσσειν. 900  
 [ἡκέσατ'· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθνητός γ' ἐτέτυκτο.]  
 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ὀπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐπειγόμενος συνέπηξεν  
 ὑγρὸν ἑόν, μάλα δ' ὦκα περιτρέφεται κυκώοντι,  
 ὥς ἄρα καρπαλίμως ἰήσατο θούρον Ἄρηα.  
 τὸν δ' Ἡβη λούσεν, χαρίεντα δὲ εἴματα ἔσσε· 905  
 παρ δὲ Διὶ Κρονίῳ καθέζετο κύδει γαίων.  
 αἱ δ' αὖτις πρὸς δῶμα Διὸς μέγαλοιο νέοντο,  
 Ἥρη τ' Ἀργεῖη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενῆς Ἀθήνη,  
 παύσασαι βροτολογιὸν Ἄρη' ἀνδροκτασιῶν.

899. ἀνώγειν ACTU: ἀνώγει Ω: ἀνώγειν D: ἄνωγειν and ἀνώγει Eust.  
 900. φάρμακ' ἔπασσειν T. || πάσσειν GJMNOQRSU<sup>2</sup> Harl. a<sup>2</sup> (πάσσειν Harl. a<sup>1</sup> Vr. A. || ἱακῶς φάρμακα πάσειν Ar., which shows that he did not read 901. 901  
 om. C'DP<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup> (added in marg. by Rhosos) Lips. Vr. A, Mosc. 1, Harl. a<sup>2</sup>, ἐν ἄλλω  
 ὁ στίχος οὐχ εὐρηται A. || κατὰ θνητῶν T<sup>m</sup> Vr. b: κατὰ θνητοὺς Vr. a. 902.  
 λευκὸς Mosc. 2. || ἐπειγόμενον DGS (T *supr.*, *man. rec.*?) Mosc. 1 2. 903. περι-  
 τρέφεται Herod. (Par. d *supr.*) Ap. Lex. Eust.: περιστρέφεται Ω. 905. χαρί-  
 εντά τε HPQRS Vr. a. 906 ἀθ. Ar. (Zen.?). || διί: ζηνί R. 907-9 om. Lips.  
 909. παύσασα (sic) Q: παύσασθαι P Mosc. 1, Schol. T. || ἄρη' Cant.: ἄρη A (N  
*add. man. rec.*, T.W.A.): ἄρη S: ἄρη Ω.

Ξ 279, Hesiod *Theog.* 720. The form ἐνέρετος for the later νέρετος (cf. ἐνερθε by νέρθε) occurs only here and O 225, and in Aisch. *Cho.* 286.

901 is evidently interpolated here from 402; several of the MSS. which contain it nevertheless read πάσσειν in 900 with a quite intolerable asyndeton.

902. ὀπός, fig.-juice used to curdle milk for cheese, the *lac ficulneum* of the Romans (Heyne quotes Columella *R. R.* vii. 8. 1, Varro ii. 11. 4, Pliny xvi. 38). The juice of 'lady's bedstraw' (*Galium verum*) was used for the same purpose in Cheshire and other parts of England at the beginning of this century (*Notes and Queries*, Sept. 21, 1889), but is now superseded by calf's rennet, which was also employed by the Greeks (πνερία, τάμισος). ἐπειγόμενος might quite well be taken as a passive, *being stirred*; but the common Homeric use of the participle is rather in favour of taking it as a mid., *makes haste to curdle* (cf. Ζ 388 ἐπειγόμενη ἀφικάνει, Ψ 119, λ 339); the point of the simile lies in the speed of the process, so that the repetition of the same idea in μάλα ὦκα in the next line is excusable.

903. περιτρέφεται, *curdles*, MSS. περι-στρέφεται, which is obviously inferior, cf. ξ 477 σακέεσι περιτρέφετο κρύσταλλος, where also several MSS. give περιστρέφετο, though it is meaningless. So i 246 ἦμισον μὲν θρέψας λευκοῖο γάλακτος. The idea evidently is that Paieon miraculously turned the flowing blood to sound and solid flesh.

905. On this line Ar. remarked ὅτι παρθενικὸν τὸ λούειν (it is always the maidens who give the bath): οὐκ οἶδεν ἄρα ὕφ' Ἡρακλέους αὐτὴν γεγαμημένην, ὥς ἐν τοῖς ἡθετημένοις ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐαι (viz. λ 603); a characteristic specimen of the great critic's acumen, though the argument is not in itself convincing to a chorizont.

906. This line was marked by Ar. with 'asterisk and obelos,' the former implying that it occurs elsewhere (viz. A 405, where see note), the latter that it is wrongly inserted here. The reason for the latter decision is that κύδει γαίων is out of place on an occasion where Ares has so little to be proud of.

909. The vulg. Ἄρην is not a Homeric form. See on Φ 112, and cf. 757 above.



## Z

### INTRODUCTION

It has been pointed out in the Introduction to E that the two books are so closely connected that they must be treated on as one. Z 1 is only intelligible in immediate connexion with what precedes, and in fact forms the conclusion of the sentence in E 907-9. It is likely, indeed, that the name *Διομήδους ἀρίστειν* as used by Herodotos only extended as far as 311, where the repeated ὅς clearly indicates that a break was made in recitation. But this can have been only for convenience; the subsequent narrative is no less closely connected with the whole position as described in E.

After a series of single combats, "battle-vignettes" as they have been called (1-72), we come to the scene on which the subsequent action turns, the sending of Hector to Troy by Helenos. The ancient critics took objection to the employment on this errand of the chief Trojan warrior in the crisis of the battle; but, of course, the subsequent narrative is more than abundant justification for this trifling violation of probability. The pause while Hector is going home is skilfully filled up by the scene between Glaukos and Diomedes; with the exception of one point, to which we shall return, all that follows is so perfect in narration as well as in conception as to call for no criticism; admiration is enough. But the colloquy between Glaukos and Diomedes has, of old time, been a source of much questioning. Like the duel of Sarpedon and Tlepolemos in the last book, it is not again alluded to in the *Iliad*; it is an entirely independent episode, which can be omitted without leaving a perceptible gap. We have, in fact, a remarkable scholion of Aristonikos, (*ἡ διπλῇ*) *ὅτι μετατιθέασί τινες ἀλλαχόσε ταύτην τὴν σύστασιν*. Unfortunately we are not told who these critics were, nor to what place or on what grounds they transposed the colloquy. It is highly probable that we have merely the record of an opinion that it ought to come before the words of Athene in E 124-32, and the subsequent victories of Diomedes over the gods; for with those words and acts the words of Diomedes in Z 123-43 are in crying contradiction—a contradiction perhaps the most patent in the *Iliad*, and one which can in no way be palliated. It is, indeed, highly probable that the scene stood in the original Diomedea before that had been enlarged by the intervention of the gods; but that any authentic tradition of a rearrangement existed in the days of Aristarchos is to the last degree improbable. In any case, the opening speech of Diomedes seems to have been enlarged by the addition of 130-40, betrayed by the repetition of 129 in 141. The opportunity for improving

the occasion was too good to be lost by some pious revivalist ; the Bacchic worship was unknown to the Achaian heroes. It must be noted that the famous line 146 is quoted by Simonides—whether of Keos or of Amorgos we do not know for certain. If, as Bergk thinks, it is the latter, it is by far the oldest extant quotation from Homer. The line is there attributed to a *Xîos ἀνὴρ*.

The remaining point to which it is necessary to call attention is the conversation between Hector and Paris in 326–41. We have not heard of Paris since the duel, at the end of Γ. He was there left in his chamber, and there again he is found ; so far all fits. But it is strange that Hector makes no allusion to the duel. Instead of treating Paris as a beaten man, Hector speaks to him about the indignation he is supposed to feel against the Trojans ; to which Paris replies that he is holding aloof more in sorrow than in anger. The deictic *τόνδε* which Hector applies to the supposed anger seems clearly to imply some definite and immediately present cause for it ; but such there certainly is not as the *Iliad* now stands. But, as Erhardt has pointed out, we shall in the next book come upon such a cause, the proposal entertained in the Trojan assembly to give up Helen and her treasure to the Greeks. That scene (H 345–78) is now in a passage which shews every sign of lateness and patch-work ; it is hard to believe that the proposal to surrender Helen did not once stand in some place before this book, and that Paris is not alluding to such an event. This, of course, is mere conjecture ; but some such explanation is certainly needed.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ζ

Ἑκτορος καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης οἰκίλια.

Τρώων δ' οἰώθη καὶ Ἀχαιῶν φύλοπις αἰνή·  
πολλὰ δ' ἄρ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθ' ἵθυσε μάχη πεδίοιο,  
ἀλλήλων ἰθυνομένων χαλκήρεα δοῦρα,  
μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ροάων.

2. δ' ἄρ': γὰρ H. || ἔνεα ἴθ. DJMNOS. 3. ἰθυονόντων S. 4. μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίμνης Ar. (see note *infra*).

1. οἰώθη, *was left to itself* by the departure of the gods, after the events of the last book. Cf. Δ 401.

2. Note the suspicious trochaic caesura in the 4th foot. **πεδίοιο**, *along the plain*, as usual; not a partitive gen. after *ἐνθα*. **ἰοῦειν** is the regular word for 'charging,' Δ 507, Δ 552, etc., the parallel form *ἰθύνειν* being used for the transitive. The mid. *ἰθύνεσθαι* recurs only ε 270, χ 8. **ἰθυνομένων** is gen. abs., the subject being easily supplied from the first line; **ἀλλήλων** is doubtless the gen. usual after verbs of *aiming* (H.G. § 151 c), and is not in agreement with the participle. Cf. N 499.

4. The reading of this line is one of the most puzzling problems in Homeric textual criticism. The mss., as will be seen, are unanimous for **μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ροάων**. But Aristonikos says (ἡ διπλή) ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐγγέγραπτο μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίμνης· διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι φέρεται. ὕστερον δὲ περιπεσὼν ἔγραψε (sc. ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος) μεσσηγὺς Σιμόεντος ἰδὲ Ξάνθοιο ροάων. τοῖς γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ναυστάθμου τόποις ἡ γραφή συμφέρει, πρὸς οὓς μάχονται ('sc. hi versus illa lectione retenta' Lehrs). Further, Schol. T says πρότερον ἐγγέγραπτο μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ στομαλίμνης· ὕστερον δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος ταύτην τὴν λέξιν

(sc. the present vulgate) *εὐρών ἐπέκρινεν*. Χαῖρις δὲ γράφει μεσσηγὺς ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου καὶ Σιμόεντος. I.e. Ar. at first preferred the reading *μ. ποτ. Σκ. καὶ στομαλίμνης*, and adopted it in his 'notes,' but afterwards changed his mind and introduced the text, presumably, into the second or both of his editions; the ground for the change being that the vulg. better agreed with his view of the topography of the Greek camp, on which, as we know, he wrote a special dissertation. Now the consensus of our mss. makes it practically certain that their reading was also that of Ar.'s vulgate. What then is the meaning of *ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις*? The phrase does not recur in the existing scholia of Did. or An. We find indeed *ἐνιοι τῶν ἀρχαίων* quoted by An. as an authority on Ξ 214. But the preposition *ἐν* (not *παρά*) forbids us to take the adj. as masc. here; the only substantive we can supply is *ἀντιγράφοις*. But then we are landed in the absurdity of supposing that Ar. was in possession of a whole class of mss. which could be described as 'ancient' in comparison with his ordinary vulgate; and yet that he paid so little attention to them that they are never again named. (The alternative supposition, that the 'ancient mss.' were in fact the vulgate, and that Ar. by his own authority succeeded in introducing a

Αἴας δὲ πρῶτος Τελαμώνιος, ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, 5  
 Τρώων ῥῆξε φάλαγγα, φόως δ' ἐτάροισιν ἔθηκεν,  
 ἄνδρα βαλὼν ὃς ἄριστος ἐνὶ Θρήικεσσι τέτυκτο,  
 υἱὸν Ἐυσσώρου Ἀκάμαντ' ἦν τε μέγαν τε.  
 τὸν ῥ' ἔβαλε πρῶτος κόρυθος φάλον ἵπποδασείης,  
 ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ πῆξε, πέρησε δ' ἄρ' ὁστέον εἴσω 10  
 αἰχμὴ χαλκείῃ· τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε κάλυψεν.  
 Ἀξυλον δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης  
 Τευθρανίδην, ὃς ἔναιεν ἐνκτιμένῃ ἐν Ἀρίσβῃ  
 ἀφνειὸς βιότοιο, φίλος δ' ἦν ἀνθρώποισι·  
 πάντας γὰρ φιλέεσκεν ὁδῶι ἔπι οἰκία ναίων. 15  
 ἀλλὰ οἱ οὐ τις τῶν γε τότ' ἤρκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον  
 πρόσθεν ὑπαντιάσας, ἀλλ' ἄμφω θυμὸν ἀπηύρα,  
 αὐτὸν καὶ θεράποντα Καλήσιον, ὅς ῥα τόθ' ἵππων  
 ἔσκεν ὑφηνίοχος· τῶ δ' ἄμφω γαῖαν ἐδύτην.

6. φόος P. 7. βαλὼν: λαβὼν H. 9. ῥὰ βάλε G. 12. ἄζυλον  
 Vr. 1 (a?). 15. γὰρ: δὲ J. || ἔπι: ἐνὶ HN. 16. τῶν γε: τόν γε A.  
 17. ἀπηύρεν G *e corr.* 19. ὑφηνίοχος [GH<sup>2</sup>NO<sup>2</sup>S]T: ὑφ' ἡνίοχος Ω. || τῶ δ':  
 τῷ H: τῶγ' G.

new reading into the vulgate after his time, is so absolutely opposed to the general evidence of the documents that it need not be seriously considered.) Hence various attempts have been made to emend the words ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις: e.g. ἐν τοῖς Ἀρισταρχείοις Lehrs, ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ τῶν Ἀρισταρχείων Sengebusch. But a much less drastic change will do all that is needed. I have little doubt that the correct reading is ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίαις, sc. ἐκδόσεσιν. The 'early editions' are in fact mentioned in this way by Did. on I 657, σπείσαντες ἐν τῇ ἐτέρῃ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου λείψαντες, καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων. Whether or no these editions included those of Zen. and Aph. we naturally cannot say; but it is clear that there was an authority in favour of the variant, which Aristarchos so highly regarded that for a time he preferred the variant to the vulgate, just as he did in I 657. And we, who are not troubled with his doubts as to the naval camp, may well agree with him as to the intrinsic superiority of the reading which names the στομαλίμνη. This 'estuary' is not again mentioned, but modern evidence shews that such an estuary must have existed at the mouth of the Dumbrek Su

(Schliemann *Ilios* p. 84); it is extremely unlikely to have been invented, but the unfamiliar word ran every risk of being supplanted by the more familiar Simoeis, though we have had reason to suppose that this river was not recognized in the oldest form of the Trojan tradition (see on E 774). The word στομαλίμνη is used by Strabo (xiii. 595) of this particular estuary, and more generally of the delta of the Rhone. Theokritos has the form στομάλιμνον. But the regular late Epic form (Ap. Rhod., Nonnus, Coluthus) is στόμα λίμνης: see Platt in *J. P.* xix. 38.

6. φόως, *help*, as Θ 282, Λ 797, Π 95.

7. For this Akamas see B 844.

9. φάλον: see App. B.

14. βιότοιο: cf. E 544.

15. φιλέεσκεν, *used to entertain*; cf. Γ 207, and ο 74 χρῆ ξείνων παρεόντα φιλεῖν.

17. πρόσθεν ὑπαντιάσας, *standing before him to meet his enemy*.

19. ὑφηνίοχος, a word not found elsewhere, is sufficiently defended by the analogy of δ 386 ὑποδμῶς, ο 330 ὑποδρηστήρ; and it avoids the awkwardness of the detached ὑπό in the vulg. ὑφ' ἡνίοχος, for which Σ 519 λαοὶ δ' ὑπ' ὀλίγους ἦσαν is but a partial support. γαῖαν ἐδύτην, the realm of the dead being under ground. Cf. 411, ω 106. Schol. B explains it



Δρῆσον δ' Εὐρύαλος καὶ Ὀφέλιον ἐξενάριξε· 20  
 βῆ δὲ μετ' Αἴσηπον καὶ Πήδασον, οὓς ποτε νύμφη  
 νηῖς Ἀβαρβαρέη τέκ' ἀμύμονι Βουκολίῳ.  
 Βουκολίων δ' ἦν υἱὸς ἀγαθοῦ Λαομέδοντος  
 πρεσβύτατος γενεῇ, σκότιον δέ ἐ γείνατο μήτηρ·  
 ποιμαίνων δ' ἐπ' ὅεσσι μίγῃ φιλότῃ καὶ εὐνῇ, 25  
 ἧ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη διδυμάονε γείνατο παῖδε.  
 καὶ μὲν τῶν ὑπέλυσε μένος καὶ φαίδιμα γυῖα  
 Μηκιστηϊάδης καὶ ἀπ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἐσύλα.  
 Ἀστυάλων δ' ἄρ' ἔπεφνε μενεπτόλεμος Πολυποίτης·  
 Πιδύτην δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Περκώσιον ἐξενάριξεν 30  
 ἔγχεϊ χαλκείῳ, Τεύκρος δ' Ἀρετάονα δῖον.  
 Ἀντίλοχος δ' Ἀβληρον ἐνήρατο δουρὶ φαεινῷ  
 Νεστορίδης, Ἐλατον δὲ ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 ναῖε δὲ Σατυνίεντος ἐνρρείταο παρ' ὄχθας  
 Πήδασον αἰπεινήν. Φύλακον δ' ἔλε Λήϊτος ἥρως 35  
 φεύγοντ'· Εὐρύπυλος δὲ Μελάνθιον ἐξενάριξεν.

20. δρῆσόν τ' Η. 21. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἱστορικοὶ (οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον Β) τὸν  
 πῆδασον, τρέχον (πῆρεχον Β) καλοῦσι Schol. T. 22. βαρβαρέν Ν. 27.  
 μῆν: μῆν Mosc. 1 (U supr.). || ἐπέλυσε Mosc. 1. 30. πιδύτην JO Bar.  
 Vr. a<sup>m</sup>: πιδύτην Vr. a<sup>t</sup>. || περκάσιον Lips. 31. ἔγχεϊ: τεύχεϊ J. || ἄρ ἐτάονα  
 T (supr. διχῶς καὶ ἐτάονα) U Lips. Vr. b<sup>1</sup> and ap. Schol. A, Eust. 32. αἰληρον  
 JM: αἰκληρον Ν: ἄβληρον QU. 34. ναῖε δέ: ὅς ναῖε (νάε?) Zen. (cf.  
 N 172). || σατυρίεντος P: τινές σαφνιέντος Strabo xiii. 606. || ὄχθασι Strabo *ibid*.  
 35. φύλακον: σχεδίον Herod.

ὅτι γῆν ταφέντες ἐνεδύσαντο, which is obviously inappropriate, as there is no burying in question at all.

21. Αἴσηπος and Πήδακος are both local place-names, see 35 below and B 825, etc. Here they are evidently to be regarded as personal eponyms of the river and town, as their semi-divine parentage shews, in spite of the obvious anachronism thus introduced into 35.

22. νηῖς, *naïad*: here and Ξ 444, T 384, all in A. Minor, like the Γυγαίη λίμνη as mother in B 865, q.v. In ν 104, 356 the form is νηϊάδες. For nymphs in general see T 8-9. The name Ἀβαρβαρέη looks as though it might be conn. with βόρβορος, *muḍ*, and mean *pellucid*.

23. It appears that Bukolion was Priam's elder brother, though the name is not known in the genealogy of T 236. But all the names in this passage are merely invented for the nonce, and are not to be taken as containing tradition.

24. σκότιον, by a secret amour=Π 180 παρθένιος. Cf. *Aen.* ix. 546 *furtim*. The schol. compare Eur. *Alc.* 989 (?) σκότιοι παῖδες θεῶν, and *Phoen.* 345 ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε σοι πρὸς ἀνήψα φῶς νόμμον ἐν γάμοις. μίγῃ, sc. *Bukolion*.

34. ναῖε δέ: Zen. δς ναῖε, acc. to An., who accuses the reading of 'cacophony.' On N 172 the same difference is noted, and the charge becomes one of false quantity; but the text of the schol. gives *νάε*. Now *νάω* from root *nas*, *to dwell*, would be just as possible by the side of *ναίω*, as is *νάω* *to flow* (for *ανάF-ω*) by the side of *ναίω*, ι 222, in the same sense; cf. also *δέρω* by *δέλω*. It is therefore possible that Zen. may have found an old reading δς ναῖε, representing an original δς *νάε*, and defended it on the analogy of *ἐμπαῖος*, *οἶος* (υυ), etc.

35. For this Πήδακος in the Troad cf. Φ 87, T 92. Strabo calls it a city of the Leleges opposite Lesbos, and another legend identifies it with

"Αδρηστον δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος  
 ζῶν ἔλ'. ἵππῳ γάρ οἱ ἀτυζομένῳ πεδίῳ,  
 ὅζῳ ἐνὶ βλαφθέντε μυρικίνῳ, ἀγκύλον ἄρμα  
 ἄξαντ' ἐν πρώτῳ ῥυμῳ αὐτῷ μὲν ἐβήτην 40  
 πρὸς πόλιν, ἥι περ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀτυζόμενοι φοβέοντο,  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ δίφροιο παρὰ τροχὸν ἐξεκυλίσθη  
 πρηνὴς ἐν κονίῃσιν ἐπὶ στόμα. πὰρ δέ οἱ ἔστη  
 Ἀτρεΐδης Μενέλαος ἔχων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος·  
 "Αδρηστος δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐλλίσσετο γούνων· 45  
 "ζῶγρει, Ἀτρεὺς υἱέ, σὺ δ' ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα.  
 πολλὰ δ' ἐν ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς κειμήλια κείται,  
 χαλκὸς τε χρυσὸς τε πολύκμητός τε σίδηρος·  
 τῶν κέν τοι χαρίσαιο πατὴρ ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,  
 εἴ κεν ἐμὲ ζῶν πεπύθοιτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν." 50  
 ὣς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθε.  
 καὶ δὴ μιν τάχ' ἔμελλε θαῶς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
 δώσειν ὧι θεράποντι καταξέμεν· ἀλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
 ἀντίος ἦλθε θέων, καὶ ὁμοκλήσας ἔπος ηὔδα·

37. ἔπειτα : ἔπεφνε U. 39. ἀγκύλον : καμπύλον Q Vr. b ('e glossa').  
 40. ἄξαν δ' Vr. b. 41. οὔπερ N Vr. a. 42. ἐξεκυλίσθη H. 46. ἀτρεὺς  
 NQ. 47. κείται G. 49. τῷ O<sup>1</sup>. || ΚΕΝ : καὶ DJN. 50. αἴ κεν Lips. (?) :  
 ἔς κεν J. 51. ἔπειθε : ὄρινε(ν) (A *supr.*) C (γρ. ἔπειθε) GPT Mosc. 2, γρ.  
 Harl. a. 54. ἀντίος Ar. Ω : ἀντίον Zen. Q Vr. a b, King's, Par. a<sup>1</sup> d f j.

Adramyttium. More recently it has been identified with Assos. It is not recorded in the Catalogue. A town of the same name in Messene is mentioned in I 152, and there was a Πήδασα near Halikarnassos.

38. ἀτυζομένῳ πεδίῳ as Σ 7.  
 39. βλαφεέντε, *entangled*, cf. H 271, II 331, Ψ 571. ἀγκύλον, like καμπύλον E 231, is only once used of the chariot. It doubtless indicates the curved form of the front.

40. ἐν πρώτῳ ῥυμῳ probably means the end of the pole where the yoke was fastened, also called ἄκρος E 729; cf. II 371, Ω 272.

45. δ' ἄρ' : δέ F' conj. Brandreth. γούνων with λαβὼν, as A 407.

46-50 = A 131-5, and cf. K 378-81.

46. ζῶγρει, *take me alive*. In E 698 the meaning is quite different. The last syllable remains long because of the pause at the end of the first foot. Brandr. conj. ζῶγρεέ μ'. The form δέξαι is doubtful; δέξε(αι) van L.

47. ἐν πατρός, sc. δώματι Z 378, Ω 309,

482, etc. The rather awkward ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς indicates that the passage is borrowed from A 132 and not *vice versa*: Ἀντιμάχοιο δόμοις there is natural.

48. πολύκμητος, implements wrought with much labour. The working of iron was of course a difficult matter in early days, especially as by primitive methods of smelting it would be obtained not in the pure malleable condition, but combined with a certain amount of carbon, making it more like cast-iron, hard and brittle.

51. ἔπειθε, *endeavoured to persuade* (observe the different sense of the aor. in 61). The variant ὄρινε is less appropriate; for, as La R. points out, the appeal is not to Menelaos' emotions, but to his reason. The line recurs several times, always with ὄρινε (B 142. Γ' 395, Δ 208, Α 804, N 468, ρ 150). See, however, X 78.

53. καταξέμεν is of course aor., not fut.; see Γ' 120.

54. ἀντίος : so Ar.; Zen. ἀντίον. In other passages Ar. seems to have pre-

“ὦ πέπον, ὦ Μενέλαε, τί ἦ δὲ σὺ κήδεαι οὕτως  
 ἀνδρῶν; ἦ σοὶ ἄριστα πεποιήται κατὰ οἶκον  
 πρὸς Τρώων; τῶν μὴ τις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον  
 χεῖράς θ' ἡμετέρας, μηδ' ὃν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ  
 κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι, μηδ' ὃς φύγοι, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες  
 Ἴλιου ἔξαπολοίαιτ' ἀκήδεστοι καὶ ἄφαντοι.” 55

ὥς εἰπὼν ἔτρεψεν ἀδελφείου φρένας ἥρωος,  
 αἷσιμα παρειπών· ὁ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ὤσατο χεῖρὶ  
 ἥρῳ Ἀδρηστον. τὸν δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 οὔτα κατὰ λαπάρην· ὁ δ' ἀνετράπετ', Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ  
 λάξ ἐν στήθεσι βὰς ἐξέσπασε μείλινον ἔγχος. 60

Νέστωρ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὖσας·  
 “ὦ φίλοι ἥρωες Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἀρης,  
 μὴ τις νῦν ἐνάρων ἐπιβαλλόμενος μετόπισθε  
 μιμνέτω, ὥς κε πλείστα φέρων ἐπὶ νῆας ἵκηται,  
 ἀλλ' ἄνδρας κτείνωμεν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔκηλοι  
 νεκροὺς ἅμ πεδίον συλῆσετε τεθνηῶτας.” 70

55. κήδεο Q (*supr.* αι). || οὕτως: αὐτως J Eust. 56. πεποιήνται PT  
 (πεποιέσται Zen. ? see Eust. 624. 20). 57. ὑπεκφύγη S: ὑπ' ἔκφυγε Vr. a. 59.  
 φέροι NQ (A *supr.* T.W.A. and *τινές* Schol. A). || φύγη Vr. a<sup>1</sup>. 61. ἔτρεψεν:  
 παρέπεισεν ΔΗJNOR Vr. a, γρ. U (γρ. ἔτρεψεν ΔΟ). 62. αἷσια Bekk. *Anec.*  
 831. 16. || ἀπαι S Vr. A, Harl. d, and *τινές* Eust. 63. ἥρωος P. 64. ἀνα-  
 τράπετ' P: ἀνετρέπετ' U. 65. ἀπέσπασε Vr. b. 69. κε: καὶ D: ἂν O  
*supr.* 71. νεκροὺς ῥ' S. || τρώων ἀμπεδῖον συλίσσμεν ἔντεα νεκροὺς Zen. ||  
 ΤΕΘΝΗ(Ι)ΩΤΑΣ Ar. A[HL]QT (O *supr.*): ΤΕΘΝΕΩΤΑΣ Ω.

ferred the adverbial, Zen. the adjectival form. There is little or no ground of choice (La R. *H.* p. 193).

57. The note of interrogation after Τρώων is shewn to be Aristarchean by the remark of Herodian that the ἦ is διαπορητικός, interrogative. On the whole it is more Homeric to have two consecutive questions in a case like this than a question followed by an indignant exclamation: Ξ 265, O 245, π 424, ρ 376 (Hentze). ἄριστα is not an adv. but subject to πεποιήται, for the impersonal ποιεῖται τινι κακῶς is not Homeric.

59. φέροι: opt. by attraction, as usual in sentences expressing a wish. The use of κοῦρος to signify *babe* is quite unique; it elsewhere connotes rather a man in the prime of life. Död. thinks it means 'of noble blood,' but this weakens the sentiment quite intolerably. If, as we should suppose, it means 'male child,' we must regard the opt. as expressing a hope, not a command; unless

Agamemnon's fury makes him quite unreasoning.

62. αἷσιμα: there are very few cases in the poems of a moral judgment of the poet upon the acts of his characters. Against the present one we may set the κακὰ φρεσὶ μῆδετο ἔργα of the human sacrifice in Ψ 176. αἷσιμα does not in fact imply an absolute moral standard (cf. on 162), beyond what is implied in *due retribution* (cf. on αἷσα A 418) for misdeeds.

68. ἐπιβαλλόμενος, *throwing himself upon* the spoil, half in a physical, half in a metaphorical sense. For the gen. Ameis compares χ 310 Ὀδυσῆος ἐπεσσύμενος. The word occurs in later Greek, e.g. Aristot. *Pol.* i. 9. 16 τοῦ εὖ ζῆν ἐπιβ., with the purely mental sense 'desire eagerly'; like A 173 ἐπέσονται. Cf. the use of ἐφιέμαι, *desire*.

71. συλίσσετε, a potential or rather permissive (*M.* and *T.* § 69) fut. with double acc. (τά, sc. ἔνταρα).

ὥς εἰπὼν ὥτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου.  
 ἔνθά κεν αὐτε Τρῶες ἀρηϊφίλων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν  
 Ἴλιον εἰσανέβησαν ἀναλκείησι δαμέντες,  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' Αἰνείαι τε καὶ Ἑκτορι εἶπε παραστάς 75  
 Πριαμίδης Ἑλενος, οἰωνοπόλων ὅχ' ἄριστος·  
 "Αἰνεία τε καὶ Ἑκτορ, ἐπεὶ πόνος ὕμμι μάλιστα  
 Τρώων καὶ Λυκίων ἐγκέκλιται, οὔνεκ' ἄριστοι  
 πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἰθὺν ἔστε μάχεσθαί τε φρονέειν τε,  
 στήτ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ λαὸν ἐρυνάκετε πρὸ πυλῶν 80  
 πάντῃ ἐποιοχόμενοι, πρὶν αὖτ' ἐν χερσὶ γυναικῶν  
 φεύγοντας πεσέειν, δήιοισι δὲ χάρμα γενέσθαι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κε φύλαγγας ἐποτρύνητον ἀπάσας,  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν Δαναοῖσι μαχησόμεθ' αὖθι μένοντες,  
 καὶ μάλα τειρόμενοί περ· ἀναγκαίη γὰρ ἐπείγει· 85  
 Ἑκτορ, ἀτὰρ σὺ πόλινδε μετέρχεο, εἰπέ δ' ἔπειτα  
 μητέρι σῇ καὶ ἐμῇ· ἡ δὲ ξυνάγουσα γεραιὰς  
 νηὸν Ἀθηναίης γλαυκῶπιδος ἐν πόλει ἄκρι,·  
 οἷξασα κληῖδι θύρας ἱεροῖο δόμοιο,  
 πέπλον ὅς οἱ δοκέει χαριέστατος ἡδὲ μέγιστος 90

72. ὥτρυνε TU Lips.<sup>1</sup> Vr. a. 74. ἀναλκείῃ AJOR. || δαμάντες R<sup>1</sup>. 76. Ἀμμόνιος ὡς Ἀριστάρχειον προφέρεται καὶ ταύτην τὴν γραφὴν μάντις τ' οἰωνοπόλος τε. ἔργον δὲ τὸ σαφές εἰπεῖν· διὸ διχῶς (i.e. it must be recorded as a variant) Did. 82. δηϊοίσι τε DQ. 84. 'μαχεσσάμεθ' (sic) et hic nonnulli' Heyne. 86. αὐτὰρ JTU. || μετέρχοιο U: μετοίχεο Vr. a, Eust. 87. Δέ: δὴ Mor. Bar. || συνάγουσα G Mor. Bar. || γεραράς P: τινὲς γεραράς Schol. T (γεραιράς Schol. B). 89. κληῖδα Q *supr.* || ἱεροῖο: στεροῖο Mosc. 2.

73. The situation seems to change rather suddenly here; the words of Helenos in 96-101 would naturally follow some such account of Diomedes' exploits as we have had in E rather than the detached combats of the last 72 lines, in which he has appeared only as one among many Greek heroes. All these combats are evidently such as must have formed the stock-in-trade of the Epic poet for use wherever needed. They may have been inserted here to form a transition from the episode of the wounding of Ares. 73-4 = P 319-20. ὑπό, as Γ 61. Schol. B for once shews a touch of humour: λίαν οἶδε τὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ὁ ποιητής.

79. ἰοῦν: cf. δ 434 οἷσι μάλιστα πεποῖ-  
 θεα πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἰθὺν, for every enterprise,  
 lit. 'going.'

82. πεσέειν: see note on B 175. Here it is clearly used of the tumultuous rout

of the vanquished, who by a bitter sarcasm are said to take refuge in their wives' arms.

83. ἐπεὶ κε with aor. subj. = *ful.*  
*exactus*, as A 191, Ψ 10, σ 150.

86. ἀτὰρ κύ: for the order cf. 429, π 130.

88. ΝΗΘΝ, sc. to the temple. Cf. K 195 ὅσοι κεκλήτατο βουλὴν; H. G. § 140. 4. Schol. T remarks *περισσοὶ οἱ δύο* (88-9), and Brandreth and van L. would reject 89, on the ground that the contracted οἷξασα for οἷξ. is not Homeric, that κληῖς in H. means *bolt*, not *key*, and that it is for Theano the priestess, not for Hekabe, to open the temple; cf. 298. The lines are not repeated by Hector, cf. 270.

90. ὅς all MSS. and Herodian; most edd. write ὅ after Bentley on account of the F of *Foi*, and there can be little doubt that this is right. ὅ must of



εἶναι ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ καὶ οἱ πολλὸν φίλτατος αὐτῇ  
 θείναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἡνκόμοιο,  
 καὶ οἱ ὑποσχέσθαι δυοκαίδεκα βούς ἐνὶ νῶϊ  
 ἦνις ἡκέστας ἱερευσέμεν, αἶ κ' ἐλεήσῃ  
 ἄστυ τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα,  
 αἶ κεν Τυδέος υἱὸν ἀπόσχηι Ἰλίου ἱρῆς,  
 ἄγριον αἰχμητήν, κρατερὸν μῆστωρα φόβοιο,  
 ὃν δὴ ἐγὼ κάρτιστον Ἀχαιῶν φημὶ γενέσθαι.  
 οὐδ' Ἀχιλλῆά ποθ' ᾧδέ γ' ἐδείδιμεν, ὄρχαμον ἀνδρῶν,

95

91. μεγάροις Eust. || καὶ ὅς L (γρ. καὶ οἱ).  
 96. αἶ κεν : ὥς κεν Ar. || ἀπόσχοι Vr. a.  
 ὧδ' T.

94. ἀκέστας G. || ἐλεήσει D<sup>2</sup>.  
 99. ᾧδέ γ' : ᾧδε Lips. Vr. b :

course be taken as the masc. of the relative article; see note on E 338. The mention of the peplos carries our thoughts to the Panathenaic festival at Athens. But the idea of propitiating divinities by clothing their images with costly robes is not only one of the most natural and universal of primitive cults, but survives in full force to the present day in many parts even of Western Europe. (References will be found in Frazer *Paus.* ii. p. 574.) It was particularly appropriate to the goddess who presided over feminine handiwork, including weaving, cf. E 735. It is therefore needless to seek for Athenian inspiration in the present passage. Compare Pausan. iii. 16. 2 ὑφαίνουσι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀπόλλωνι χιτῶνα τῶν ἐν Ἀμύκλαις, and v. 16. 2 διὰ πέμπτον δὲ ὑφαίνουσιν ἔτους τῇ Ἡραὶ πέπλον αἱ ἑκκαίδεκα γυναῖκες (in Olympia).

The appeal to Athene is made not because she is a special guardian of Troy, but because she is recognized as the protector and strength of Diomedes; only through her can his valour be abated. The title of ἐρυσίπολις (305) is general. In virtue of her warlike nature she is the guardian of citadels, where her temple stands.

92. The words ἐπὶ γούνασι seem to imply a seated image; that is, a rude wooden ξάναον such as survived in many Greek temples to historic times. Later legend connected such an image, the Palladium, with the fate of Troy. In view of the objection that such Palladia were always standing, not sitting, figures, Schol. B after explaining ἐπὶ as = παρὰ, which is obviously wrong, quotes the

authority of Strabo—who says (xiii. 601) that ancient sitting images of Athene were found in Phokaia, Massalia, Rome, Chios, and several other places. Mr. Ramsay has found such archaic sitting figures in Phrygia (*J. H. S.* iii. 43). This is the only allusion to a cult-statue in H. Compare P 514 θεῶν ἐπὶ γούνασι κείται. ΘΕΪΝΑΙ: the only instance in H. of the infin. for imper. in the 3rd person with its subject in the nom. (ἡ 87); as they are so distant from one another, it may be questioned if we ought not to assume an anacoluthon; i.e. that when the poet began with ἡ he was thinking of continuing with θέτω. Cf. on Γ 285, H 79.

94. ἦνις according to the old expl. from ἔνος (ἐνιαυτός), 'one year old.' The word occurs only in this connexion (cf. K 292 = γ 382), so that the meaning can only be guessed. The same is the case with ἡκέστας, which recurs only 275, 309, and is commonly explained *untouched by the goad*, as if ἀ-κέστας (κεντέω). But there is no excuse of necessity for the lengthening of the ἀ, nor sufficient parallel for the change to ἡ- (see App. D).

96. For αἶ κεν Ar. read ὥς κεν, just as in τ 83 he read ἦν πως for μή πως, where it was preceded by another μή. As Hentze on τ 83 points out, he seems to have done this in both cases in order to bring the second clause into logical subordination, sacrificing the vigorous but less formal parataxis given by the repetition of the particles.

99. Ahrens, with some ms. support, would omit the γ' as a needless stop-gap.

ὄν πέρ φασι θεᾶς ἐξέμμεναι· ἀλλ' ὅδε λίην 100  
μαίνεται, οὐδέ τις οἱ δύναται μένος ἰσοφαρίζειν."

ὥς ἔφαθ', "Ἐκτωρ δ' οὐ τι κασιγνήτῳ ἀπίθησεν.  
αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε,  
πάλλων δ' ὀξέα δοῦρα κατὰ στρατὸν ὦιχετο πάντῃ  
ὀτρύνων μαχέσασθαι, ἔγειρε δὲ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν. 105

οἱ δ' ἐλελίχθησαν καὶ ἐναντίοι ἔσταν Ἀχαιῶν·  
Ἀργεῖοι δ' ὑπεχώρησαν, λῆξαν δὲ φόνοιο,  
φὰν δέ τιν' ἀθανάτων ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερούεντος  
Τρωσὶν ἀλεξήσοντα κατελθέμεν, ὥς ἐλέλιχθεν.

"Ἐκτωρ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὔσας· 110

"Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι τηλεκλειτοὶ τ' ἐπίκουροι,  
ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς,  
ὄφρα κ' ἐγὼ βεῖω προτὶ Ἴλιον ἠδὲ γέρονσιν  
εἴπω βουλευτῆσι καὶ ἡμετέρῃσι ἀλόχοισι  
δαίμοσιν ἀρήσασθαι, ὑποσχέσθαι δ' ἐκατόμβας." 115

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἀπέβη κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ·  
ἀμφὶ δέ μιν σφυρὰ τύπτε καὶ αὐχένα δέρμα κελαινόν,  
ἄντυξ ἢ πυμάτη θέεν ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης.

102. ὥς φάτο P. 104. πάλλων : πολλῶν Q. 105. μαχέσεσθαι Par. g h :  
μαχέσσοι Eust. 106. ἐναντίον HJPR. 107. ὑποχώρησαν S. 109. ἀλεξή-  
σαντα TU. || μετελθέμεν L. 111. τηλεκλειτοὶ GJNOS (*supr.* ei) Lips. Vr. c,  
Mosc. 1 B. || τρῶες καὶ λύκιοι καὶ δάρδαοι ἀγχιμαχταὶ HPU. 112. μνήσεσθε  
Vr. a. || ἀνέρες ἔστε ἑοοὶ καὶ ἀμύνετον ἄσπεϊ λῶβην Zen. 113. ὄφρα κ'  
and ὄφρ' ἂν Ar. διχῶς : ὄφρα Vr. a : ὄφρ' ἂν Ω. || ποτὶ PQS.

101. For οὐδέ τις οἱ and ἰσοφαρίζειν most edd. now read οὐ τις οἱ and ἀντι-  
φέρειν (cf. Φ 357, 411, 488) after  
Bentley on account of the double neglect  
of the digamma. It must, however, be  
confessed that the former change at all  
events is not satisfactory (οὐδέ τις ἄρ  
Brandreth).

104. See note on E 495.

109. ὥς ἐλέλιχεν ἀντὶ τοῦ οὕτως  
ἐλέλιχθεν Nikanor; 'ὥς for ὅτι οὕτως'  
as it is usually expressed. The con-  
struction is the same in II 17 (*H. G.* p. 239).  
ἐλέλιχεν and ἐλελίχονσαν above should,  
as elsewhere, be ἐφέκ : see on A 530.

112. Zen. read this line ἀνέρες ἔστε  
ἑοοὶ καὶ ἀμύνετον ἄσπεϊ λῶβην. It certainly  
seems more probable that this should  
have been altered into the regular formula  
than *vice versa*. Of course for ἀμύνετον  
we must read ἀμύνετε. This will have  
been changed, in order to avoid the  
apparent hiatus, by those who believed

that the dual could be used for the  
plural. For θοός used in this way cf.  
II 422.

114. The word βουλευτής does not  
recur in Homer, but the βουλή was an  
integral part of the heroic polity. The  
members of it are usually called γέροντες  
(see on B 53, Δ 259), and in the case of  
the Trojans δημογέροντες, Γ 149, cf. X  
119. They are, however, not mentioned  
in the sequel.

117. For the construction of the  
Homeric shield see App. B. The hides  
of which the body was formed were  
turned up at the outer edge of the  
shield to form a rim, and so prevent any  
friction against the edge of the metal  
facing. This rim is the ἄντυξ. Hector  
walks with his shield hanging—probably  
at his back—by the τελαμών. ἀμφί, on  
*both sides*, i.e. above and below (rather  
than 'both ancles'; see, however,  
*H. G.* § 181). πυμάτη does not imply,

Γλαῦκος δ' Ἴππολόχοιο πάϊς καὶ Τυδέος υἱὸς  
 ἐς μέσον ἀμφοτέρων συνίτην μεμαῶτε μάχεσθαι. 120  
 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες,  
 τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 "τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε, καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων ;  
 οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ὅπωπα μάχη ἐνὶ κυδιανείρῃ  
 τὸ πρίν· ἀτὰρ μὲν νῦν γε πολὺ προβέβηκας ἀπάντων 125  
 σῶι θάρσει, ὃ τ' ἐμὸν δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος ἔμεινας.  
 δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες ἐμῶι μένει ἀντιώσιν.  
 εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων γε κατ' οὐρανοῦ εἰλήλουθας,  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γε θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισι μαχοίμην.  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Δρύαντος υἱὸς κρατερὸς Λυκόεργος 130  
 δὴν ἦν, ὅς ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν ἔριζεν,  
 ὅς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας

120. ἀμφοτέρω A (ἀμφοτέρων Δ<sup>m</sup>, T.W.A.). || ΣΥΝΙΤΗΝ J. 121. ἰόντε Ar.  
 Zen. Aph.; cf. on E 630. 125. Νῦν μὲν Vr. b. || ΓΕ om. GL. || πολλὸν P.  
 126. ὃ τ' ἐμὸν: ὅτε μὲν Vr. a. 128. ΓΕ: ΔΕ H (*supr.* ΓΕ). || οὐρανὸν Ar.  
 G Par. d. 130. Λυκόεργος JNQR (*supr.* οὐ) Vr. b: Λυκοῦργος P: Λυκόοργος  
 Ω. 132. Διονύσοιο NPQR (T *supr.*): Διονύσσοιο LM: Διονύσιο D.

as some have thought, that there was more than one *ἀντιῶς*, any more than *πρῶτος ῥυμός* (40) implies more than one pole.

120. ἀμφοτέρων, the two armies. But the variant ἀμφοτέρω is perhaps better.

129. For the inconsistency between this line and E see Introd.

130. There can be little doubt that the following passage, like the few others where Dionysos is mentioned in H. (Ξ 325, λ 325, cf. ω 74), dates from the very latest part of the Epic period. Dionysos is an absolute stranger to the Homeric pantheon. The legend of Lykoergos is one of a series which tell of the introduction of the orgiastic worship of Dionysos, the opposition it encountered, and the punishment inflicted on those who withstood it. The cult was of the nature of a mystic and spiritual revival, and passed into Greece from Thrace. In the present passage it is at home, for Lykoergos was king of the Edones, Soph. *Ant.* 955. This great religious movement spread over Greece apparently in the 7th cent. From its nature it cannot but have aroused the bitterest antagonism among the established authorities. It is highly probable that it absorbed, and in form

was coloured by, more or less related popular village customs springing from a primitive nature and vegetation worship (Bather in *J. H. S.* xiv. 244 sqq.), but that in this more spiritual form it was essentially foreign there can be little doubt (see Rohde *Psyche* 299 ff., and *passim*). Other forms of the legend occur in Thebes (Pentheus), Patrae (Paus. vii. 18. 3), Orchomenos (Minyadae), Argos (Proitidae). Of the forms *Λυκόεργος* and *Λυκόοργος*, the latter is defended by van L. on the ground that it is derived from the verb *φέργειν* (*arcere*) not from *φέργων*. But cf. *ἐκάεργος*. The ordinary 'Epic dietasis' would account for -οο- but not for -οε-. In the oracle in Herod. i. 65 the balance of authority seems to be for -οε-.

131. *ἄν* = *δηναιός* E 407; for the use of *εἰμί* with adverbs see A 416.

132. *τιθήνας*: this title recalls the maenads of later Dionysos-worship. It appears to have had a peculiar mystic significance, from the words of Soph. *O. C.* 1050 *πότνια σεμνά τιθηνοῦνται τέλη θνατοῖσιν*. The maenads typified the nymphs who nursed Dionysos at his birth, *Ἥγναι*. *Hom.* xxvi. The word *μαινάς* occurs once in H., in a simile—X 460.

σεῦδε κατ' ἡγάθεον Νυσήϊον· αἱ δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι  
 θύσθλα χαμαὶ κατέχευαν, ὑπ' ἀνδροφόνοιο Λυκούργου  
 θεινόμεναι βουπλήγι· Διώνυσος δὲ φοβηθεὶς 135  
 δύσεθ' ἄλδος κατὰ κῦμα, Θέτις δ' ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ  
 δειδιότα· κρατερὸς γὰρ ἔχε τρόμος ἀνδρὸς ὁμοκλήμ.  
 τῷ μὲν ἔπειτ' ὀδύσαντο θεοὶ ρεία ζῶντες,  
 καί μιν τυφλὸν ἔθηκε Κρόνου πάϊς· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δὴν 140  
 ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν.  
 οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἐθέλοιμι μάχεσθαι.  
 εἰ δέ τίς ἐσσι βροτῶν οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν,  
 ἄσπον ἴθ', ὥς κεν θᾶσπον ὀλέθρου πείραθ' ἴκηαι."  
 τὸν δ' αὖθ' Ἴππολόχοιο προσηΐδα φαίδιμος υἱός·  
 "Τυδεΐδῃ μεγάλθυμε, τί ἦ γενεὴν ἐρεεῖνεις; 145  
 οἷή περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίῃ δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.  
 φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλην

133. ΝΗΣΪΟΝ P: ΝΗΣΪΟΝ G. 134. ΚΑΤΕΧΕΥΟΝ G: ΚΑΤΕΧΕΥΣΑΝ Porph. on 129.  
 135. ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ DN (*supr.* c over first c) QR. || ΦΟΒΗΘΕΙΣ: ΧΟΛΩΘΕΙΣ Zen. 136.  
 ΔΥΣΕΘ Q. || ΘΕΤΙΣ Ε' R. 137. ΓΑΡ ἔχε: ΔΕ ἔχε Cant. 141. Οὐδ' ἂν: Οὐ  
 γὰρ H. 142. Οὐ H (*supr.* οἷ): ὄν J. 144. Τὸν: τῷ N. || Αὐθ': αὐ H.  
 145. ἐρεεῖνεις APY.

133. ΝΗΣΪΟΝ: the sacred mountain of Nysa was an integral part of the Dionysos legend, and was no doubt brought into etymological connexion with the name of the god. It is a mystic, not a geographical name. Schol. A says it stood for a mountain in Boiotia, Thrace, Arabia, India, and Naxos, a city in Karia and the Caucasus, and an island in the Nile (so *Hymn. Hom.* i. 8); it evidently went wherever the Bacchic cult was established.

134. ΕΥΣΕΛΑ is another word whose exact meaning can hardly be ascertained. It would naturally mean the thyrsi, but the scholia explain it of various other objects of mystic significance: οἱ μὲν τοὺς κλάδους, οἱ δὲ ἀμπέλους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς θύρσους, τούτεστι τὰς Βακχικὰς δράκας, ἃ ἐστὶ Διονυσιακὰ μυστήρια· ἐνιοὶ δὲ πάντα κοινῶς τὰ πρὸς τὴν τελετὴν. (This sense of δράξ is not mentioned by L. and S.) The same may be said of ΒΟΥΠΛΗΣ, which does not again occur in Homer, and is explained either as *ox-goad* or *pole-axe*, in which sense later writers use it. It may possibly have some mystical connexion with ταῦρος as a name of Dionysos. Note how MSS. drop into the familiar

contraction Λυκούργου when possible. Read of course ἀνδροφόνου Λυκούργου.

136. This line recalls the similar adventure of Hephaistos in Σ 398, and is probably copied thence; here Thetis is of no significance.

138. ΘΕΟΙ ΡΕΙΑ ΖΩΟΝΤΕΣ, an Odyssean phrase; δ 805, ε 122. ΤΥΦΛΟΣ is a word of later Greek; ἄλαός is the Homeric word. Cf. *Hymn. Apoll.* 172.

143. ΠΕΙΡΑΤΑ, a doubtful expression; either *the uttermost bounds*, like τέλος θανάτου; or *the bonds*, lit. ropes (cf. μ 51, 162). See on H 102. For the assonance ἄσπον . . ὀλέσπον cf. E 440 φράξω . . χάξω.

146. This famous comparison has been as much imitated and quoted as any in H. Of imitations the earliest is in Φ 464, the most famous perhaps that of Ar. *Aves* 685. For the first quotation, that of Simonides, see Bergk *P. L.*<sup>3</sup> p. 1146; the passage is preserved in Stobaeus. Clemens Alex. (*Strom.* vi. 738) says that Homer plagiarized it from 'Musaïos,' quoting as the original of that mythical poet ὥς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ φύλλα φύει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα· ἄλλα μὲν ἐν μελίῃσιν ἀποφθίνει, ἄλλα δὲ φύει.



τηλεθώσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίνεται ὥρη·  
 ὥς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ ἢ μὲν φύει, ἢ δ' ἀπολήγει.  
 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις καὶ ταῦτα δαήμεναι, ὄφρ' εὖ εἰδῆς  
 ἡμετέρην γενεήν· πολλοὶ δέ μιν ἄνδρες ἴσασιν·  
 ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρη μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο,  
 ἔνθα δὲ Σίσυφος ἔσκεν, ὃ κέρδιστος γένετ' ἀνδρῶν,  
 Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης· ὃ δ' ἄρα Γλαῦκον τέκεθ' υἷόν,

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148. ΤΗΛΕΘΩΝΤΑ Aph. || δ' om. P (space for one letter left): τ' L. || ἔαρος ὅτε \* \* \* γίνεταί G. || ἐπιγίνεται L: ἐπεγείνατο Vr. a. || ὥρη Aph., so AHST<sup>2</sup>.  
 149. ἡμὲν . . ἡδ' Alexio (so S Lips.). 150. δὲ εἰλοῖς Vr. a. 153. ὁ: ὁc MNOPQR: δ\*c Harl. a. 154. ΤΕΚΕΝ (J suppr.) M Mosc. 3: ΤΕΞΕΝ J<sup>1</sup>.

148. As the text stands ἔαρος δ' is added paratactically, *when the season of spring succeeds*. But Aph.'s reading ὥρη is at least equally good, *and they succeed one another in the season of spring*, cf. B 468 ὅσσά τε φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεταί ὥρη.

149. φύει seems to be intrans., though there is no other instance of such a use in Homer, and it appears specially harsh after the transitive in the preceding line. Moschos and Theokritos both use φύοντι as intrans., perhaps in imitation of this passage. It is of course possible to translate 'brings forth children,' but this to a certain extent destroys the symmetry of the comparison. In any case the idea is the same: 'one generation is in full vigour while another is dying out.' Brandreth conj. φύεθ', cf. ι 109 τὰ γ' ἀνήροτα πάντα φύονται.

150. Nikanor would punctuate after ἐθέλεις, making δαήμεναι an imper. But it is much better to take the words together; if an apodosis is required, it is given by ἔστι in 152. For a similar ambiguity cf. Φ 487, ο 80. ταῦτα as usual = 'what you speak of.' 150-1 = γ 213-4.

151. This line was rejected by Bentley, rightly no doubt, as intended to supply an object to εἰδῆς, which, however, is regularly used in this phrase without one, but only in *Od.*, α 174, δ 645, etc. The line is condemned by the neglected *F of Fισασιν*.

152. Ἐφύρη was a common city-name; three or four different towns are called by it in H. (see M. and R. on α 259). According to the tradition it is here applied to Corinth; Ar. remarks that H. uses the later Κόρινθος in his own person (B 570, N 664) but gives the older Ἐφύρη to his characters. But it

is probable that the identification is merely due to the localization of the Bellerophon myth at Corinth, which is fully established for Pindar (*O.* xiii.). Certainly the description μυχῷ Ἄργεος hardly suits that town; it should properly mean a city 'in a nook of Argos,' among the hills surrounding an Argive plain; and so it is used in γ 263 of Mykenai with complete accuracy. It can be applied to Corinth only by taking 'Argos in the widest sense, 'in a corner of Peloponnesos'; cf. B 287, Γ 75, etc., and Pind. *N.* vi. 27 μυχῷ Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης (where, however, see Fennell). But then this will hardly suit 224 Ἀργεὶ μέσσωι, where the word is used in the narrower sense. It seems necessary to conclude that the home of the myth was originally in some forgotten Ephyre among the hills of 'Argos,' and was only later transferred to Corinth. Furthermore, it is open to question whether this Argos was not the Thessalian Argos, rather than the Peloponnesian. It is noteworthy in this connexion that according to Strabo (ix. 442) the Ἐφυριοί of N 301 were the ancient inhabitants of the Thessalian Kannon, which sufficiently suits the description, being on the edge of the plain of Larissa (the 'Pelasgian Argos') and near the Enipeus (see note on 154 below). The Ephyre of B 659 and the *Od.* lay in W. Greece—Thesprotia or Elis—and is not in question here; see on Α 740.

153. κέρδιστος, *craftiest*, cf. ν 291 κερδαλέος. So Pindar *O.* xiii. 52 οὐ ψεύσομαι ἀμφὶ Κορίνθωι, Σίσυφον μὲν πυκρότατον παλάμαις ὥς θεόν, κτλ.

154. Αἰολίδης, a name the meaning of which we cannot explain. In λ 237 it is given to Kretheus, where the genealogical connexion with the Enipeus

αὐτὰρ Γλαῦκος ἔτικτεν ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην. 155  
 τῶι δὲ θεοὶ κάλλός τε καὶ ἡγορέην ἐρατεινὴν  
 ὥπασαν· αὐτὰρ οἱ Προῖτος κάκ' ἐμήσατο θυμῶι,  
 ὅς ῥ' ἐκ δήμου ἔλασσευ, ἐπεὶ πολὺ φέρτερος ἦεν,  
 Ἄργείων· Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ ὑπὸ σκῆπτρῳ ἐδάμασσε.  
 τῶι δὲ γυνὴ Προΐτου ἐπεμήνατο, δῖ' Ἄντεια, 160  
 κρυπταδίῃ φιλότῃ μιγήμεναι· ἀλλὰ τὸν οὐ τι  
 πεῖθ' ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα, δαΐφρονα Βελλεροφόντην.  
 ἥ δὲ ψευσαμένη Προΐτον βασιλῆα προσηύδα·

155. αὐτὰρ: αὐτὰρ ὁ DQU. || τίκτεν Ar. U. | Βελλεροφόντην LS: ἔλλερο-  
 φόνης, φασίν, ἐν τοῖς Ζηροδότου Eust. 157. κακὰ ἐμήσατο Ar. 158. φέρτατος  
 A sup. 159. οἱ: μιν A (γρ. οἱ) JN<sup>10</sup> O (γρ. οἱ) P Vr. a, Mosc. 1, and γρ. C  
 man. rec. || ἐδάμασσε: τε δάμασσε Vr. a. 160. διάντεια τινές Schol. T; so H.  
 161. μιγήμεναι G. 162. Βελλεροφόντην JLS.

carries us to the SW. portion of the Thessalian plain, called Αἰολίς before the invasion of the Thessalians (Herod. vii. 176). In the Hesiodic *ἡ οἶαι* (frag. 27) Sisyphos is already made the son of the eponymos of the Αἰολεῖς, and this agrees with the Aiolic origin of the Corinthians (Κορινθίους . . οὖσιν Αἰολεῦσι Thuk. iv. 42). But the fragments of tradition about the Aiolic name are so complex that it seems impossible to disentangle any historic thread, or to feel any confidence as to the way in which the legend presented itself to the author of this passage.

155. It will be observed that the act. and mid. of *τίκτω* are applied indifferently to the father; so also of the mother, e.g. B 728 and 742.

157. According to the legend given by the scholia, Bellerophon, who was originally called Ἰππώνοος, got his name from slaying one Βέλλερος, a prince in Corinth. Being exiled for blood-guiltiness he came to Argos (or Tiryns) to seek purification from King Proitos. But this of course is not Homeric, the whole conception of purification being later. In fact, with the single exception of the name Ἰππώνοος, it is merely made up from the story itself to explain how Bellerophon, a Corinthian, is found with the Tirynthian Proitos.

158. This anticipates the sequel, the following 160 reverting to the reason of Bellerophon's expulsion, δέ (160) being virtually = γάρ. ῥ': F Brandreth, van L.

159. This line, which was condemned by P. Knight, has all the appearance of

a gloss, meant to explain that the δῆμος from which B. was expelled was not Corinth, as might naturally be supposed by those who did not know that the kingdom of Proitos was Tiryns in Argolis. Ἄργείων: best taken in apposition with δήμου, not gen. after φέρτερος, when the rest of the line means 'for the Argives it was who were the subjects of Proitos.' It may also be translated 'Z. had brought B. under his (Proitos') sceptre,' which gives an even better sense; but as Monro remarks is less consistent with the use of σκῆπτρον, which implies rather the normal sway of a king over his subjects than accidental authority over an exile from a foreign country.

160. Ἄντεια, called Σθενέβοια in the later legend. διὰ is used also of Klytæmnestra, in a purely formal sense implying no moral approval, γ 266; cf. Γ 352. So Aigisthos is ἀμύμων, α 29. ἐπεμήνατο, *had mad desire for*; Ar. *Vesp.* 744. The story is one which is familiar in various forms, as one of the most widely spread subjects of romance. Joseph and Hippolytos recall two of the best-known instances of it.

162. ἀγαθὰ φρονέοντα, *for he was noble-hearted*. The phrase recalls the use of γενναῖον in E 253; the quality of the high-born, of the man who has the sense of honour due to race, is the foundation of ἀγαθός throughout later Greek, and in this case the word approaches nearly to our 'good,' with its connotation of an absolute standard of moral virtue, in phrases like 'a good man,' 'a good deed.'

‘τεθναίνης, ὦ Προῖτ’, ἣ κάκτανε Βελλεροφόντην,  
 ὅς μ’ ἔθελεν φιλότῃτι μιγήμεναι οὐκ ἐθελοῦσῃ.’ 165  
 ὥς φάτο, τὸν δὲ ἄνακτα χόλος λάβεν οἶον ἄκουσε·  
 κτεῖναι μὲν ῥ’ ἀλέεινε, σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ,  
 πέμπει δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ’ ὃ γε σήματα λυγρά,  
 γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθόρα πολλά,  
 δεῖξαι δ’ ἡνώγει ὧι πενθερῷ, ὅφρ’ ἀπόλοιτο. 170  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ Λυκίηνδε θεῶν ὑπ’ ἀμύμονι πομπῇ.  
 ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ Λυκίην ἴξε Ξάνθόν τε ῥέοντα,  
 προφρονέως μιν τίεν ἄναξ Λυκίης εὐρείης·  
 ἐννήμαρ ξείνισσε καὶ ἐννέα βοῦς ἱέρυσεν.

164. ΚΑΚΤΑΝΕ: ΚΑΤΣΑΝΕ Vr. A. || ΒΕΛΛΕΡΕΦΟΝΤΗΝ JLS. 165. Μ': ΜΟΙ R (and A *supr.*). || ἔΘΕΛ' ἔΝ MNS Vr. A. 167. ἘΛΕΕΙΝΕ Vr. a. || ΤΟ ΓΕ: ΤΟΔΕ P. || ΜΥΘΩ Q (γρ. ΘΥΜΩ). 168. ΛΥΚΙΗΝ ΓΕ P. 169. ΠΥΚΤΩ(Ι) CHJ (*supr.* ΠΤΥ) ΜΝΟ (γρ. ΠΥΚΤΩ) Lips. Cant. Vr. a c, Mosc. 13: ΤΥΚΤΩ GL: ΠΥΚΤῃ Bekk. *An.* 784. 26. 170. ἩΝΩΓΕΙΝ Ar. A (but with dots over Ν, T.W.A.): ἈΝΩΓΕΙ P. 171. ὙΠ': ΜΕΤ' Ixion. 172. ἮΞΕ G. 174. ἘΝ(Ν)ἩΜΑΡ ΜΕΝ JNOPRTU. || ΞΕΙΝΙΖΕ U (Ar. ΞΕΙΝΙΖΕ and ΞΕΙΝΙCCE διχῶς).

164. ΤΕΘΝΑΙΝΗΣ Ἡ, i.e. *I pray that you may lie dead* if you do not slay. Or the opt. may be concessive, 'you may lie dead for all I care.' See *M. and T.* p. 383. The alternative explanation, 'if you do not kill him, he will kill you,' is obviously absurd.

165. Μ', i.e. *μοι*, as σ' = σοι A 170. Those who are sufficiently curious will find a very amusing instance of scholiastic lucubration on this passage by Porphyrios in Schol. B.

167. ἈΛΕΕΙΝΕ with infin., cf. N 356; and for the second half of the line *infra* 417. ῥ': F Brandreth.

168. It is impossible to doubt that this famous passage really implies a knowledge of the art of writing, especially since A. J. Evans' remarkable discoveries in Crete (*J. H. S.* xiv. 270 ff., xvii. 327 ff.) have proved the existence of written symbols in countries touching the Aegæan Sea on all sides at a date far preceding even the earliest period to which the origin of Greek Epic poetry can be assigned. But of course this does not imply a general knowledge of the art, still less the use of it for literary purposes. It will be noticed that it is mentioned in close connexion with a Lykian family; this agrees well with the tradition that Lykia was colonized from Crete, which, so far as the evidence goes at present, seems to have been the

principal, though by no means the only, home of the 'Aegæan' script. The epithet ΘΥΜΟΦΘΟΡΑ, taken in connexion with the θυμοφθόρα φάρμακα, magic potions, of β 329 (which by the way come from Ephyre, though this can hardly be the same as Bellerophon's home), suggests that writing was regarded as a form of magic—a very usual idea among ignorant nations when the art is first introduced. The ΠΙΝΑΣ may probably have been a double tablet of wood, such as was in common use later; ΠΥΚΤΩC suggests that it was closed and sealed, and allows us to infer that Bellerophon would have understood the σήματα had they been left open. For the only other possible allusion to writing in H. see H 187. Elsewhere γράφειν and its compounds mean *scratch* only.

170. ὦι ΠΕΝΘΕΡῶι, sc. the father of Anteia, called Iobates by the later legend. Perhaps he is identical with Amisodaros, II 328 ὅς ῥα Χίμαιραν θρέψεν ἀμαιμακέτην, though the anxiety to have the Chimaira killed is hardly consistent with the word θρέψεν.

174. ἘΝΝῆΜΑΡ, the regular 'round' number in Homer, followed by δεκάτη as in A 53, Ω 610, η 253. The entertainment of a guest before inquiring his name was an essential condition of hospitality in days when it was an even chance that a man might be an enemy,

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥώς,  
καὶ τότε μιν ἐρέεινε καὶ ἤτεε σῆμα ἰδῆσθαι,  
ὅττι ῥά οἱ γαμβροῖο πάρα Προίτοιο φέροιτο.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σῆμα κακὸν παρεδέξατο γαμβροῦ,  
πρῶτον μὲν ῥα Χίμαιραν ἄμαιμακέτην ἐκέλευσε  
πεφνέμεν. ἢ δ' ἄρ' ἔην θεῖον γένος οὐδ' ἀνθρώπων,  
πρόσθε λέων, ὅπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα,  
δεινὸν ἀποπνείουσα πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο.  
καὶ τὴν μὲν κατέπεφνε θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας·  
δεύτερον αὖ Σολύμοισι μαχέσσατο κυδαλίμοισι·  
καρτίστην δὴ τὴν γε μάχην φάτο δύμεναι ἀνδρῶν.

176. σῆματ' L. 177. πάρα: περὶ S. || πρῶτοιο Q. 178. προσεδέξατο J.  
179. ἄμαιμάτην Q: ἄμαιμακέτην U<sup>1</sup> (τ add. U<sup>2</sup>). 181. ὅπισε(ν) HJO<sup>1</sup>Q Lips.  
185. ΔΗ: ΔΕ GP. || Τῆν γε: τήνδε GJPQ Vr. a. || ἔμμεναι L (γρ. δύμεναι).

so that the inquiry itself would be a mark of suspicion. So at the court of Alkinoos Odysseus is not formally asked his name till the second day of his sojourn (θ 550), and even simpler questions are not put to him on the first day till he has been entertained (η 238).

176. σῆμα is slightly different from the σήματα of 168, and signifies the *tessera hospitalis* as a whole, apart from the marks which determined its significance. φέροιτο: the use of the middle is unusual, but clearly means 'brought for his own behoof.' To take it as a pass. would be entirely un-Homeric.

179. ἄμαιμακέτος is one of the many obscure epithets of Homer; cf. II 328. It is used again of the mast of a ship in a storm, ξ 311. The old interpretation was ἄμαχος. It is perhaps a reduplicated form from μακρός, 'very tall' (Monro).

180. θεῖον γένος, according to the legend in Hesiod the offspring of Typhon and Echidna. Cf. note on I 538 δῖον γένος.

181. This line is remarkable as being the only case where Homer formally recognizes the mixed monsters which play such a prominent part in later Greek mythology. Even here he makes no mention of the winged horse Pegasus, who is an integral portion of the legend in Pindar (*Ol.* xiii.), unless a reference to him be found in θεῶν τεράεσσι, which may mean anything (cf. Δ 398). But the mixed type is to be traced back to the primitive 'Mykenaeen' gems called 'island-stones,' where various animals are found thus joined, one seeming to

grow out of the back of another. This represents probably only a clumsy attempt of the engraver to indicate one as behind the other. The myth may possibly have arisen from the attempt to explain such pictures (see Milchhöfer, *Anf. d. Kunst* pp. 81 ff.). There is therefore no reason for doubting the antiquity of 181-2. The couplet recurs in Hes. *Theog.* 323-4. Editors of Hesiod appear generally to regard it as interpolated from the *Iliad*, editors of the *Iliad* as interpolated from Hesiod. Possibly it may come from a third source, now lost.

182. δεινόν, adv. terribly, as δ 406 πικρὸν ἀποπνείουσαι ἄλδς πολυβενθέος ὀδμήν. Consistently with this line it is always the goat's head which spits fire in graphic representations.

184. Σολύμοισι: cf. ε 283. Herod. i. 173 identifies them with the Milyai, the original inhabitants of Lykia; according to Strabo (pp. 21, 630) and Pliny (*H. N.* v. 27) this would seem to have been the general name for the Semitic inhabitants of Southern Asia Minor, the Milyai, Kabali, and Pisidians being subordinate divisions. It is a natural inference from the passage in the *Odyssey* that they had been driven to the mountains by the invading Lykians (who, acc. to Herod., came from Crete), and were in a state of chronic feud with them. According to Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2) some made them the ancestors of the Jews: *Solymos, carminibus Homeri celebratam gentem, conditae urbi Hierosolyma nomen e suo fecisse.*



τὸ τρίτον αὖ κατέπεφνεν Ἀμαζόνας ἀντιανείρας.  
 τῶι δ' ἄρ' ἀνερχομένωι πυκινὸν δόλον ἄλλον ὕφαινε·  
 κρίνας ἐκ Λυκίης εὐρείης φῶτας ἀρίστους  
 εἶσε λόχον· τοῖ δ' οὐ τι πάλιν οἰκόνδε νέοντο·  
 πάντας γὰρ κατέπεφνεν ἀμύμων Βελλεροφόντης. 190  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ γίνωσκε θεοῦ γόνον ἦν ἔοντα,  
 αὐτοῦ μιν κατέρυκε, δίδου δ' ὃ γε θυγατέρα ἦν,  
 δῶκε δέ οἱ τιμῆς βασιληίδος ἥμισυ πάσης·  
 καὶ μέν οἱ Λύκιοι τέμενος τάμον ἔξοχον ἄλλων,  
 καλόν, φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης, ὄφρα νέμοιτο. 195  
 ἢ δ' ἔτεκε τρία τέκνα δαΐφρονι Βελλεροφόντηι,  
 Ἴσανδρόν τε καὶ Ἰππόλοχον καὶ Λαοδάμειαν·  
 Λαοδαμείη μὲν παρελέξατο μητιέτα Ζεὺς,  
 ἢ δ' ἔτεκε' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα χαλκοκορυστήν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ κείνος ἀπήχθετο πᾶσι θεοῖσιν, 200

187. ἄρ' ἀνερχομένωι Ar. Ω: ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπερχομένωι, and so Lips.: ἀνὰ ἐρχομένω P: ἀναερχομένω HL Par. k: ἀπερχομένω Par. j. || **δόλον**: λόχον A (γρ. δόλον) D<sup>2</sup>HJ (γρ. δόλον) U; cf. Δ 392. 188. εὐρείης: εἰκόσις T: γρ. καὶ εἴκοσι L. 190. γὰρ: δὲ L. || **βελλεροφόντης** LS. 191. γόνον: πόνον P. 192. δ' om. Lips.: γ' H. 193. οἱ: μιν Q. || **βασιλῆος** N. 194. Λύκιοι: γρ. λυκίης Harl. a. 195. ὄφρα νέμοιτο: πυροφόροιο AJOP: γρ. ὄφρα νέμοιτο AJO (νέμνται). Cf. M 314. 196. **βελλεροφόντη** LS. 200. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Aristot. *Probl.* xxx. 1. καὶ κείνος A Aristot. *ibid.*: κἀκεῖνος Ω.

186. For the Amazons see Γ 189.

187-90. These lines have rather the appearance of an interpolation imitated from Δ 392 sqq., a passage which may have suggested itself at this point to some rhapsode's mind owing to the recurrence there of the phrase *θεῶν τεράεσσι πιθήσας* in 183. **ΠΥΚΙΝΟΝ ΔΟΛΟΝ** looks like a reminiscence of *πυκινὸν λόχον* in Δ, where the adjective is used in a different sense. The object of Iobates was to avoid himself killing Bellerophon, his guest.

191. **ΓΙΝΩΣΚΕ**, began to perceive. **ΘΕΟῦ ΓΟΝΟΝ**: according to one legend he was in reality the son of Poseidon. This is consistent with the words of Pindar, O. xiii. 69 *Δαμαίωι πατρί*, but is not necessarily implied in them.

192. **ΔΙΔΟΥ**, offered; the imperf. is somewhat more picturesque than the following *δῶκε*, as it brings before us in connexion with *γίνωσκε* above the gradual opening of the king's eyes, whereas *δῶκε* merely states a fact. It

appears that Bellerophon thus became the brother-in-law of Anteia. With 193 cf. I 616.

194. **ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ**, a grant of public land, apparently in gratitude for his services. Cf. I 578, T 184. The grant of private property in land marks Bellerophon's royal rank; for only kings could hold land in severalty, apart from that belonging to the community.

195. **ΦΥΤΑΛΙΗΣ**, consisting of orchard (or vineyard, if we compare the parallel division into *οἰνόπεδον* and *ἀροῖσις* in I 579).

199. Ar. remarked that the Homeric genealogy of Sarpedon differs from that afterwards current (e.g. Herod. i. 173), according to which Minos and Sarpedon were sons of Europa.

200-2. These lines interrupt the narration, and Köchly considers them interpolated, though there is no obvious reason why they should have been inserted here. **καὶ** seems to indicate that they belong to another context, for

ἦ τοι ὁ κὰπ πεδίον τὸ Ἀλήϊον οἶος ἀλᾶτο  
 ὄν θυμὸν κατέδων, πάτον ἀνθρώπων ἀλεείνων,  
 Ἰσανδρον δέ οἱ υἱὸν Ἀρης ἄτος πολέμοιο  
 μαρνάμενον Σολύμοισι κατέκτανε κυδαλίμοισι,  
 τὴν δὲ χολωσαμένη χρυσήνιος Ἀρτεμις ἔκτα. 205  
 Ἴππόλοχος δ' ἔμ' ἔτικτε, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φημὶ γενέσθαι·  
 πέμπε δέ μ' ἐς Τροίην, καί μοι μάλα πόλλ' ἐπέτελλεν  
 αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,  
 μῆδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰσχυνέμεν, οἳ μέγ' ἀριστοὶ  
 ἐν τ' Ἐφύρῃ ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐν Λυκίῃ εὐρείῃ. 210  
 ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι."  
 ὥς φάτο, γήθησεν δὲ βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης.  
 ἔγχος μὲν κατέπηξεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μελιχίοισι προσηύδα ποιμένα λαῶν·

203. Ἰσανδρον: πείσανδρον Strabo xii. 573, xiii. 631. 204. κατέκτα T Lips.  
 207. τροίαν G. 211. τοι: τε P: ὃν G. || γενεᾶς D. || τε om. H Cant. ||  
 εὐχομαι αἵματος Lips. Mosc. 3. 212. ῥίγησε N (corr. man. rec.). 213. πολυ-  
 βοτείρη(ι) DQTU. 214. ποιμένι Q.

it is not in relation with anything else. Monro takes it to mean 'even he, whom they had formerly loved and protected.' Ameis' explanation, 'Bellerophon like Lykurgos,' (140) is too far-fetched, and Porphyrios' 'like his children' is open to the obvious and fatal objection that the anger of the gods against his children does not precede but follows. Again, as the passage stands, τὴν δέ in 205 is too far separated from its antecedent in 198. If 200-2 followed 205 there would be no further difficulty.

201. Ἀλήϊον: cf. Herod. vi. 95 οἱ στρατηγοὶ . . ἀπίκοντο τῆς Κιλικίης ἐς τὸ Ἀλήϊον πεδίον. The poet evidently means to hint an etymology in the word ἀλᾶτο. The use of the article is not like Homer; Bentley conj. τότ'.

202. ὄν θυμὸν κατέδων: cf. ι 75 θυμὸν ἔδοντες, and Ω 129 σὴν ἔδειε κραδίην, where Schol. A says Πυθαγόρας παραινέει καρδίαν μὴ ἐσθίειν. There was evidently some legend of the madness of Bellerophon, but we know nothing of it from other sources, cf. Pind. O. xiii. 91 διασωπάσσομαι οἳ μόρον ἐγώ. Madness has always been considered a direct infliction of heaven; so in ι 411, when the Küklopes think that Polyphemos is mad, they say νοῦσόν γ' οὐ πῶς ἐστι Διὸς μεγάλου ἀλέασθαι. πάτον ἀνθρώπων: cf. Γ 406 θεῶν ἀπέειπε κελεύθους. Cicero

translates the couplet (*Tusc.* iii. xxvi. 63) *qui miser in campis maerens errabat Aleis, ipse suum cor edens, hominum vestigia vitans.*

205. χρυσήνιος is used only here of Artemis, θ 285 of Ares (in Soph. O. C. 693 of Aphrodite, and of Hades in Pindar, according to Pausanias ix. 23. 4). But neither Artemis nor Ares (except in E 356) is ever represented by Homer as driving a chariot. We can only say of this, as of so many divine epithets, that the exact significance is doubtful. χρυσάορος used of Apollo and κλυτό-πῳλος of Hades (E 509, 654) are similar problems. For Artemis as the bringer of sudden death to women cf. 428, T 59, λ 172, 199, etc. The Lykian system of descent was through the mother (Herod. i. 173); hence Sarpedon as son of the daughter inherits the kingdom, not Glaukos.

208. This famous line recurs in A 784.

211 = T 241. The lineage of Glaukos was no doubt an important tenet among the Asiatic Ionians, some of whom, according to Herod. i. 147, had taken his descendants to be their kings.

213. For ἐπὶ Bekker conj. ἐνί, cf. A 378; but the words may mean only that he grounded his spear; cf. on K 153, Ψ 876.

“ ἦ ῥά νύ μοι ξείνος πατρώϊός ἐσσι παλαιός· 215  
 Οἶνεὺς γάρ ποτε δῖος ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόντην  
 ξείνισ’ ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐέικοσιν ἤματ’ ἐρύξας.  
 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι πόρον ξινήϊα καλά·  
 Οἶνεὺς μὲν ζωστήρα δίδου φοίνικι φαεινόν,  
 Βελλεροφόντης δὲ χρύσειον δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον, 220  
 καὶ μιν ἐγὼ κατέλειπον ἰὼν ἐν δώμασ’ ἐμοῖσι.  
 Τυδέα δ’ οὐ μέμνημαι, ἐπεὶ μ’ ἔτι τυτθὸν ἔοντα  
 κάλλιφ’, ὅτ’ ἐν Θήβησιν ἀπώλετο λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν.  
 τῷ νῦν σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ ξείνος φίλος Ἄργεϊ μέσσωι  
 εἰμί, σὺ δ’ ἐν Λυκίῃ, ὅτε κεν τῶν δῆμον ἴκωμαι. 225  
 ἔγχεα δ’ ἀλλήλων ἀλεώμεθα καὶ δι’ ὀμίλου·  
 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ Τρῶες κλειτοὶ τ’ ἐπίκουροι  
 κτείνειν ὅν κε θεός γε πόρῃ καὶ ποσσὶ κιχέω,  
 πολλοὶ δ’ αὖ σοὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐναιρέμεν ὅν κε δύναι.

216. ΒΕΛΛΕΡΕΦΟΝΤΗΝ LS. 217. ΞΕΙΝΙΣΕΝ ἘΝ Α (γρ. ΞΕΙΝΙΣ’ ἘΝΙ) Mor. : ΞΕΙΝΙΣ’  
 ἘΝ GM. 218. ΞΥΝΗΪΑ Q. 220. ΒΕΛΛΕΡΕΦΟΝΤΗΣ JLS. 221. ΜΙΝ : ΤΟ Γ’ H.  
 222-3. ἀτοποι οἱ δύο στίχοι Schol. T. 223. ΚΑΛΛΙΠ’ Ambr. || ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ H  
 (supr. η). 225. Δ’ ἘΝ : ΔΕ\* G. || ΤῶΝ : Τὸν ΝQΤ (supr. ὦν) Vr. a. 226. ἔγχεα  
 Α (supr. α) C (supr. α) JMNOT Mosc. 1<sup>2</sup> 3 : ἔγχεσι (Ar. ?) Q, γρ. Schol. BL. ||  
 ἀλλήλων : ἀλλήλους Zen. 227. τρῶες ἔμμοι G. || κλητοὶ OQ Mor. Vr. a.  
 228. ὅν κε : ὅν γε N : ὅν γ’ M : ὅν τε Cant. || γε : τε S. || πόροι GMNPQ  
 (S supr.) Lips. (supr. η) Cant. 229. ἀναιρέμεν JR.

216. The legend was that Oineus brought up his grandson Diomedes after the early death of Tydeus before Thebes (see Δ 378, 409). He is mentioned also B 641, and in connexion with the story of Meleager I 535.

219. On staining with purple (crimson) cf. Δ 141. The material of the belt is of course leather.

220. ἀμφικύπελλον, A 584.

221. μιν, neut., cf. κ 212, (ρ 268). The line naturally means ‘I still preserve it as an heirloom.’

222. Τυδέα : this use of the acc. with μέμνημαι is very unusual in H.; cf. I 527 τόδε ἔργον, ω 122 τᾶδε πάντα, and perhaps Ψ 361 (Ar. δρόμους, MSS. δρόμου), where the analogy is far from complete. Heyne suggests that there may be a pause after Τυδέα, ‘as for T.’ Diomedes means to explain how the friendship of Bellerophon with Oineus can be called πατρώϊος. Schol. T remarks trenchantly, but not without cause, ἀτοποι οἱ δύο στίχοι. They seem

to be a sufficiently prosaic explanation of the omission of Tydeus’ name.

225. τῶν, sc. of the Lykians, a rather obscure relation; cf. however Ω 481, ο 228 ἄλλων δῆμον. Note the variant τόν.

226. It seems that Ar. read ἔγχεσι δ’ ἀλλήλων, explaining ἀλεώμεθα by φειδώμεθα to account for its governing a genitive. But there is no trace of such a construction in H., though the verb is common enough; we are therefore bound to acquiesce in the reading of the text. δι’ ὀμίλου, in the throng as well as on an occasion like the present ἐν προμάχοισι.

228. εὐός γε : Bekker reads τε. But the two ideas are not to be divided; the thought really is, ‘whom god permits me to catch.’ The γε emphasizes the touch of modesty, which is consistent with 129.

229. For the forms δύναι and γνῶσιν see H. G. § 81, and van L. Ench. p. 303, where the former is doubted; while for the latter Brandreth and van L. emend γνώωσ’ δ ξείνου.

τεύχεα δ' ἀλλήλοις ἐπαμείβομεν, ὄφρα καὶ οἶδε 230  
γνώσιν ὅτι ξεῖνοι πατρῷοι εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι."

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσαντε καθ' ἵππων αἶξαντε  
χεῖράς τ' ἀλλήλων λαβέτην καὶ πιστώσαντο.  
ἐνθ' αὖτε Γλαύκῳ Κρονίδης φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς,  
ὃς πρὸς Τυδεΐδην Διομήδεα τεύχε' ἄμειβε 235  
χρύσεα χαλκείων, ἐκατόμβοι' ἔννεαβοίων.

"Ἐκτωρ δ' ὥς Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκανε,  
ἀμφ' ἄρα μιν Τρώων ἄλοχοι θεὸν ἠδὲ θύγατρῃς  
εἰρόμεναι παῖδάς τε κασιγνήτους τε ἔτας τε  
καὶ πόσιας· ὁ δ' ἔπειτα θεοῖς εὐχεσθαι ἀνώγει 240  
πάσας ἐξεῖης· πολλῇσι δὲ κήδε' ἐφήπτο.

230. ἀλλήλων Schol. B (Porph.) on Z 234. || ἀπαμείβομεν S. 232. φωνή-  
σαντες . . . αἶξαντες O<sup>1</sup>. 233. τ' om. QR. || λαβέτην O (γρ. λαβέτην) P. ||  
κάπιστώσαντο M: καὶ ἐπιστώσαντο Vr. a. 237. φηγὸν: πύργον AJOSU Lips.  
Vr. b A, Mosc. 1 2 (γρ. φηγὸν AJS Lips.), and γρ. Harl. a, Mor. 241. πάσας:  
ἐν τισὶ πᾶσι μάλ' An. || ἐφήπται Q.

233. Cf. B 341, Φ 286, for the clasping of hands in token of a pledge.

236. For prices calculated in oxen, as a mere measure of value, cf. note on Σ 507, and B 449, Φ 79, Ψ 703-5, α 431, χ 57. We are not told what the τεύχεα of gold were. The word seems not to include the body armour in Γ 89, Φ 301; possibly it may mean only shields. In Θ 193-5 Nestor has a golden shield, Diomedes a θώρηξ made by Hephaistos (not that of Glaukos).

This almost burlesque ending to one of the most delightful episodes in Homer has greatly exercised critics. Nothing else in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* can be compared with it, unless it be the evident satisfaction with which κερδοσύνη is regarded (e.g. ν 291 sqq.). On the other hand, generosity between ξεῖνοι is repeatedly spoken of in terms which shew that the poet fully entered into the chivalrous liberality of the heroic age. There is no ground whatever for rejecting these three lines as some have wished to do. They were Homeric in the eyes of Plato (*Symp.* 219 A) and Aristotle (*Eth. N. v.* 9. 7), nor have we any reason for believing that before that time it was possible to treat the Homeric poems with obvious levity. We seem therefore to have an outbreak of conscious and deliberate humour, which is only so far isolated that it appears among men and not, as elsewhere, among the gods.

237. For the oak-tree at the Skaian gate cf. I 354, A 170, and note on E 693. The two former passages do not exhibit the variant πύργον for φηγόν which is found here; it is therefore best to acquiesce in the text, though the 'wall' (πύργος) certainly seems a more natural adjunct to the gate than the tree.

239. εἰρόμεναι παῖδας, sc. 'asking about their sons,' the so-called *schema Homericum*; so K 416, Ω 390. What the exact meaning of ἔται is we cannot say. The word occasionally occurs in later Greek in the sense *townsman*; e.g. in the treaty between Argos and Sparta, Thuk. v. 79 τοῖς δὲ ἔταις κατὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι, and in the well-known Elean inscr., Collitz 1149. 9 αἶτε *Fέτας* αἶτε τελέστα <s> αἶτε δᾶμος, in this case opposed to *official* as in Aisch. *Supp.* 247. This well enough suits all cases in H., where, however, the connotation is rather *fellow-townsman*: H 295 ἔτας καὶ ἑταίρους, I 464 ἔται καὶ ἀνεψιοί, II 456 (= 674) κασιγνήτοί τε ἔται τε (and so ο 273), δ 16 γείτονες ἠδὲ ἔται, and see δ 3 with M. and R.'s note. Etymologically the word is evidently akin to *ἐταῖρος*.

241. For κήδε' ἐφήπτο see B 15. ἐξεῖης does not seem very appropriate; hence the old variant, πᾶσι μάλ' for πάσας, mentioned by Aristonikos. Düntzer on this ground rejects the line. The athetesis might, with Paley, be extended to 240; the couplet was possibly added



ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πριάμοιο δόμον περικαλλέ' ἵκανε,  
 ξεστῆς αἰθούσηςι τετυγμένον, αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ  
 πεντήκοντ' ἔνεσαν θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο, 245  
 πλησίον ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι· ἔνθα δὲ παῖδες  
 κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρὰ μνηστῆς ἀλόχοισι·  
 κουράων δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς  
 δώδεκ' ἔσαν τέγχει θάλαμοι ξεστοῖο λίθοιο,  
 πλησίον ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι· ἔνθα δὲ γαμβροὶ 250  
 κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο παρ' αἰδοίης ἀλόχοισιν·  
 ἔνθα οἱ ἠπιόδωρος ἐναντίη ἤλυθε μήτηρ  
 Λαοδίκην ἐσάγουσα, θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην·

243. **ξεσταῖς** P. 244. **ἔνεσαν** Ar. Ω: **ἔ(c)αν** CJNOQT (γρ. **ἐνεσαν** JO):  
**πεντήκοντα ἔσαν** G. 245. **πλησίον** A (*supr.* i) DJMNOQRS, Mosc. 3: **πλησίοι**  
 Ω. 246. **μνησταῖς** G. || **παρ' αἰδοίης** H (**αἰδίας**) MQT Vr. b, Harl. b (γρ. **παρὰ**  
**μνηστῆς**) and **ἐν ἄλλωι** A (**παρὰ μνηστῆς** Harl. a). 247. **ἐναντίον** N Vr. b.  
 249. **πλησίον** A (*supr.* i) DJMO<sup>1</sup>RS: **πλησίοι** Ω. || **ἐνθα** γε GP Vr. b. 250.  
**αἰδοίαις** G. || **παρὰ μνηστῆς** Par. b c d and **ἐν ἄλλωι** A: **παρὰ μνησταῖς** Mor.  
 251. **ἐναντίον** Mosc. 2.

by a rhapsode who considered that the husbands ought to be named among the objects of anxiety.

242. For the Homeric house in general see App. C. It would seem that the chambers of the sons **ἐν αὐτῷ**, *in the house itself*, are contrasted with those of the sons-in-law which are **ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς**, but outside the body of the house, on the opposite side (**ἐναντίοι**). It is remarkable that the accommodation of the great palace at Tiryns appears to have been extended by the addition of chambers **ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς**, along the eastern **αἶθουσα** (Dörpfeld in Schliemann's *Tiryns* p. 239).

It has been suggested that the Trojans were in the stage of domestic economy which is known in modern India as the 'common house' system, where a 'joint undivided family' is kept together as a single unit, at least so long as a common ancestor is alive. Such a family, however, regularly includes only the sons and unmarried daughters; so that we can see a reason why here the sons only are in the house, while the married daughters, perhaps by a special favour, are accommodated with lodgings outside the actual **δόμος**.

245. It will be seen that here and in 249 mss. are divided between **πλησίον** and **πλησίοι**, as in many passages between (**ἐν**)**αντίον** and **-ιοι**. It is impossible to

choose between them; the doubt goes back to Alexandrian times. The same is the case with **παρ' αἰδοίης** and **παρὰ μνηστῆς** in 246 and 250.

248. **τέγχει** is explained by the scholiasts as **ὑπερώϊος**, as though *built on the roof*. But this is hardly likely in the case of chambers **ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς**, where there was no roof. More probably it means 'provided with roofs' to sleep upon, according to the custom of eastern countries; this would imply that they were on a scale of proper magnificence. The word seems to recur in Greek only in a fragment of Empedokles from the Herculeum papyri, which does not explain much—**τὸν δ' οὐτ' ἄρ τε Διὸς τέγχει δόμοι αἶγ' <ίχαιο> τέρπον ἄν, κτλ.** We can only conclude that the word must express something particularly splendid.

251. **ἠπιόδωρος**: the explanation of Apoll. *Lex.* seems to be right: **ἠπια καὶ προσηνῇ δωρουμένη κατὰ τὴν παιδοτροφίαν**, cf. **ἠπια φάρμακα**, and Stesich. *fr.* 35. 2 (Bergk p. 985) **ἠπιόδωρον Κύπριδος**. Cf. note on 394 **πολύδωρος**.

252. **Λαοδίκην ἐσάγουσα** can only mean *bringing in Laodike* with her; but there is no significance in such a description, and the pointless mention of a **κωφὸν πρόσωπον** has naturally given great offence to commentators. Moreover without this line it would be more

ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
“ τέκνον, τίπτε λιπὼν πόλεμον θρασὺν εἰλήλουθας ;

ἦ μάλα δὴ τείρουσι δυσώνυμοι νῆες Ἀχαιῶν 255

μαρνάμενοι περὶ ἄστυ, σὲ δ' ἐνθάδε θυμὸς ἀνῆκεν

ἐλθόντ' ἐξ ἄκρης πόλιος Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν.

ἀλλὰ μέν, ὄφρα κέ τοι μελιδέα οἶνον ἐνείκω,

ὥς σπείσης Διὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι

πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὐτὸς ὀνήσῃ, αἶ κε πίησθα. 260

ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει,

ὥς τὴν κέκμηκας ἀμύνων σοῖσιν ἔτησι.”

253. ἐν δ' MR. 255. τείρουσι : τρίβουσι Bar. 257. πόλεως S : πόληος

M. 260. καὶ αὐτὸς G. 261. δὲ om. HJ. || κεκμηκῶτι P : κεκμηῶτι L. ||  
μένος μέγα οἶνος : οἶνος μέγα μένος J : οἶνος μένος μέγα O : οἶνος μάλα  
μέμος P : μέγα σθένος οἶνος Boissonade *Anec.* i. 114.

natural to suppose that his mother came out of the house to meet him. Hence Ar. wrote ἐς ἄγουσα, and explained πρὸς Λαοδίκην πορευομένη, comparing H 312 ἐς Ἀγαμέμνονα for εἰς used with a person. But for the intrans. use of ἄγειν he seems to have brought no authority, nor is any to be found in Homer, except the very doubtful ἐξαγαγόντες in H 336. The line looks like an adaptation of Γ 124, meant to supply a reason for Hekabe being out of doors. The last half is formal; no surprise need be felt that it is equally applied to Cassandra in N 365.

255. Hekabe answers her own question. Some have taken this and the next line interrogatively, but ἦ μάλα is never used in this way; it always expresses a strong asseveration. **δυσώνυμοι** : cf. τ 260 Penelope's κακοῖλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν, and M 116 μοῖρα δυσώνυμος.

256. Van Herwerden's conj. **μαρναμένους** is tempting; an object for the verb is wanting, and the tendency to make an adj. agree with the nearest subst. was no doubt as strong with ancient as with mediaeval copyists.

257. Of course **ἐλθόντα** goes with ἐνθάδε, and **ἐξ ἄκρης πόλιος** with ἀνασχεῖν. For the temples on the citadel see E 446; the existence of one to Zeus there perhaps follows from X 172. The prayer is actually made to Athene, for the reason given in the note to 90, and explained by Hector in 277.

258. **ὄφρα κε . . ἐνείκω**, a fut. *ex-actum*, 'till I have brought.' *H. G.* § 287.

260. The MS. evidence gives us our choice between **δὲ καὐτός**, δὲ κ'(αι) αὐτός, and δὲ κ'(ε) αὐτός. La Roche discusses the question of crasis in Homer *H. U.* pp. 283-7, and decides in favour of the first. Crasis in Homer is established, as far as the Alexandrian text is concerned, by οὐμός Θ 360, ωτός E 396, ὠριστος τᾶλλα οὐνεκα τοῦνεκα, etc.; and though κε in the present passage is possible, yet *καί* gives a better sense. In N 734, γ 255, ζ 282, *καί* alone seems to be admissible. Cf. also B 238 χ' ἡμεῖς. It is not improbable that in all these cases, however, the *αι* is really elided, as not unfrequently in verbal forms; so we find σ' and μ' for σοι and μοι (A 170). The instances of crasis are then reduced to a very small number; for ὠριστος the metre always allows ὁ ἄριστος, for ωτός we may read αὐτός or οὗτος, for οὐμός ὁ ἐμός, or better, with Brandreth, ἀμός. See *H. G.* § 377, and note on E 393-400.

261. **μέγα** is probably an adverb = *μεγάλως*, rather than a proleptic use of the adj. = ὥστε μέγα εἶναι. Cf. ρ 489 μέγα πένθος ἄξει.

262. 'Spurius?' Nauck after van Herwerden. The line is certainly rather flat in this place; and **τὴν** elsewhere is always the first word in the line. This emphatic form of *σύ* occurs in the *Iliad* only (6 times). The grammarians call *τὴν* and *ἐγώνη* Doric forms. It is curious that mod. Greek has recurred to very similar emphatic forms, *μένε*, *έσένα*, for *με*, *σε*.

τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ·  
 “μή μοι οἶνον ἄειρε μελίφρονα, πότνια μήτηρ,  
 μή μ' ἀπογυνώσῃς μένεος, ἀλκῆς τε λάθωμαι· 265  
 χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διὶ λείβειν αἶθοπα οἶνον  
 ἄζομαι· οὐδέ πη ἔστι κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι  
 αἵματι καὶ λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένον εὐχετάασθαι.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν πρὸς νηὸν Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης  
 ἔρχεο σὺν θυέεσσιν, ἀολλίσσασα γεραιάς· 270  
 πέπλον δ', ὅς τις τοι χαριέστατος ἦδὲ μέγιστος  
 ἔστιν ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ καὶ τοι πολὺ φίλτατος αὐτῇ,  
 τὸν θὲς Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠυκόμοιο,  
 καὶ οἱ ὑποσχέσθαι δυοκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῶι  
 ἦνις ἡκέστας ἱερευσέμεν, αἶ κ' ἐλεήσῃ 275  
 ἄστυ τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα,  
 αἶ κεν Τυδέος υἱὸν ἀπόσχηι Ἰλίου ἱρής,  
 ἄγριον αἰχμητὴν, κρατερὸν μῆστωρα φόβοιο.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν πρὸς νηὸν Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης  
 ἔρχευ, ἐγὼ δὲ Πάριον μετελεύσομαι, ὄφρα καλέσω, 280  
 αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃσ' εἰπόντος ἀκούμεν· ὥς κέ οἱ αὖθι

263. ΤΟΝ Δ' J. || ἐπαμείβετ' Vr. a. 265. ΜΕΝΕΟΣ Ar. Plato *Crat.* 415 A, Ω: ΜΕΝΕΟΣ Δ' JOP: ΜΕΝΕΟΣ Τ' G. 266. ἀνίπτησι Zen. Herod. S. 269. CΥ ΜΕΝ: CΥ ΓΕ N. 270. ΓΕΡΑΙΑΣ: γρ. γεραιράς A, cf. 87. 271. ΠΕΠΛΩΝ PQ Bar. Vr. a, Mosc. 2 (H Lips. *supr.*), γρ. Harl. a: ΠΕΠΛΟΣ R Vr. b (*in ras.*), Mosc. 1 (*in ras.*) 3. 272. ἘΝΙ: ἘΝ G Lips. || ΤΟΙ: ΟΙ N. 275. αἶ κ': εἰ Vr. a. || ἐλεήσει N Vr. a. 277. ἀπόσχοι G. 280. ἔρχεο D. || κελεύσω Vr. a<sup>1</sup>: καλέσω G. 281. ΚΕ: καὶ DHPRT Mosc. 2. || οἶ: τοι Q.

265. The printed vulg. puts a comma before and a δ' after ΜΕΝΕΟΣ against overwhelming authority, including that of Ar. and Plato (*Crat.* 415 A *μὴ λίαν, ὧ δαιμόνιε, ἀκριβολογοῦ, μή μ' ἀπογυνώσῃς μένεος*). In X 282, however, μένεος ἀλκῆς τε must go together. Hector was on the level of the present day in his appreciation of the disadvantage of stimulants during severe fatigue. The simple γινώω is used in the literal sense *to lame* in Θ 402, and the metaphorical *to weaken* by Hippokrates. The appropriateness of the expression here is obvious.

266. ἀνίπτοισιν Ar., ἀνίπτῃσιν Zen.; cf. note on ἐνποιήθησι E 466.

270. εὔεα, apparently *burnt-offerings* in the general sense; Homer makes no mention of incense properly so called, nor would that suit the compound *θυσσικός*. (It is, however, possible that

in Ξ 172 ἐλαίῳ τὸ ῥά οἱ τεθυωμένον ἦεν a scented oil may be meant.) The word recurs I 499, ο 261, in the latter case as a correlative to *θύοντα*. Cf. *Lehrs Ar.* p. 83, and the commentators on ε 60.

271-8. See 90-7.

281. ὥς κέ οἶ: so vulg., the variant *καὶ* being only graphical. But *κε* is absolutely inconsistent with the direct expression of a wish. The words can only mean 'In that (or some) case the earth would swallow him up,' i.e. in the ordinary derived sense, 'that the earth might swallow him up,' expressing a purpose. This gives no satisfactory sense. The use of *πῶς κε* in later Greek (o 195 *πῶς κε*) to express a wish is entirely different; for there the speaker represents himself as asking 'in what case would a thing happen?' His desire that it should happen is shewn

γαῖα χάνοι· μέγα γάρ μιν Ὀλύμπιος ἔτρεφε πῆμα  
 Τρωσί τε καὶ Πριάμῳ μεγάλῃτορι τοῖό τε παισίν.  
 εἰ κεῖνόν γε ἴδοιμι κατελθόντ' Ἀῖδος εἴσω,  
 φαίην κεν φίλον ἦτορ οὔζυος ἐκλεαθέσθαι.”

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ὥς ἔφαθ', ἥ δὲ μολοῦσα ποτὶ μέγαρ' ἀμφιπόλοισι  
 κέκλετο· ταὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀόλλισσαν κατὰ ἄστν γεραίās.  
 αὐτὴ δ' ἐς θάλαμον κατεβήσето κηώεντα,  
 ἐνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν

282. ἔτραφε DMOQR Mosc. 2. 285. φαίην κεν: γρ. φαίην περ Schol. T. ||  
 φίλον ἦτορ Zen.: φρέν' ἄτερ που Ar. A: φρέν' ἀτέρπου Ω. 288. κατεβήσето  
 (A *supr.*) CDGJLMOQR: καταβήσето H. || ἐν ταῖς Ἀριστάρχου φέρεται καὶ ἐτέρως  
 ἢ δ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα παρίστατο φωριαμοῖσιν (= ο 104) Did.; so Ambr. D<sup>m</sup>T<sup>m</sup>  
 (Rhosos) Vr. b; Harl. b has both lines in text. 289. παμποίκιλα M.

only in the anxiety with which he seeks for its conditions, and hence depends entirely on the interrogative form of the sentence. In short *κε* necessarily implies some conditioning circumstances, whereas a wish necessarily excludes them. It seems therefore inevitable that we should read *δέ* with Bekker. A similar question arises on ο 545, where *εἰ κε* apparently expresses a wish, but Lange shews that it is really a conditional protasis, EI pp. 192-4 (particularly note 16), and *H. G.* § 300. For *γαῖα χάνοι* cf. Δ 182. αὖθι, on the spot, E 296, etc.

284. Ἀῖδος εἴσω, sc. *δόμον*: for *εἴσω* in the *Il.* always takes the acc. after it; and Ἀῖδης is a person, not a place, cf. A 3, 71. But see note on Θ 367.

285. There are three readings of this line: (1) that of the text after Zen.; (2) φρέν' ἄτερ που, A and Ar.; (3) the vulgate φρέν' ἀτέρπου. Of these (3) construes, but the form *ἀτερπος* is barbarous. Heyne has remarked that it is not found in the *Lexica* of Apoll. and Hesych. The Homeric form is *ἀτερπής*. (2) was explained by Aristarchos as follows:—δόξαμι ἂν ἐκλελῆσθαι τῆς κακοπαθείας καὶ χωρὶς αὐτῆς γεγονέναι· ἔνιοι δὲ ἀγνοήσαντες γράφοντιν ἀτέρπου, i.e. 'I should deem that (being) apart (που?) from lamentation I had forgotten it in my heart.' But for the authority of Ar. such an elucidation would probably not have been listened to for a moment. It can hardly be called Greek, much less Homeric. The only resource is to adopt the reading (1); it must be admitted that it has all the appearance of a conjecture, and can only be approved in comparison with absolute nonsense.

There is no explanation of how the nonsense came to be the vulgate. Various emendations have been proposed: φρένα πέρ που or δῆπου Bentley, φρέν' ἄφαρ που Nauck, ἀφέρτου Naber, ἀτερπέ Platt (which does not suit the use of *ἀτερπής* elsewhere, = *distressing*). On the whole we can only say that the problem is unsolved. The whole end of the speech, from 281, has something strange about it in sentiment as well as expression, and doubts must go further than the word *ἀτέρπου*.

288. κατεβήσето should naturally imply coming down from the upper storey; but that explanation will not suit Ω 191 or β 337, and even here we have no hint that Hekabe has first gone up. The treasure-chamber is in the midst of the house, and presumably had no windows; *κατα-* may possibly imply going from light into darkness, much as we speak of 'plunging into the depths of a wood' without any thought of a literal descent. With 288-95 cf. ο 99-108 where several lines are nearly identical (288 = ο 99, 289 = ο 105, 293-5 = ο 106-8). From ο 104 comes the variant ἥ δ' εἰς οἶκον ἰούσα παρίστατο φωριαμοῖσιν, which does not suit here, as Hekabe is already in the οἶκος (286). κηώεντα: Γ 382.

289. ἐνε' ἐξάν οἱ (so Ar. accented against the rule, to shew that οἱ is not the article) offends against the F and normal position of *Φοι* (*H. G.* p. 337); van Gendt's ἐνθά F'(οι) ἔσαν is doubtless right. In ο 105 one MS. actually reads ἐνθά οἱ ἔσαν. Bentley's conj. παμποίκιλα saves the F of *ἔργα*, and has the support of one MS.; but the adj. goes better with πέπλοι, cf. η 96-7 ἐνθ' ἐνὶ πέπλοι λεπτοῖ



Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής 290  
 ἤγαγε Σιδουίην, ἐπιπλὼς εὐρέα πόντον,  
 τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.  
 τῶν ἔν' αἰραμένη Ἑκάβη φέρε δῶρον Ἀθήνη,  
 ὃς κάλλιστος ἔην ποικίλμασιν ἡδὲ μέγιστος, 295  
 ἀστὴρ δ' ὥς ἀπέλαμπεν· ἔκειτο δὲ νείατος ἄλλων.  
 βῆ δ' ἰέναι, πολλαὶ δὲ μετεσσεύοντο γεραιαί.  
 αἱ δ' ὅτε νηὸν ἵκανον Ἀθήνης ἐν πόλει ἄκρι,  
 τῆσι θύρας ὥϊξε Θεανὸ καλλιπάρηιος,  
 Κισσηΐς, ἄλοχος Ἀντήνορος ἵπποδάμοιο· 300  
 τὴν γὰρ Τρῶες ἔθηκαν Ἀθηναίης ἰέριαν.  
 αἱ δ' ὀλολυγῆι πᾶσαι Ἀθήνῃ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον·  
 ἡ δ' ἄρα πέπλον ἐλούσα Θεανὸ καλλιπάρηιος  
 θῆκεν Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἠνκόμοιο,  
 εὐχομένη δ' ἡρᾶτο Διὸς κούρῃ μεγάλῳ·  
 “πότνι' Ἀθηναίη, ἐρυσίπολι, δῖα θεάων, 305  
 ἄξον δὴ ἔγχος Διομήδεος, ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν

290. τὰς: ἄς Q Ambr. Strabo i. 41. 293. αἰρουμένη M: ἀραμένη R.  
 296. πολλαὶ τε H. 297. αἱ δ': ἄλλ' T, γρ. Lips. || ὅτε δὲ DPRT. || ἀθηναίης  
 DGJQRT. 298. τῆσι: τοῖσι P: τὰς γε G. 300. γὰρ: καὶ H. 301.  
 χεῖρας ἀνέσχον ἀθήνη N. 305. ἐρυσίπολι U: ἄμεινον ῥυσίπολι Schol. A.

ἐννῆτοι βεβλήατο, ἔργα γυναικῶν. Hence van L. suggests that the line originally ran like ο 105 παμποῖκιλοι, οὓς κάμεν αὐτή. Lines 289–92 are cited by Herodotos ii. 116, together with δ 227–30, 351–2, as evidence that Homer followed the old tradition of the journey of Paris and Helen to Egypt related in (Herod.) 113–5, and was therefore not the author of the *Kypria*, which brought the fugitives to Troy on the third day from Sparta—the oldest piece of Homeric criticism in existence, and perfectly correct, if this passage always stood as at present. He quotes the lines as being ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστήνῃ, a title now confined to E, but quite appropriate to the present passage, as down to 310 Diomedes is still the chief terror of the Trojans. The reading of the mss. of Herodotos agrees with the vulgate, which was no doubt fully established in his time.

290. For τὰς Welcker conj. τοὺς, which gives a much more likely sense. The change may be due to the neighbourhood of the fem. substantive. For the handicrafts of Sidon see on Ψ 743.

292. τὴν ὁδόν, as ζ 165; H. G. § 136. 1. ἀνήγαγεν, properly *took away to sea*, cf. Γ 48, and κατελθεῖν, to return home. For the anomalous εὐπατέρειαν we should doubtless read ἡνπάτειραν, see note on H 41.

295. νείατος ἄλλων: for this idiomatic use of the superl. see A 505 ὠκυμωρῶτατος ἄλλων: and for νείατος, E 539.

298. For this Theano cf. E 70, Λ 224. The later legend made her the sister of Hekabe, see note on II 718. From 300 it would appear that her post was as much a civic as a religious appointment. 303=92, 308–10=93–5.

305. No doubt the remark of the scholia as to the superior merits of the form ῥυσίπολι is right. The vulg. is evidently due to the analogy of ἐρυσ-ἀρμαres O 354, II 370; but that is from *Feréō* to draw, a distinct verb from ῥύσμαι, ἐρύσμαι to protect (see on A 216), which has ῥ in the sigmatic forms with but few exceptions. ῥυσίπολις occurs in Aisch. *Septem Teu.* 306–7 are imitated by Virgil *Aen.* xi. 483 ff.

306. P. Knight read ἔγχος δὴ *Fāxon*, to avoid δὴ kept long before a vowel.

πρηνέα δὸς πεσέειν Σκαιῶν προπάροιθε πυλάων,  
 ὄφρα τοι αὐτίκα νῦν δυοκαίδεκα βούς ἐνὶ νηῶι  
 ἦνις ἡκέστας ἱερεύσομεν, αἶ κ' ἐλεήσης  
 ἄστυ τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχους καὶ νήπια τέκνα." 310  
 ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχομένη, ἀνένευε δὲ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.

ὥς αἱ μὲν ῥ' εὐχοντο Διὸς κούρηι μέγαλοιο·  
 Ἔκτωρ δὲ πρὸς δώματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο βεβήκει  
 καλὰ, τὰ ῥ' αὐτὸς ἔτευξε σὺν ἀνδράσιν οἱ τότε ἄριστοι 315  
 ἦσαν ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ἐριβόλακι τέκτονες ἄνδρες·  
 οἱ οἱ ἐποίησαν θάλαμον καὶ δῶμα καὶ αὐλὴν  
 ἐγγύθι τε Πριάμοιο καὶ Ἐκτορος ἐν πόλει ἄκρι·  
 ἔνθ' Ἐκτωρ εἰσῆλθε διίφιλος, ἐν δ' ἄρα χειρὶ  
 ἔγχος ἔχ' ἐνδεκάπηχυν· πάροιθε δὲ λάμπετο δουρὸς 320  
 αἰχμὴ χαλκείη, περὶ δὲ χρύσεος θεῆ πόρκης.

308. τοῖ : τι P. || ἐνὶ : ἐπὶ P. 309. ἀκέστας G. || ἱερευέμεν HU. || ἐλεῆσθ  
 Q. 311 ἀθ. Ar. || ἀνένευε N. 312. ῥ' om. JO : g' P. 313. βέβηκε S.  
 314. κάλ' ἄτ' ἄρ' Vr. a : γρ. <καλὰ> θ' ἄ ῥ' R. 315. τροίης D.

A better argument for the change would be that in no other place has ἔγχος the first syll. in thesis (van L.).

311. ἀθετεῖται ὅτι πρὸς οὐδὲν τὸ ἐπιφώνημα (concluding remark) καὶ οὐκ εἰθισμένον· κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐναντίον ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπιβεβαῖοι κατανεύων (i.e. apparently it contradicts the promise of Zeus in A), καὶ ἔξῃς δ' ἐπιλεγόμενον ὥς αἱ μὲν ῥ' εὐχοντο σαφῶς γίνεται περισσὸς ὁ στίχος· γελοία δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀνανεύουσα Ἀθηνᾶ Schol. A (Aristonikos?). It is hard to believe that such remarks come from Ar., who can hardly have forgotten the fact that ἀνανεῖν is repeatedly used metaphorically by Homer to signify a refusal. It would seem that the word here was taken to mean that the statue itself moved its head (cf. Virg. *Aen.* i. 482 *dixit solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*). The gesture of raising the chin to signify 'No' is still universal in modern Greece. The line, it is true, may be spared, and the ὥς at the beginning of two consecutive lines is certainly a stumbling-block (but cf. P 424). But it seems clear that this, as a convenient break, was regarded as the ending of the Διομήδεος ἀριστέα, and 312 as the first line of a new rhapsody; cf. X 515, Ψ 1. With 311 compare Π 250, and still more B 419, Γ 302, which shew that the ἐπιφώνημα is not unusual as the schol. says.

316. It looks at first sight as though δῶμα here meant only the great hall as opposed to the sleeping-rooms. But the word is of general signification, and includes the women's apartments in X 442, ρ 541, σ 314 (see App. C). It is more reasonable to regard it as meaning the building as opposed to the αὐλή, and thus including the θάλαμος as a part. The latter is particularly named because it is the scene of the following incident.

318-20=Θ 493-5. Ar. thought them more appropriate in Θ, Zen. here.

319. It is impossible to say whether we ought to read ἔχ' ἐνδεκάπηχυν with mss., or ἔχεν δεκάπηχυν with some of the old commentators. Either length seems unwieldy to us, but in O 678 Aias uses a pike of twice the length, and Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 7. 16) incidentally mentions that the spears of the Chalybes were 15 cubits long. The old explanation of the πόρκης is no doubt correct, ὁ κρίκος ὁ συνέχων τὸν σίδηρον πρὸς τὸ ξύλον τοῦ δόρατος. Dr. Schliemann found at Hissarlik spear-heads with flat bases and holes for nails, by which they were fastened into a slit in the shaft. This necessarily implies the use of some sort of ferrule to prevent the wood from splitting, probably a 'lashing' of wire. Cf. note on N 162. πάροιθε, before hñm as he went; cf. Γ 437 ἐμὸν βέλος ὅξυ πάροιθεν.

τὸν δ' εὖρ' ἐν θαλάμῳ περικαλλέα τεύχε' ἔποντα,  
 ἀσπίδα καὶ θώρηκα, καὶ ἀγκύλα τόξ' ἀφόνοντα.  
 Ἀργεῖή δ' Ἑλένη μετ' ἄρα δμῳῇσι γυναιξίν  
 ἦστο καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι περικλυτὰ ἔργα κέλευε.  
 τὸν δ' Ἔκτωρ νείκεσσεν ἰδὼν αἰσχροῖς ἐπέεσσιν.  
 "δαιμόνι, οὐ μὲν καλὰ χόλον τόνδ' ἔνθεο θυμῷ.  
 λαοὶ μὲν φθινύθουσι περὶ πτόλιν αἰπύ τε τείχος  
 μαρνάμενοι· σέο δ' εἵνεκ' αὐτὴ τε πτόλεμός τε

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321. θαλάμῳ: μεγάροις H. || ἔποντα: ἔχοντα Cram. *Epim.* 435. 4. 322.  
 εἴωρακα P. || τινὲς τόξα φόνοντα Schol. T; so D<sup>1</sup>. 324. ἐργ' ἐκέλευεν LMN:  
 ἐργ' ἐπέτελλε Q. 325. τόν ῥ' N. 326. μὲν: μὴν Q. 327. πόλιν GS  
 Lips. 328. πόλεμός GMOPQU.

321. ἔποντα, *handling*. The simple ἔπω occurs only here; the compounds have acquired more or less metaphorical senses, which may nearly all be brought under the cognate ideas of *treating* or *managing*. The aor. is, with very few exceptions, only found in ἐπισπεῖν μόρσιμον ἦμαρ and similar phrases, where it has the sense of *joining*, i.e. *reaching*, an end (cf. French *toucher à sa fin*), *J. P.* xiv. 231 ff. Owing to the ordinary view that ἀμφέπειν περιέπειν etc., mean 'to busy one's self about' a thing, critics have found a needless difficulty in the absence of the preposition here; Bekker has even conjectured περὶ κάλλιμα for περικαλλέα. Curiously enough, the next line is the only place where the simple ἀφάν is found, though the compound ἀμφαφάν is common in Homer, and ἑπαφάν is Attic. Both verbs are closely connected in sense as in origin; the 'dandy' Paris is turning over and admiring his fine armour with the same affection which Odysseus shews to his old bow, φ 393 τόξον ἐνώμα πάντη ἀναστρωφῶν; in τ 586 τόξον ἀμφαφάωντας means 'handling' the bow with the intention of using it.

322. The comma after εἴωρηκα is approved by Nikanor, and is undoubtedly right; the two participles need a conjunction, as they are obviously co-ordinate, Φ 204 being an isolated and harsh exception. It is not necessary to do more than mention the curious variant τόξα φόνοντα which is found in D and explained by Schol. T to mean *making bright*. But the line has all the appearance of an addition designed to bring in mention of the θώρηξ: the passage reads better without it.

324. The constr. κέλευεν τινί τι is elsewhere found in H. only where the accus. is a neuter pronoun, e.g. ρ 193 τά γε δὴ νοέοντι κελεύεις. The simple dat. of the person is, however, common enough, and the addition of the acc. to express the content of the verb is quite in accordance with the use of that case. Cf. note on Γ 259.

326. οὐ . . καλὰ: see *H. G.* § 136 and compare Θ 400 οὐ καλὰ συνοισόμεθα πτόλεμόνδε. The mention of the χόλος has caused critics great trouble, as Paris' absence from battle would seem to be sufficiently accounted for by his defeat at the hands of Menelaos. It has been supposed that Hector speaks ironically, in suggesting that Paris has some cause of offence against the Trojans; but Paris himself seems to take the remark seriously (335), and the irony is too veiled for the Epic style. There is a possible alternative, to take χόλον as meaning 'the anger of the Trojans against you,' such as is exemplified in Γ 56, 454, of which we should suppose Paris to be conscious. This suits the answer of Paris in 335 better, as νέμεσις is commonly used of the indignation shewn by others; e.g. β 136 νέμεσις δέ μοι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἔσεται, χ 40 ἀνθρώπων νέμεσις, cf. N 122 ἐν φρεσὶ θέσθε ἕκαστος αἰδῶ καὶ νέμεσιν. On the other hand, it leaves τόνδε without its proper deictic force; this must imply that some particular manifestation of Trojan resentment was immediately present to Hector and Paris. In fact, as Erhardt says, the colloquy must have been originally composed for a form of the story in which H 345-79 or some similar scene preceded instead of following it (see *Introd.*).

ἄστν τόδ' ἀμφιδέδη· σὺ δ' ἂν μαχέσαιο καὶ ἄλλωι,  
εἴ τινά που μεθιέντα ἴδοις στυγεροῦ πολέμοιο. 330

ἄλλ' ἄνα, μὴ τάχα ἄστν πυρὸς δηΐοιο θέρηται."

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής·  
"Ἐκτορ, ἐπεὶ με κατ' αἶσαν ἐνέικεσας οὐδ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν·  
τοῦνεκά τοι ἔρέω, σὺ δὲ σύνθεο καὶ μεν ἄκουσον.

οὐ τοι ἐγὼ Τρώων τόσσον χόλῳι οὐδὲ νεμέσσι 335  
ἤμην ἐν θαλάμῳι, ἔθελον δ' ἄχει προτραπέσθαι.

νῦν δέ με παρειποῦσ' ἄλοχος μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσιν  
ὥρμησ' ἐς πόλεμον, δοκέει δέ μοι ὧδε καὶ αὐτῶι  
λῶϊον ἔσσεσθαι· νίκη δ' ἐπαμείβεται ἄνδρας.

ἄλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐπίμεινον, ἀρήϊα τεύχεα δύω. 340

ἢ ἴθ', ἐγὼ δὲ μέτειμι, κιχήσεσθαι δέ σ' οὔτω."

ὧς φάτο, τὸν δ' οὐ τι προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ·

τὸν δ' Ἑλένη μύθοισι προσηύδα μειλιχίοισι·

"δᾶερ ἐμείοι κννὸς κακομηχάνου ὀκρυόεσσης, 345

ὧς μ' ὄφελ' ἡματι τῶι ὅτε με πρῶτον τέκε μήτηρ

οἴχεσθαι προφέρουσα κακὴ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα

329. ἄν : αὐ M. 330. εἴ : ὅ N Ar. || ἴδης N (supr. οι) QU. 333. οὐδ' :  
οὐχ Vg. b. 335. οὔτι H. || τόσσον τρώων P. || τόσσω N. || γρ. χόλον . .  
νέμεσσι Harl. a (χόλον . . νέμεσις M supr.). || οὐδὲ : οὔτε T. || νεμέσσι ΛΟΤ  
(supr. ει), γρ. Lips. Schol. T : νεμέσσει Ω. 340. ὄφρ' ἀρήϊα L<sup>2</sup>R. 341.  
κάτειμι P. 343. μύθοισι ἀμείβετο S. || μειλιχίοισι : διὰ γυναικῶν S (ἐν ἄλλωι  
A). 344. ἐμοῖο PQ. 345. με om. GHP. 346. εὐέλλη L.

329. μαχέσαιο, *fall out with*, as E 875, I 32, etc.

331. πυρὸς ἐέρηται, as A 667, and in a different sense p 23. For the use of the gen. cf. H. G. § 151 c.

333=Γ 59. The colon at the end of the line is recommended by Lehrs' (Ar.<sup>2</sup> p. 58 n.). ἐπεὶ is often thus used without a regular apodosis, see Γ 59, N 68, γ 103, ζ 187, θ 236 (compare the exactly similar use of γάρ to introduce a sentence), and the use of τοῦνεκα to mark an apodosis is extremely doubtful; see note on Γ 400. Hence there is good ground for van L.'s suggestion that 334 is an addition made up from A 76, q.v.

336. προτραπέσθαι, *to yield myself up* to anguish (at my defeat, or at the hostility of the Trojans); an isolated use of the word.

337. This may be a reference to Γ 432, but the application is not very exact.

339. ἐπαμείβεται ἄνδρας, *shifts over warriors*, i.e. goes first to one, then

to another. For this use of ἀμείβεσθαι cf. O 684 θρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβεται, α 375 ἀμειβόμενοι κατὰ οἴκους. For the sentiment cf. Γ 440, Σ 309. Here again we might suspect interpolation of a whole line with the intention of introducing a reference to Γ. There is, however, no case in H. of δοκέειν without an infin., in the sense *to seem good*.

344. For κακομηχάνου ὀκρυόεσσης Payne Knight rightly restored κακομηχάνου κρυόεσσης. ὀκρυόεσσα is a *vox nihili* recurring only in I 64, which admits of the same correction. The form was no doubt suggested by the totally unrelated ὀκρύεις, *jagged*. For κρυόεις in this metaphorical sense cf. E 740, I 2, and we may perhaps compare T 325 βιγεδανὴ Ἑλένη.

346. Compare ν 61-82, where the ἄρπναι, the personified storm-winds, carry off the daughters of Pandareos. So also α 241, ξ 371.



εἰς ὄρος ἢ εἰς κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,  
 ἔνθά με κῦμ' ἀπόερσε πάρος τάδε ἔργα γενέσθαι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάδε γ' ὦδε θεοὶ κακὰ τεκμήραντο,  
 ἀνδρὸς ἔπειτ' ὤφελλον ἀμείνωνος εἶναι ἄκοιτις, 350  
 ὃς ἤδη νέμεσίν τε καὶ αἴσχεα πόλλ' ἀνθρώπων.  
 τούτῳ δ' οὔτ' ἄρ νῦν φρένες ἔμπεδοι οὔτ' ἄρ' ὀπίσσω  
 ἔσσονται· τῷ καὶ μιν ἐπαυρήσεσθαι οἶω.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν εἴσελθε καὶ ἔξο τῶιδ' ἐπὶ δίφρῳ,  
 δᾶερ, ἐπεὶ σέ μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν 355  
 εἵνεκ' ἐμείο κυνὸς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ' ἀρχῆς,  
 οἷσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μόρον, ὥς καὶ ὀπίσσω  
 ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ' ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι."  
 τὴν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ·  
 "μή με κάθιζ', Ἐλένη, φιλέουσά περ· οὐδέ με πείσεις· 360  
 ἦδη γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται ὄφρ' ἐπαμύνω  
 Τρώεσσ', οἱ μέγ' ἐμείο ποθὴν ἀπεόντος ἔχουσιν.  
 ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ὄρνυθι τοῦτον, ἐπειγέσθω δὲ καὶ αὐτός,  
 ὥς κεν ἔμ' ἔντοσθεν πόλιος καταμάρψῃ ἐόντα.

349. θεοὶ διετεκμήραντο D. 350. ὤφειλλον L: ὠφελον PU: ὄφελον Q: ὄφελλον O. 351. ὅς ρ' HN P: ὅς τ' V r. b. || ἥδει P. 353. καί: κεν CNT γρ. A. 354. τῶιδ': τῶι T. || ἐπὶ: ἐνὶ N. 356. ἐμοῖο OP. || ἀρχῆς (Zen.?) Q V r. c, γρ. Par. c: ἄτης (Ar.?) Ω (Par. c p. ras.). 357. καί: κεν NS. 361. ἐπέσσυτο Q. || ἀπαμύνω P. 362. τρώεσ(ς)ιν GMT Lips. || ἐμοῖο PQ. 364. πτόλιος JOP.

348. ἀπόερσε, *swept away*; so also Φ 283, 329. See note on A 356 ἀπούρας. For this use of the indic. of the past tense to express a supposition, by a sort of attraction to the mood of the principal verb ὄφελε, see H. G. § 325, where it is well explained. The other instances in H. are 351 below, α 218, δ 180.

349. τεκμαίρομαι, *to ordain* as a final decision; see note on H 30.

350. Here as elsewhere in H. the mss. give ὄφελω in the sense *debere* (ὄφειλω) as well as *augere*. The practice is so regular as to suggest that the orthography is more respectable than a mere error in transcription, and preserves a genuine Aiolie form. The natural tendency of error would be towards conformity with the Attic ὄφειλω. But A 686, 698 are the only places where this has actually prevailed.

351. ἥδη: indic. as 348. Cf. note on E 326. νέμεσις here evidently means 'the righteous indignation felt by men.' For αἴσχεα = *reproaches* see 524, Γ 242.

353. ἐπαυρήσεσθαι, *reap the fruits*; see A 410. For τῷ van Herwerden would read τοῦ, cf. N 733, O 16.

355. For the metaphorical use of ἀμφιβέβηκεν cf. θ 541 ἄχος φρένας ἀμφιβ., and in a different sense A 37.

356. ἀρχῆς: see note on Γ 100, and cf. Ω 28.

358. ἀοίδιμοι: cf. θ 580 ἵνα ἦσι καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀοιδῇ, and ω 200, of Klytāmnēstra, στυγερῇ δέ τ' ἀοιδῇ ἔσσετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων: Theokr. xii. 11 ἐπ' ἐσσομένοισιν ἀοιδῇ. The phrase ἐσσομένοισιν ἀοιδῇ occurs also Theognis 251, in a good sense, in which signification the adj., a ἀπᾶς λεγόμενον in H., is found often in later Greek, e.g. *Hymn. Ar.* 299 ἀοίδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰεὶ.

361. For this use of ὄφρα where we should rather have expected the infin. (as I 42, 398) cf. A 133, Δ 465, E 690. It is hardly likely that ἐπέσσυται is used without the object expressed (in A 173 φεύγειν is to be supplied), in which case ὄφρα might indicate a purpose.

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν οἰκόνδε ἐλεύσομαι, ὄφρα ἴδωμαι 365  
οἰκῆας ἄλοχόν τε φίλην καὶ νήπιον υἷον·  
οὐ γάρ τ' οἶδ' εἴ ἐτι σφιν ὑπότροπος ἴξομαι αὐτίς,  
ἢ ἥδη μ' ὑπὸ χερσὶ θεοὶ δαμόωσιν Ἀχαιῶν.”  
ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἀπέβη κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ.  
αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανε δόμους ἐν ναιετάοντας, 370  
οὐδ' εἶδ' Ἀνδρομάχην λευκώλενον ἐν μεγάροισιν,  
ἀλλ' ἢ γε ξὺν παιδὶ καὶ ἀμφιπόλῳ ἐντέπλῳ  
πύργῳ ἐφεστήκει γοῶσά τε μυρομένη τε.  
Ἴκτωρ δ' ὥς οὐκ ἔνδον ἀμύμονα τέτμεν ἄκοιτιν,  
ἔστη ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰών, μετὰ δὲ δμῳῆσιν ἔειπεν· 375  
“εἰ δ' ἄγε μοι, δμῳαί, νημερτέα μυθήσασθε·  
πῇ ἔβη Ἀνδρομάχῃ λευκώλενος ἐκ μεγάρῳ;  
ἦέ πη ἐς γαλῶν ἢ εἰνατέρων ἐντέπλων,  
ἢ ἐς Ἀθηναίης ἐξοίχεται, ἐνθά περ ἄλλαι  
Τρῳαὶ ἐνπλόκαμοι δεινὴν θεὸν ἰάσκονται;” 380  
τὸν δ' αὖτ' ὀτρυνὴ ταμὴ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
“Ἴκτωρ, ἐπεὶ μάλ' ἄνωγας ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι,  
οὐτέ πη ἐς γαλῶν οὐτ' εἰνατέρων ἐντέπλων  
οὐτ' ἐς Ἀθηναίης ἐξοίχεται, ἐνθά περ ἄλλαι  
Τρῳαὶ ἐνπλόκαμοι δεινὴν θεὸν ἰάσκονται, 385  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πύργῳ ἔβη μέγαν Ἰλίου, οὐνεκ' ἄκουσε  
τείρεσθαι Τρῶας, μέγα δὲ κράτος εἶναι Ἀχαιῶν.

365. οἰκόνδε ἐλεύσομαι O: οἶκον δ' ἐλεύσομαι G (*supr.* ε over δ) JM<sup>1</sup> (not Harl. a) NQRT Vr. b: οἶκονδ' ἐσελεύσομαι Ω. || ὄφρ' ἂν M Par. a f. || ἴδωμαι Et. Gud.: ἴδω H (Harl. a *supr.*). 366. οἰκῆας τ' Vr. b. 367. γάρ τ': γὰρ ἔτ' D (ἔτι) HPU Mosc. 3. || ἴεσται Q. || αὖτις CQ. 368. μ': δ' O. 372. ἢ γε: αὕτη G (*e corr.*). || ξυμ CDHU. 373. ἐφεστήκει Ar. GU: ἐφείστηκε Ω. 376. μυθήσασθαι LMS. 382. μάλ': μ' N. 383. ἢ εἰνατέρων S.

365. The vulg. οἰκόνδ' ἐσελεύσομαι, as Ahrens remarked, is obviously an attempt to avoid the hiatus, which in the principal caesura is quite legitimate. τ' in 367 is similarly intruded.

376. εἰ δ' ἄγε, used in addressing several persons and followed by plural, as B 331, 437, Γ 441, Θ 18, etc. So in Attic, Aisch. *Pers.* 140, *Eum.* 307, etc.

378. γαλῶν, εἰνατέρων, her husband's sisters or his brothers' wives, *glores* and *ianitresses*.

386. The neglect of the F of *Φιλίου* is

comparatively rare (see, however, E 204, H 345, Σ 270, Φ 128, where the remedy is not obvious). Here Brandreth conj. *Φίλου μέγαν*. Heyne suggests that 386-7 are a later variant of 388-9; but *ἐπειγομένη* and *μαινομένη* need some explanation. Van L. points out that the name *Ἰλίου* itself seems rather out of place, and suggests that the original may have been *μέγα νηπίη*. It must be remembered, however, that *πύργον* means rather *fortification* than *tower* (see on Δ 334), and in any case the phrase is no stranger than the “Tower of London.”

ἡ μὲν δὴ πρὸς τεῖχος ἐπειγομένη ἀφικάνει  
μαινομένην εἰκνύα· φέρει δ' ἅμα παῖδα τιθήνη·"

ἡ ῥα γυνὴ ταμίη, ὃ δ' ἀπέσσυτο δώματος Ἐκτωρ 390  
τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν αὖτις ἐνκτιμένας κατ' ἀγνιάς.

εὔτε πύλας ἵκανε διερχόμενος μέγα ἄστρ,

Σκαιάς, τῇ ἄρ' ἔμελλε διεξίμεναι πεδίονδε,

ἔνθ' ἄλοχος πολύδωρος ἐναντίη ἦλθε θεούσα

Ἀνδρομάχη, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡετίωνος, 395

Ἡετίων, ὃς ἔναιεν ὑπὸ Πλάκῳ ὕλησση,

Θήβηι ὑποπλακίη, Κιλίκεσσ' ἀνδρεσσιν ἀνάσσω·

τοῦ περ δὴ θυγάτηρ ἔχεθ' Ἐκτορι χαλκοκορυστῇ.

ἡ οἱ ἔπειτ' ἦντησ', ἅμα δ' ἀμφίπολος κίεν αὐτῇ

391. αὖτις C. 392. εὔτε τε M : εὔτε δὲ N. 393. τῇι : τῇι δ' S Vr. A. ||  
διεξίεναι MN : διεξίμεναι CT : διεξέμεναι DH (R<sup>1</sup>?). || πεδίον D. 394. πολύ-  
δωρος : πολύεθνος Mor. || ἐναντίον R. 397. ὑπὸ πλακίῳ D e corr. || ἄν-  
δρας(c)in G Mor.

388. ἀφικάνει, apparently in perf. sense; cf. Ξ 43, ξ 159, ν 328.

389. μαινομένην: cf. X 460, also of Andromache, μαινάδι ἴση.

390. ἡ ῥα with the subject expressed as here is rare; the only other cases are γ 337, χ 292, X 77. In the second clause after ἡ ῥα καί, however, the subject is commonly named, e.g. A 528.

392. εὔτε is used asyndetically as always when the clause which it introduces stands first in the sentence; see Ameis and M. and R. on γ 9.

393. τῇι ἄρ': the printed vulg. τῇ γάρ seems to be a conj. of Chalkondylas.

394. πολύδωρος recurs only in this phrase, X 88, ω 294. Hesych. πολλὰ λαβοῦσα δῶρα, πολύφερνος, πολύνεδος, and Schol. A πολλὰ ἔδνα παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λαβοῦσα. The ἔδνα were originally (see on I 146) given not to the bride, but to her father, but of course the word may mean that she earned her parents large gifts, cf. Σ 593 ἀλφεσίβοιαι. Or again δῶρα may indicate the gifts which human nature would prompt the suitor to offer when, as in Homeric days, woman had begun to assert her independence, and the ἔδνα were no more than a relic of the already extinct custom of the actual purchase of wives. But it does not seem quite natural to describe a wife as 'having had many wedding-presents made to her.' Others compare it with

ἡπίδωρος (251 above) in the sense of 'generous,' 'open-handed,' which is perhaps preferable.

396. Ἡετίων seems to be attracted to the case of the following relative; see H. G. § 271, where K 416, Ξ 75, 371, are quoted; Bekker, H. B. i. 314, adds others, e.g. θ 74, λ 122. Thus Bentley's Ἡετίωνος δ ναίε is not necessary. A similar epanalepsis in a different case is to be found in a 50-1—

νῆσωι ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, ὅθι τ' ὀμφαλὸς ἐστὶ  
θαλάσσης,

νῆσος δὲνδρήσσης, θεὰ δ' ἐν δώματα ναίει.

For Ἡετίων cf. also A 366, X 479, Ψ 827.

397. The site of Thebe is fixed by the later name Θήβης πεδίον, given to the plain of Adramytteion, Herod. vii. 42, etc. See notes on A 37, 366. No mountain called Plakos could be traced in Strabo's day. Whatever the tribal connexions of these Κίλικες may have been, it is clear that they had no local connexion with Kilikia. They are named only here and 415. Compare the Λυκίη of Pandaros, E 105.

398. ἔχεθ' Ἐκτορι: this use of the dative seems to be a case of the 'true' dat. passing into the 'dative of the agent.' It is analogous to the dat. after δαμῆναι, etc. (cf. Γ 301). For ἔχεω = have to wife cf. Γ 123.

παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλπῳ ἔχουσ' ἀταλάφρονα, νήπιον αὐτῶς, 400  
 Ἐκτορίδην ἀγαπητόν, ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῶι,  
 τόν ῥ' ἔκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 Ἀστυάνακτ'· οἶος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον ἔκτωρ.  
 ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν μείδησεν ἰδὼν ἐς παῖδα σιωπῇ·  
 Ἀνδρομάχῃ δέ οἱ ἄγχι παρίστατο δάκρυ χέουσα, 405  
 ἔν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζε·  
 “δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος, οὐδ' ἐλεαίρεις  
 παῖδά τε νηπίαχον καὶ ἔμ' ἄμμορον, ἦ τάχα χήρῃ  
 σεῦ ἔσομαι· τάχα γάρ σε κατακτανέουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ  
 πάντες ἐφορμηθέντες· ἐμοὶ δέ κε κέρδιον εἶη 410  
 σεῦ ἀφαρματούσῃ χθόνα δύμεναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλη

400. ἐπὶ : ἐνὶ GJPR. || κόλπον CHNQST, γρ. Harl. a. 402. ῥ' om. DGU. ||  
 ἄκτωρ H. || καυάνδριον C (p. ras.) H (p. ras.) LM. 403. οἶος : αὐτὸς Schol.  
 BT on Ξ 424 (cf. Ω 499). || ἐρύετο Vr. c. || ἔκτωρ : ἱρήν Bar. 406. ἄρα :  
 ἄρ' Lips. 407. φθείσει A. 408. καὶ μ' Par. e. || ἐμ' ἄμμορον : τινὲς γρ.  
 καὶ ἐμὸν μόρον An. 411. ἀμαρτούσῃ GP Lips.

400. *νήπιον αὐτῶς*, no more than an infant; cf. Γ 220, Η 100, Φ 474, Χ 484, etc. The form *ἀταλάφρων* for *ἀταλὸφρων* is irregular, and seems to have been affected by the phrase *ἀταλὰ φρονέων* Σ 567 (H. G. § 124 f.).

402-3. These lines look like an interpolation intended to bring in the name of Astyanax, so well known from the Cyclic poems (cf. Pausan. x. 25. 9), but probably not Homeric. Compare X 506, the only other passage where the name occurs in Homer. Plato commented on the name in reference to X 506, but ignores this passage; *Cratyl.* 392 c οἷσθα ὅτι Ὅμηρος τὸ παιδίον τὸ τοῦ Ἐκτορος ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων φησι καλεῖσθαι Ἀστυάνακτα, Σκαμάνδριον δὲ δῆλον ὅτι ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν; and 393 Α ὁ γὰρ ἄναξ καὶ ὁ ἔκτωρ σχεδὸν τι ταῦτόν σημαίνει, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τις ἄναξ ᾗ, καὶ ἔκτωρ δῆπου ἐστὶ τούτου. The idea evidently is that Astyanax is called by a name which, by way of compliment, refers to the father, as Eurysakes has his name from the broad shield of Aias, Telemachos because Odysseus was fighting far away in his boyhood, Megapenthes from Menelaos' grief at the loss of Helen, Nestor's son Peisistratos from his father's oratory, Perseus' daughter Gorgophone from her father's exploit (Paus. ii. 21. 7). It follows that *Φάναξ*, which is explained by *ἐρύετο*, conveyed less the idea of *kingly sway*, which Hector

did not possess, than of the *protection* which chieftains bestowed on their realm (I 396 ἀριστῆες οἱ τε πτολίεθρα ῥύονται, II 542 Λυκίην εἴρυτο δίκησιν τε καὶ σθένει ὦι. Cf. also E 472-3, Ω 499, 729-30). Thus the *ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν* is much the same as the *ποιμὴν λαῶν*. This sense of *Φάναξ* has also been defended by Angermann on etymological grounds (so T. D. Seymour in *C. R.* iii. 339).

407. *δαιμόνιε* : for the meaning of this word, which is here really untranslatable, see on A 561.

408. *ἄμμορον* : cf. X 485 δυσάμμορος : here and Ω 773 τινὲς γράφουσιν ἐμὸν μόρον, οὐκ εὖ (Ariston.). In ν 76 we have the curious phrase μοῖράν τ' ἄμμορίην τε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, which apparently means 'that which fate does and does not bestow,' i.e. both good and ill fortune. Thus *ἄμμορος* means 'deprived of μοῖρα,' the just due of mankind, and hence *ill-fated*, opposed to *μοιρηγενής* Γ 182 (q.v.). In Σ 489=ε 275 it simply means 'not partaking of.'

409. *κατακτανέουσιν* : Cobet, *M. C.* p. 330, denounces this form (which recurs Ξ 481, Σ 309) as a barbarism, due to a false analogy with forms like *κατέκτα, κατέκτανον, κατέκταθεν* : he is probably right in restoring *κατακτενέουσιν*.

411. *ἀφαρματούσῃ*, *losing*, as X 505. *χθόνα δύμεναι* like 19 γαίαν ἐδύτην.



ἔσται θαλπωρή, ἐπεὶ ἂν σύ γε πότμον ἐπίσπῃς,  
 ἄλλ' ἄχε' οὐδέ μοι ἔστι πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ.  
 ἦ τοι γὰρ πατέρ' ἄμὸν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,  
 ἐκ δὲ πόλιν πέρσεν Κιλικῶν ἐν ναιετάουσιν, 415  
 Θήβην ὑψίπυλον· κατὰ δ' ἔκτανεν Ἡετίωνα,  
 οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάριξε, σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῶι,  
 ἄλλ' ἄρα μιν κατέκτε· σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλέοισιν  
 ἦδ' ἐπὶ σῆμ' ἔχεεν· περὶ δὲ πτελέας ἐφύτευσαν  
 νύμφαι ὄρεστιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο. 420  
 οἳ δέ μοι ἐπὶ κασίγνητοι ἔσαν ἐν μεγάροισιν,  
 οἳ μὲν πάντες ἰῶι κίον ἡματι Ἀἴδος εἶσω·  
 πάντας γὰρ κατέπεφνε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς  
 βουσὶν ἐπ' εἰλιπόδεσσι καὶ ἀργεννῆις ὀέεσσι.

412. ἐπίσπῃ T. 414. ἐμὸν JOQ Lips. Cant. || ἦτοι μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸν πατέρ' ἔκτανε N. || κατέκτανε Q: ἀπέκτεινε GM. 415. ναιετάουσιν JO (e corr.) PQ Bar. Mor. Vr. c: ναιετώσαν Ar.: ναιετώσαν Ω. 418. κατέκτει S: κατέθηκε G. || συν τεύχεσι D, γρ. Harl. a. 419. ἔχευε(ν) DMORU. 423. γὰρ: δὲ P.

412. πότμον ἐπίσπῃς: see note on 321.

413. Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 514; the whole speech of Tekmessa there is worth comparison, as it is evidently full of reminiscences of this scene, many lines of which are quoted in the Sophoklean scholia.

414. ἄμὸν (al. ἄμὸν) is apparently a proto-Epic form of ἡμέτερον: but in all the passages where it occurs it may = 'mine,' not 'our'; and in some of them this sense is decidedly preferable, as in the present case and Θ 178. It looks as though ἄμὸς were assimilating an archaic form, whose real sense was only weakly supported by tradition.

418. It is a common custom among primitive nations to bury a warrior's arms with his dead body; it is needless to refer to more than the excavations at Mykene, where an extraordinary quantity of swords was found in the graves with the dead. So Elpenor prays, λ 74 ἀλλὰ με κακῆται σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄσά μοι ἔστιν: see μ 13. It is noteworthy that armour is not mentioned in any of the three full descriptions of Homeric funerals (Ψ 165-77, Ω 785-804, ω 63-84; in the case of Achilles his armour was of course given to be adjudged by the Greek captains, ω 85). But the idea that the departed warrior needed his arms in the next world

belongs rather to the time when the body was buried than when, as among Homeric and later Greeks, it was destroyed by burning. Thus the casual mention of arms and burning together, here and in λ, seems to indicate an irrational survival among newer customs of an older practice, which in the time of Thucydides (i. 8) had actually come to be considered Karian, i.e. barbarian. The same is the case with the burning of garments as a funeral rite (X 512).

419. The elm was regarded as a funeral tree, we are told, διὰ τὸ ἄκαρπον, like willows and poplars in the *Od.* (κ 510). Hence Virgil's *ulmus opaca, ingens*, the roosting-place of Dreams at the entrance of Orcus (*Aen.* vi. 283). The cypress has no such association in H. (it is mentioned only ε 64, ρ 340).

420. For the mountain nymphs cf. ζ 105, μ 132 (where they are daughters of the Sun), ι 154 (κοῦραι Διὸς as here), *Hymn. Ven.* 257 νύμφαι ὄρεσκόωιοι.

422. The masc. (neut.) ἰῶι occurs only here in H., but it is a genuine Greek form, attested by the Gortynian inser. The fem. ἰα is found also in Thessalian and Lesbian (Collitz 345. 22; 214. 12). The origin of the form is doubtful; some connect them with οἶος. See note on E 603.

μητέρα δ', ἣ βασίλευεν ὑπὸ Πλάκῳ ὑλῆεσση, 425  
 τὴν ἐπεὶ ἄρ' δεῦρ' ἤγαγ' ἄμ' ἄλλοισι κτεάτεσσιν,  
 ἄψ' ὃ γε τὴν ἀπέλυσε λαβὼν ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,  
 πατὴρ δ' ἐν μεγάροισι βάλ' Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα.  
 Ἐκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοι ἔσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ  
 ἡδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺν δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης· 430  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε καὶ αὐτοῦ μίμν' ἐπὶ πύργῳ,  
 μὴ παῖδ' ὀρφανικὸν θήῃς χήρην τε γυναικα·  
 λαὸν δὲ στήσον παρ' ἐρινεόν, ἔνθα μάλιστα  
 ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος·  
 τρὶς γὰρ τῇ γ' ἐλθόντες ἐπειρήσανθ' οἱ ἄριστοι 435  
 ἄμφ' Αἴαντε δῶκα καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἴδομενῆα  
 ἡδ' ἄμφ' Ἀτρεΐδας καὶ Τυδέος ἄλκιμον υἱόν·  
 ἣ πού τις σφιν ἐνισπε θεοπροπίων ἐν εἰδῶς,  
 ἣ νῦν καὶ αὐτῶν θυμὸς ἐποτρύνει καὶ ἀνώγει."  
 τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ· 440

426. τὴν ἄρ' ἐπεὶ Mose. 1. || κτεάτοις(ν) DRU. 428 om. Q. || βάλ': βάλετ'  
 P. 429. αὐτὰρ O. 430. παράκοιτις GMP (supr. η) U. 432. οείης  
 CGJLMNS Lips.: θή(ι)η(ι)ς Ar. Ω. 433-9 ab. Ar. 434. ἀμβατή Kallistratos.  
 435. τῇ γ' : τῇ(ι) δ' HPT Harl. b d, Par. b e h k : γρ. καὶ διὰ τοῦ δ καὶ διὰ τοῦ γ  
 A<sup>m</sup>. || ἐπειρήσαντό ο' ἄριστοι Mose. 1. 437. ἀτρεΐδα Ar., acc. to Ixion ap. Did.  
 438. τις : τι AMQT Vr. c. || θεοπροπίας CG, γρ. Harl. a : θεοπροπέων DJPQU  
 Lips. (Harl. a<sup>1</sup> ?) : θεοπροπίων R. 439. ἐν ἐνίοις ἢ νῦ καὶ αὐτοῦς Schol. A.

425. 'Non exemplum meminī, dici  
 reginam βασιλεύειν' Heyne. But in λ  
 285 Chloris, Nestor's mother, Πύλον  
 βασίλευε, and the common βασιλεία  
 implies the verb.

428. πατρός, her father's. βάλ' Ἄρ-  
 τεμις : cf. 205.

429-32. For imitations of these famous  
 lines, see (besides Soph. *Aj.* 514, already  
 referred to) Eur. *Hcl.* 278, *Hec.* 280,  
*Heracl.* 229; Ovid *Her.* iii. 51; Prop. i.  
 11. 23; Ter. *Andria* i. 5. 60.

433-9 were athetized by Ar. on the  
 grounds (1) that it is not fitting that  
 Andromache should act like a rival com-  
 mander (ἀντιστρατηγεῖν) to Hector; (2)  
 that it is not true that the wall is repre-  
 sented as specially accessible at this spot;  
 nor are the enemy now near the walls.  
 A modern reader will probably feel with  
 more force the objection that we are  
 presented with an anticlimax after the  
 noble outburst of the preceding lines.  
 But perhaps this is not a more valid

criticism than the reasons of Ar. There  
 was a legend—which of course may have  
 grown out of these words—that when  
 Apollo and Poseidon built the walls of  
 Troy the mortal Aiakos helped them at  
 this point of the circuit; see Pind. *O.*  
 viii. 31-46, where Apollo says to Aiakos  
 Πέργαμος ἀμφὶ τεαῖς, ἥρος, χερὸς ἐργασίας  
 ἀλίσκεται. This is the θεοπροπίων re-  
 ferred to in 438. For the ἐρινεός as a  
 landmark see A 167, X 145; it stood in  
 the plain outside the wall, so that this  
 line seems inconsistent with the preced-  
 ing αὐτοῦ μίμν' ἐπὶ πύργῳ, an argument  
 for the interpolation of the passage. It  
 is probable that the events referred to  
 were related in the *Kypria*; the epitome,  
 after telling of an embassy to the  
 Trojans, goes on ὥς δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν  
 ἐκείνοι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τειχομαχοῦσιν. It is  
 curious, however, that Achilles should  
 not be named among the leaders. The  
*Iliad* allows no place for such an attack  
 since the quarrel. For another allusion  
 to earlier events see I 352.

“ἡ καὶ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μέλει, γύναι· ἀλλὰ μάλ’ αἰνῶς  
 αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωιάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους,  
 αἶ κε κακὸς ὥς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο·  
 οὐδέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς  
 αἰεὶ καὶ πρότοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι, 445  
 ἀρνύμενος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἡδ’ ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ.  
 εὖ γὰρ ἐγὼ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν·  
 ἔσσεται ἡμαρ ὅτ’ ἂν ποτ’ ὀλώληι Ἴλιος ἱρὴ  
 καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.  
 ἀλλ’ οὐ μοι Τρώων τόσσον μέλει ἄλγος ὁπίσσω, 450  
 οὐτ’ αὐτῆς Ἑκάβης οὔτε Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος  
 οὔτε κασιγνήτων, οἳ κεν πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ  
 ἐν κονίησι πέσοιεν ὑπ’ ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν,  
 ὅσσον σεῖ’, ὅτε κέν τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων  
 δακρυόεσσαν ἄγῃται, ἐλεύθερον ἡμαρ ἀπούρας. 455  
 καί κεν ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἐοῦσα πρὸς ἄλλης ἰστὸν ὑφαίνης,  
 καί κεν ὕδωρ φορέηις Μεσσηϊδος ἢ Ὑπερείης

442. τρωϊδας R. 443. γρ. καὶ κακὸς αἶ Eust. 444. ἀνώγει JNQR (γρ.  
 ἄνωγεν). 446. ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ Q. 447. γὰρ: μὲν CGPQ Vr. b, Mosc. 2. ||  
 τότε: τό γε Mosc. 1. 449. ἔμμελίου CL. 451. οὐτ’ ἐκάβης αὐτῆς H.  
 453. ὑπ’ ἐπ’ Mosc. 1. 454. σεῖο GJOT (A *supr.*). 456. ἄρρεϊ οὔσα CQT  
 Vr. A, Mosc. 1 2. || ἰοῦσα (*supr.* ἐοῦσα) HO. || ἄλλαις G. || ὑφαίνη(ι)ς P Lips.<sup>1</sup>  
 Mosc. 3: ὑφαίνεις DQ (*supr.* οἱ) U: ὑφαίνοις Ω. 457. φορέης LO: φορέεις A  
 (*supr.* οἱ) PQ: φορέοις Ω.

441. ὅτι πρὸς τὴν λέγουσαν “ἀλλ’ ἄγε  
 νῦν ἐλέαιρε” καὶ “μὴ παῖδ’ ὀρφανικὸν  
 θεῖης” οἰκείως ἀπήντηκεν· ὁ δὲ διασκευ-  
 αστῆς ἐπλανήθη, An.; i.e. the reference  
 in Hector’s words is to 431–2, and has  
 been disturbed by the interpolation of  
 433–9—an argument hardly borne out  
 by the facts. (διασκευάζειν in the  
 scholia = *interpolate*, Lehrs *Ar.*<sup>2</sup> 334.  
 But this sense seems to be derived from  
 some tradition of an ‘arrangement’ of  
 the whole text.)

442. So X 105, under similar circum-  
 stances. ἑλκεσιπέπλους: for the form of  
 the compound see *H. G.* § 124 c, 126. 2.  
 444. οὐδὲ . . ἄνωγεν, *litotes*, like οὐκ  
 ἔαν, ‘forbids.’

446. Hector’s only object is honour,  
 as he despairs of final success. ἀρνύ-  
 μενος: A 159.

447–9 = Δ 163–5, q. v.

453. The opt. πέσοιεν throws into the  
 background the fate of all but Andro-  
 mache, which by the subj. ἄγῃται is

emphasized as a fact vividly foreseen.  
 ὑφαίνεις and φορέεις which most edd.  
 read in 456–7 would present less vividly  
 the secondary consequences; but the  
 whole tone of the passage seems to call  
 for the prophetic subj. here, carried on  
 as it is in εἴπωσιν. Bekker first adopted  
 it in his text. On this point ms. author-  
 ity counts for nothing.

455. H. uses ἐλεύθερος only in this  
 phrase (II 831, T 193) and κρητῆρα  
 ἐλεύθερον, inf. 528. Cf. δούλιον ἡμαρ  
 463, and many phrases in which ἡμαρ is  
 used to express a state.

456. πρὸς ἄλλης, at the bidding of  
 another woman. For this use cf. A 239  
 (*H. G.* § 208).

457. There was no uniform tradition  
 in later Greece as to the position of  
 these fountains. Messeis was variously  
 assigned to Messenia, to the Laconian  
 Therapne (Paus. iii. 20. 1), and to  
 ‘Argos.’ The context clearly shews  
 that both fountains are in Argos; the

πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη, κρατερὴ δ' ἐπικείσεται ἀνάγκη·  
καί ποτέ τις εἴπησιν ἰδὼν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσαν·  
'Εκτορος ἦδε γυνή, ὃς ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι 460  
Τρώων ἵπποδάμων, ὅτε Ἴλιον ἀμφεμάχοντο.  
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει, σοὶ δ' αὖ νέον ἔσσεται ἄλγος  
χρήτει τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρός, ἀμύνειν δούλιον ἦμαρ.  
ἀλλὰ με τεθνηῶτα χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτοι,  
πρὶν γέ τι σῆς τε βοῆς σοῦ θ' ἐλκηθμοῖο πυθέσθαι." 465  
ὥς εἰπὼν οὐ παίδος ὀρέξατο φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ·  
ἄψ δ' ὁ πᾶς πρὸς κόλπον ἐυζώνοιο τιθήνης  
ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων, πατρὸς φίλου ὅψιν αὐτοχθείς,  
ταρβήσας χαλκὸν τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἵππιοχαίτην,  
δαινὸν ἀπ' ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος νεύοντα νοήσας. 470  
ἐκ δ' ἐγέλασσε πατὴρ τε φίλος καὶ πότνια μήτηρ.  
αὐτίκ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς κόρυθ' εἴλετο φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ,  
καὶ τὴν μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ παμφανόωσαν,  
αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ὃν φίλον υἱὸν ἐπεὶ κύσε πῆλὲ τε χερσίν,  
εἶπεν ἐπευζάμενος Δίί τ' ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσιν. 475

459. καὶ τότε H. 461. ἀμφὶ μάχοντο Vr. c, Mosc. 3. 463. χῆτοι P.  
464. ΤΕΘΝΗΩΤΑ [HL] Q Vr. b (and *supr.* AO): ΤΕΘΝΕΩΤΑ Ω. || καλύπτει DP:  
καλύψαι J (*supr.* πτοι) NS: καλύψοι Q. 465. ΓΕ ΤΙ Dion. Sid. *al.*: γ' ἔτι Ptol.  
Ask.: ΓΕ ΤΟΙ PQ Mosc. 1 (ΓΕ ΤΙ or Γ' ἔτι Ω). || ἔλκυθμοῖο C (*supr.* Η) D (τ' ἔλκ.)  
GMNPU Mosc. 1 3. 467. ΤΙΘΗΝΗΣ: γρ. γυναικὸς Harl. a. 468. φίλον N.  
469. τε ἠδὲ GJOPQT: τ' ἠδὲ N. 470. ΚΟΡΥΘΟΣ: κορυφᾶς Mosc. 2. 474.  
Πῆλὲ: πάλλε O<sup>1</sup>. 475. εἶπε τ' N: εἶπετ' J: εἶπε δ' Ar.

probability seems to be that the Thessalian Argos is meant, for the best tradition, that of Pindar, places Hypereis near Phere (*P.* iv. 125 ἐγγὺς μὲν Φέρης κράναν Ἰπερηίδα λιπών). So also Strabo ix. 439; but in 432 he says that both fountains, Hypereis and Messeis, were shewn near Pharsalia. In the Catalogue (B 734, q.v.) Ἰπέρεια is near Ormenion. However, the disjunctive ἥ makes it just possible to take Argos in the widest sense, of Greece generally, and to locate Messeis in the Peloponnesos. Ar. remarks that in obedience to this line οἱ νεώτεροι (tragedians, etc.) regularly introduce the captive Andromache as bearing water. This is done by Eur. *Andr.* 166 ἐκ χρυσηλάτων τευχέων χερὶ σπείρουσαν Ἀχελώϊον ὀρόσον.

459. The subj. here is a future tinged with emotion: hence its use in threats (*H. G.* § 275) to which a gloomy pro-

phesy such as this is closely akin. Cf. also *M. and T.* 284.

463. ἀμύνειν is added expegetically, 'such a husband for saving thee from slavery,' cf. β 60 ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ νό τι τοιοῖο ἀμυνόμεν. See also O 254.

465. γ' ἔτι, though it has been defended, does not give so good a sense as ΓΕ ΤΙ. πυθέσθαι with the gen. of the thing seems here to mean not, as usual, 'hear the news of,' but 'hear' directly; otherwise the phrase is intolerably weak. Hentze compares O 224, where, however, the more usual meaning is admissible. Another case will be found in the phrase πυθέσθαι ἀγγελίης, *to hear news*, which occurs P 641, 685, Σ 19. For ο' ἔλκηθμοῖο Nauck conj. τε κλανθμοῖο, which, however, is not an improvement; βοῆς and ἐλκηθμοῖο go together by hendiadys. ἔλκειν is regularly used of captive women, with at least a suggestion of ravishment; cf. X 62, 65, λ 580.



“Ζεὺ ἄλλοι τε θεοί, δότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε γενέσθαι  
παῖδ’ ἐμόν, ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ περ, ἀριπρεπέα Τρώεσσι,  
ᾧδε βίην τ’ ἀγαθὸν καὶ Ἰλίου ἱφι ἀνάσσειν·  
καὶ ποτέ τις εἴποι ‘πατρός γ’ ὅδε πολλὸν ἀμείνων’  
ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα· φέροι δ’ ἕναρα βροτόεντα  
κτείνας δῆϊον ἄνδρα, χαρεῖη δὲ φρένα μήτηρ.”

480

ὥς εἰπὼν ἀλόχοιο φίλης ἐν χερσὶν ἔθηκε  
παῖδ’ ἐόν· ἡ δ’ ἄρα μιν κηῶδεϊ δέξατο κόλπωι  
δακρυόεν γελάσασα· πόσις δ’ ἐλέησε νοήσας,  
χειρὶ τέ μιν κατέρεξε, ἔπος τ’ ἔφατ’ ἐκ τ’ ὀνόμαζε·  
“δαιμονίη, μή μοι τι λήν ἀκαχίζεο θυμῶι.”

485

477. ἀριπρεπέα: A has ἐνι *supr.* above ἀρι (T.W.A.). 478. ΒΙΗΝ: ΒΟΗΝ D. || τ’ *om.* RU. || τ’ ἀγαθόν: ἀγαθόν τε DGHMNQT *al.*, γρ. A: τ’ ἀγαθόν τε C. 479. εἴποι (A *supr.* but dots over οἱ, T.W.A.) JP Ven. B, γρ. Mosc. 2: εἴπη L: εἴπησις Ω. || γ’ ὅδε Ar. J [S?]: ὅγε Par. e: δ’ ὅγε Ω. || δ’ ὅδε πολλὸν ἀρείων Themist. *Rhet. Gr.* iii. 154. 480. πολέμου δ’ H. || φέροι HP (or φέρη?). 482. ἐν χερσὶν ἔθηκε: χερσὶν ἐπέθηκε Q. 484. ἐλάειρε DMQRU Lips. Mosc. 1. 485. κατέρεψε G. 486. μοι γε G. || λήν NP.

478. For Ἰλίου Bentley conj. λαοῦ, Brandreth *Ἰάσσει*, in order to give a F to ἱφι. But it is remarkable that ἱφι, unlike the other forms from the stem ἵς, never absolutely requires the F, and in five other passages does not admit it (B 720, Δ 287, E 606, M 367, λ 284; see note on Γ 375). It is therefore best to leave the text. Perhaps the line may be interpolated, as Heyne suggests, in allusion to the name Astyanax. It is added *asyndetically*, so that τε . . . καὶ belong together, co-ordinating βίην ἀγαθὸν to ἀνάσσειν, as though for ἀνάσσοντα, a rather harsh *anacoluthon*. The discrepancy in the mss. as to the position of τε suggests that it would be better to omit the particle altogether.

479. εἴποι, not εἴπησις, is doubtless the right reading, as Dawes pointed out, for several reasons. (1) Schol. A (Nikanor) on the line runs τὸ ἐξῆς, ‘καὶ ποτέ τις εἴποι ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα’: therefore εἴποι must have been the reading of Ar. The same words are quoted in Schol. A on N 352. (2) Out of 120 passages where πατρός occurs in H. the α is nowhere else short. (3) The confident prediction expressed by the subj. (cf. 459) is quite out of place among the optatives of the prayer. The mistake no doubt arose from a reminiscence of 459. γ’ ὅδε, the reading of Ar., is also clearly superior to δ’ ὅγε.

480. ἀνιόντα appears to be governed by εἴποι in the sense ‘say of him as he returns’; but this construction seems to be quite unique. The possible alternative is to translate ‘say to him’; though this is hardly sufficiently supported by the passages quoted, M 60 (=210, N 725), P 237, 334, 651, T 375, ψ 91. In all of these εἶπε stands immediately with its object. We may, however, compare τ 334 πολλοὶ τέ μιν ἐσθλὸν ἔειπον: from which we may explain the clause here “πατρός . . . ἀμείνων” as a sort of object-clause expressing the content of the verb like ἐσθλόν. So we have ἐν εἰπεῖν τινα, to speak well of a person, α 302, and πεπνυμένα βάζεις βασιλῆας, I 58 (see note). These lines cannot fail to recall the famous prayer in Soph. *Aj.* 550—

ὦ παῖ, γένοιτο πατρός εὐτυχέστερος,  
τὰ δ’ ἄλλ’ ὅμοιος, καὶ γένοι’ ἂν οὐ κακός

and its imitation by Virgil in *Aen.* xii. 435.

483. κηῶδεϊ, *fragrant*, only here (and *Hymn. Cer.* 13 ?), cf. κηῶεις Γ 382.

484. δακρυόεν γελάσασα, *smiling through her tears*, a deservedly famous phrase, but hardly like the oldest Epic style. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* vii. 2. 9 κλαυσί-γέλως εἶχε πάντας.

486. Brandreth notes that with the exception of I 229 the ι of λήν is always

οὐ γάρ τίς μ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν ἀνὴρ Ἄϊδι προῖάψει·  
μοῖραν δ' οὐ τινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν,  
οὐ κακόν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ἐπὴν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται.  
ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε, 490  
ἰστόν τ' ἡλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε  
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει  
πᾶσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα, τοῖ Ἰλῖωι ἐγγεγάασιν."

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας κόρυθ' εἴλετο φαίδιμος Ἐκτωρ  
ἵππουριν· ἄλοχος δὲ φίλῃ οἰκόνδε βεβήκει 495  
ἐντροπαλιζομένη, θαλερόν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα.  
αἰψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκανε δόμους ἐν ναιετάοντας  
Ἐκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο, κιχήσατο δ' ἔνδοθι πολλὰς  
ἀμφιπόλους, τῆσιν δὲ γόον πάσῃσιν ἐνώρσεν.  
αἱ μὲν ἔτι ζῶν γόον Ἐκτορα ὦι ἐνὶ οἴκῳ· 500  
οὐ γάρ μιν ἔτ' ἔφαντο ὑπότροπον ἐκ πολέμοιο  
ἵεσθαι προφυγόντα μένος καὶ χεῖρας Ἀχαιῶν.  
οὐδὲ Πάρις δῆθ' οὐκ ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι δόμοισιν,  
ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἐπεὶ κατέδυ κλυτὰ τεύχεα ποικίλα χαλκῶι,

493. τοῖ: οἱ G. || ἐκγεγάασιν CGMR Vr. b<sup>1</sup>, Mosc. 1. 499. πάσχισιν: πᾶσιν P: πάντησιν U. 501. ἔτι φάντο Mor. 502. ἵζεσθαι Q.

long in the *Iliad*, even in thesis, unless preceded by *τι* (the exceptions in *Od.* are δ 371, ν 243, π 243, ψ 175). The shortening of the vowel evidently began only towards the end of the Epic period. The *τι* can always be omitted. For the tone of remonstrance and reproach in *δαιμονίῃ* see on 407, A 561.

487. ὑπὲρ αἶσαν: see B 155. Ἄϊδι προῖάψει: A 3.

488. For the use of the middle perfect participle see X 219, ι 455; in α 18 *πεφυγμένος ἦεν ἀέθλων* the gen. implies escape from troubles in which the sufferer was actually involved; the accus. implies complete avoidance (v. Nitzsch on α 18). For the periphrastic perf. cf. Ψ 343 *πεφυλαγμένος εἶναι*, and in the active E 873.

489. τὰ πρῶτα, *once for all*, see A 235.

490-3 recur with slight variations in α 356-9, φ 350-3; and for the last line and a half cf. also T 137, λ 352-3. The present context is that which they suit best (see scholia on α 356), and if there has been any copying it is from here. Imitations will be found in Aisch. *Sept.* 200, Eur. *Herac.* 711. τὰ σ' αὐτῆς, not τὰ σαντῆς, in accordance with the canon of Ar. that the compound

reflexive pronouns are not found in H. The elision of the *α* of *σά* is, however, not very natural, and no doubt Payne Knight's conj. *τέ' αὐτῆς* is right; see on A 185.

492. ἐποίχεσθαι, properly of weaving only; cf. A 31. But the word came to be used vaguely, of 'going about' one's work as we say. Cf. ν 34 *δόρπον ἐποίησθαι*, ρ 227, σ 363 *ἔργον*.

493. For πᾶσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα Hoffmann conj. *πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί*, which is probably right; as it not only admits the *F* of *Ἰλῖωι*, but brings the phrase into agreement with the similar passages, X 422, α 359, λ 353, φ 353, ψ 61 (*μάλισθ', οἱ Bentley*).

500. γόον, an anomalous form, perhaps an aor. from the noun *γῶος*: so possibly *ὄπλεσθαι* to get ready, from *ὄπλον*, and *θέρμετο* grew warm, from *θερμός*: cf. *κτύπε* by *κτυπέω* Θ 75; see H. G. § 32. 3. Cf. also the pf. part. *πεφυζότες*, from *φύζα*, and other possible instances, ib. § 26. 5. Others regard it as a mistaken form for *γῶων* (*γοῶω*) which occurs κ 567. Brandreth reads *γῶαν*, and so Fick, who compares *γέλαν* in a lyric fragment (Bergk *P. L. fr adesp.* 77).

σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἀνὰ ἄστν, ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πεποιθώς.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ,  
 δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίοιο κροαίνων,  
 εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι ἐνρρείος ποταμοῖο,  
 κυδιόων· ὑψοῦ δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται  
 ὤμοις αἰσσονται· ὁ δ' ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθώς,  
 ῥίμφά ἐ γούνα φέρει μετὰ τ' ἦθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων·  
 ὧς υἱὸς Πριάμοιο Πάρις κατὰ Περγάμου ἄκρης,  
 τεύχεσι παμφαίνων ὥς τ' ἡλέκτωρ, ἐβεβήκει

505

510

505. **σεύετ'** N. || **ἔπειε'** U.**φάτνης** Et. Mag. 51. 11.**εείει** C. || **πεδίοινδε** Et. Mag. 51.**ἀναγνώστης** Ἀριστάρχου An. : **ρίμφας** T.506. **ἀκοστήσας** : **οἱ δὲ ἀγοστήσας** Schol. A. ||**δεσμὸν δ'** G. || **δεσμὰ διαρρήξας** Et. Mag. 51. ||511. **ρίμφ'** ἐὰ Zen. : **ρίμφας** Ποσειδώνιος ὁ

505. With this and the following lines compare X 21-23, and for the whole famous simile, Virg. *Aen.* xi. 492-7. The whole passage recurs in O 263-8, but there can be no doubt that it is in its right place here.

506. **στατός**, *stalled*, cf. the word *sta-bulum*. **ἀκοστήσας**: Hesych. *ἀκοστή· κριθή παρὰ Κυπρίοις*. Schol. A *κυρίως δὲ πᾶσαι αἱ τροφαὶ ἀκοσταὶ καλοῦνται παρὰ Θεσσαλοῖς*. The variant *ἀγοστήσας* was explained to mean 'befouled,' from an imaginary *ἀγοστός*=*ρύπος*. The former explanation must be accepted, though the word *ἀκοστή* is not known elsewhere.

507. Cf. X 23 *θέησι τιτανόμενος πεδίοιο*. On the form *θεῖω* cf. Schulze *Q. E.* 277, where it is referred to a root *θηF*=Skt. *dhāv*, a longer form of *θεF*, so that we should write *θή(F)η* here. Others write *θεύω* for *θέFω* in Homer, as a proto-Epic form, on the analogy of the Aeolic *πνεύω*, and the fut. *θεύσεσθαι*. But *F* passes into *υ* only before a consonant. See van L. *Ench.* p. 414. The form recurs only in the infin. *θελεῖν*, for which we can always write *θέμεν*.

508. *εἰωθώς* apparently means that the horse is eager to resume his accustomed habits. But the phrase is curious. Agar, who discusses the construction of the simile in *C. R.* xii. 431-3, comes to the conclusion that the lines should be read in the order 511, 509 (with *κυδιόωνθ'*), 510 (with *πέποιθε*), 508, thus getting rid of the excessively harsh anacoluthon in 511, ὁ δέ . . ἐ (the nearest analogies, B 353, E 135, a 275, are not satisfactory), and making *εἰωθώς λούεσθαι* explain *πέποιθεν*, 'conscious of his beauty, because he is wont to bathe.'

The simile thus becomes 'smoother, but the dislocation is not adequately explained.

511. *ἦθεα*, *haunts*; so the word is used in ξ 411 of the sties in which the swine sleep, and frequently for 'dwelling-places' by Herodotos (v. 15, etc.). **νομόν**, *pasturage*. Virgil takes *ἵππων* as fem., *in pastus armentaque tendit equarum*, but this is not necessary, nor does it suit the point of the simile.

The swing of the dactylic verse has been universally recognized as harmonizing with the horse's gallop, like Virgil's *quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum*. The effect depends not only on the rhythm, but partly on the nasal consonants and the *ρ*. It is dangerous to lay too great stress, however, on the rhythm; Mr. Nicholson has pointed out that the two passages which in all Homer shew the largest consecutive number of purely dactylic lines (five) occur in the description of Patroklos' funeral! (Ψ 135-9, 166-70). Our habit of neglecting quantity and attending only to stress misleads us into reading dactyls into 'triple' time instead of 'common' time, ~ instead of ~. Hence a dactylic hexameter is to us a *galloping* rhythm—to the Greek it was rather a stately *marching* rhythm. The so-called 'cyclic' dactyl of the lyric poets is of course in triple time, but it is not epic.

513. **ἡλέκτωρ**, a name of the sun, cf. T 398, *Ἥμην. Ἀρ.* 369 *ἡλέκτωρ Ὀπείρων*. The word is evidently cognate with *ἡλεκτρον* (-os) (and possibly *ἡλεκτρών*, Hehn pp. 265, 491), but in what sense it would be rash to say. Empedokles uses

καρχαλόων, ταχέες δὲ πόδες φέρον. αἶψα δ' ἔπειτα  
 Ἔκτορα δῖον ἔτετμεν ἀδελφεόν, εὖτ' ἄρ' ἔμελλε 515  
 στρέψεσθ' ἐκ χώρης ὅθι ἦι ὀάριζε γυναικί.  
 τὸν πρότερος προσέειπεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής·  
 “ἦθεϊ, ἦ μάλα δὴ σε καὶ ἐσσύμενον κατερύκω  
 διθύνων, οὐδ' ἦλθον ἐναΐσιμον, ὥς ἐκέλευες.”  
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ· 520  
 “δαιμόνι, οὐκ ἂν τίς τοι ἀνὴρ, ὅς ἐναΐσιμος εἴη,  
 ἔργον ἀτιμήσειε μάχης, ἐπεὶ ἄλκιμός ἐσσι·  
 ἀλλὰ ἐκὼν μεθίης τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλεις· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κῆρ  
 ἄχνηται ἐν θυμῷ, ὅθ' ὑπὲρ σέθεν αἴσχε' ἀκούω 525  
 πρὸς Τρώων, οἳ ἔχουσι πολλὸν πόνον εἵνεκα σείο.  
 ἀλλ' ἵομεν· τὰ δ' ὀπισθεν ἀρεσσόμεθ', αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς  
 δῶμῃ ἐπουρανίοισι θεοῖς αἰεγενέτησι  
 κρητῆρα στήσασθαι ἐλευθέρον ἐν μεγάροισιν,  
 ἐκ Τροίης ἐλάσαντας ἐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς.”

516. στρέψας J: στρέψασθαι G. 519. αἰνέσιμον NPQ. || ἐκέλευας GNOQ.  
 521. αἰνέσιμος MNPQ. 522. τοῦργον Vr. b. 523. μεθίης JNPQ Lips.<sup>1</sup> Vr.  
 b: μεθίεις Ω. 525. σοῖο P. 526. τὰ δ': τὸ δ' N Vr. b. 528. κρατῆρα  
 R. | στήσασθαι HQR Vr. b. 529. ἐλάσαντες R (supr. α): ἐλάσασιν G.

it as a synonym of fire, ἡλέκτωρ τε χθών  
 τε καὶ οὐρανὸς ἡδὲ θάλασσα.

514. καρχαλόων must mean 'laugh-  
 ing with self-satisfaction'; so K 565, ψ 1,  
 59. But in Γ 43 it means 'scoffing' (in  
 later Greek καχάω: Lat. *cachinnus*).

516. ὀάριζε: cf. X 127.

518. ἦ μάλα δὴ: Paris exaggerates  
 an imaginary accusation by way of  
 'fishing for a compliment'; a most  
 vivid touch, which is partly lost if we  
 put a note of interrogation at the end  
 (cf. Schd. A τὸ ἦ πενστικῶς καὶ ἡθικῶς).

519. ἐναΐσιμος both here and in 521  
 can be expressed by the Lat. *iustus*  
 (here *iusto tempore*). The connecting  
 link is the idea of 'proper measure'; cf.  
 ὑπὲρ αἶσαν, and note on A 418.

522. ἔργον, what you effect in battle;  
 cf. Δ 470, 539.

523. τό is of course not the article,  
 but the accusative representing the  
 following object-clause. On the ex-  
 pression κῆρ ἐν θυμῷ Hentze remarks  
 that it virtually means 'my heart within  
 me.' The Homeric man half personifies  
 his own thoughts as something distinct  
 from him; hence such phrases as τίη μοι  
 ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός; εἶπε πρὸς δν  
 μεγαλήτορα θυμῶν: compare the expres-  
 sion in the Psalms, 'I commune with

my heart.' So in Arabic *nafs*, 'spirit,'  
 is used for 'self' in all senses. It is  
 wrong to compare more or less rhetorical  
 phrases like 'in my heart of hearts.'  
 μεθίης or μεθείς, see note on E 880.

524. ἀκούω must here be subjunctive,  
 as A 80, etc., if we write δέθ' = ὅτε. But  
 ὅ θ' as a rel. = ὅτι τε would be defensible,  
 and then ἀκούω would be indic.

526. τὰ θέ, the rest, i.e. the hard  
 words he has had to speak to Paris, now  
 and previously. ἀρεσσόμεθα, I will  
 make up for; exactly as Δ 362.

528. στήσασθαι, set up as the centre of  
 a banquet where the freeing of Troy  
 should be celebrated by libations to the  
 gods. Cf. I 202 κρητῆρα καθίστα. For  
 the middle Paley compares Theokr. vii.  
 150 κρητῆρ' Ἡρακλῆϊ γέρον ἐστάσατο  
 Χείρων. ἐλευθέρον, only here in H.  
 joined to another word than ἡμαρ (see  
 455). The origin of the word, and  
 therefore its exact meaning here, are  
 doubtful, though a vague phrase like  
 'bowl of deliverance' is near enough.

529. ἐλάσαντας, accus. because the  
 part. is to be taken closely with the  
 infin. στήσασθαι, 'in honour of the  
 driving away.' The dat. would mean  
 'to set up the bowl, after having driven  
 away.' See H. G. § 240.



## H

### INTRODUCTION

THE seventh book falls naturally into the two parts indicated by the Greek title. After a short introduction (1-54), which by various awkwardnesses betrays itself as a transitional passage added to join Z to the following narrative, the single combat of Aias and Hector occupies more than half the rest (55-322), and is then followed by a distinct section which relates the burning of the dead and the building of the wall round the Greek camp. The two parts must be treated separately, as each has its own difficulties.

The first part may be fairly counted among the best pieces of the *Iliad*. The casting of the lots is a highly spirited and picturesque scene, and the dialogue between Hector and Aias is admirably characteristic of the two heroes; it is only in the words of Menelaos (see note on 98) that we find anything at variance with the general tone of the epos. It is hardly likely that any doubts would have been suggested as to the genuineness of this part but for the existence of Book III. But if we take it in connexion with that book, the inconsistency of the two is striking. It is in itself somewhat surprising that two duels should be fought on the same day; but when we remember the very remarkable manner in which the first had ended, by an unpardonable violation of a truce made with all possible solemnities, and then find that the second is entered upon by the two parties without apology or reproach, the difficulty is one which can hardly be explained. Nor can it be smoothed over by the excuse of artistic propriety; for no canon of art will justify what we have before us; a duel which is proposed as a decisive ordeal, designed to finish the war, is succeeded at the distance of a few hours by another which is a mere trial of prowess, entered upon ἐξ ἔριδος, as is expressly declared. This surely approaches near to the limits of an anticlimax. And the sense of inconsistency with the third book is infinitely heightened by the fact that we do find in our text a brief allusion in Hector's words, 69-72, to the violation of the oaths. If this discreditable incident had been absolutely ignored, it might have been possible to explain the fact by saying that the third book, though in the chronological sequence only a few hours distant, is, in fact, to a hearer separated by a much longer interval, so that the whole of the first episode might have been considered to have served its purpose and been forgotten. Hector's almost cynical allusion seems as if designed to exclude this possibility, and to bring the incongruity into the most glaring light.

In any case, then, we must undoubtedly begin by cutting out these lines, while at the same time it may be remarked that there is in the mss. what

may be a valuable hint to shew that they were not originally to be found here; for in line 73 the reading of all the mss. is ὑμῖν μὲν γὰρ, for which editors have accepted the reading of Aristarchos, ὑμῖν δ' ἐν γὰρ. It hardly needs pointing out that the δέ is required only if 69-72 stand in the text, while if they be cut out the speech runs on quite naturally with μὲν γὰρ in 73.

We have, in fact, two parallel and independent duel-episodes which have been strung into the continuous story by no more than this bare and simple reference; a naïve device which has at least the advantage of giving us good reason to believe that neither of the two has been seriously tampered with. It is evident that the diaskeuast relied chiefly upon the length of the intervening episode to soften the incongruity which is evident to the analytical reader.

It will be seen that this duel is, unlike that of Menelaos and Paris, well suited to the story of the Menis. As more than one allusion shews (113, 226), it is the absence of Achilles which emboldens Hector to give the challenge, and makes the Greeks hesitate to accept it. And though the subjects are so similar, neither account seems to have borrowed from the other. It is impossible to say that either is the older; but as they stand in the Menis, it is Γ, not Η, which is the intruder.

We now pass to the second part of the book, lines 323-482, where the difficulties are of a more serious nature. Controversy has long raged round the building of the wall by the Greeks in the tenth year of the siege. Thucydides (i. 11) seems to make the fortification date from the landing in Troas, and the words of Ξ 31-2 imply that the wall was built when the ships were first drawn up on the land. It has been argued that, though the wall may, according to the tradition, have been built at the time of the first landing, yet it might with poetical propriety be brought in at this point of a poem which designs to give a complete picture of the siege in the space of a few weeks; just as Priam may thus be defended for not knowing by sight the Greek heroes before the Teichoscopy (see introduction to Γ). But if poetical propriety is to be made the standard, we should look for some more obvious motive for the selection of this point for the first building. The Greeks have met with no reverses; their victories so far have been unchequered; and if it be replied that the absence of Achilles would be enough to make them anxious as to their position, it is strange that there should be no allusion to such a feeling in the speech of Nestor, from which it could hardly be absent if the poet had it in his mind. Further, the whole description of the building is very hurried and even obscure, little resembling the style in which an event of importance to the future of the story is generally told.

We shall, in fact, see when we come to the later books that there has been a fusion on a large scale of two different versions of the *Iliad*—an older form in which the camp was unfortified, a later in which it was surrounded by a wall and moat. Hitherto the fighting has been entirely in the open plain, so that no inconsistency on this ground has been felt. But in Θ we have an attack on the camp belonging to the poem which has the walls. The imminence of this makes some preparation necessary, and hence the present passage, a perfunctory and shame-faced makeshift.

No doubt pieces of older poetry are incorporated in it. We have already

(Introduction to Z) seen reason to suppose that the scene in the assembly (345-65) is out of place here. As Erhardt has well pointed out, the allusions to the breach of the oaths in 352, 402, 411, as well as the words of Hector in Z 326, alike indicate that the proposal to surrender Helen is really the sequel of the other duel, and came originally somewhere between the end of Γ and the beginning of H. Nor is there any reason to doubt that we have old material in the truce, the burial of the dead, and the market-scene at the end of the book—all of them would suit any point of the war. The curious scene in Olympos (442-64) is closely related to the opening lines of M—another instance of a dual version, though in this case both alternatives seem late. In fact all the second part of the book is like a mosaic of fragments not too skilfully worked together. One result is an obscurity in the chronology (see on 381) not to be paralleled in Homer.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Η

Ἕκτορος καὶ Αἴαντος μονομαχία. νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσις.

ὥς εἰπὼν πυλέων ἐξέσσυτο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ,  
 τῶι δ' ἄμ' Ἀλέξανδρος κί' ἀδελφεός· ἐν δ' ἄρα θυμῶι  
 ἀμφοτέρωι μέμασαν πολεμίζειν ἡδὲ μάχεσθαι.  
 ὥς δὲ θεὸς ναύτησιν ἐελδομένοισιν ἔδωκεν  
 οὔρον, ἐπεὶ κε κάμωσιν ἐνξέστης ἐλάτῃσι 5  
 πόντον ἐλαύνοντες, καμάτῳ δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα λέλυνται,  
 ὥς ἄρα τῶ Τρώεσσιν ἐελδομένοισι φανήτην.  
 ἐνθ' ἐλέτην ὁ μὲν υἱὸν Ἀρηϊθόοιο ἀνακτος,  
 Ἄρνηι ναιετάοντα Μενέσθιον, ὃν κορυνήτης  
 γεῖνατ' Ἀρηϊθοὸς καὶ Φυλομέδουσα βοῶπις· 10  
 Ἕκτωρ δ' Ἡϊονῆα βάλ' ἔγχρῃ ὀξυόεντι  
 αὐχέν' ὑπὸ στεφάνῃς ἐνχάλκου, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα.  
 Γλαῦκος δ' Ἴππολόχοιο πᾶϊς, Λυκίων ἀγὸς ἀνδρῶν,

3. πολειζέμεν H. 5. ἐπεὶ κε κάμωσιν Ar. ACJ King's Par. d<sup>1</sup>, Mosc. 1, Ven. B: ἐπὶν κε κάμωσι Sidonios (ἄλλοι *ap. Did.*) TU Mosc. 2: ἐπεὶ κεκάμωσι Cant.: ἐπὶν κεκάμωσι Ω (ἐπειᾶν? Q, ἐπᾶν G, ἐπᾶν D) and ἐν τισι *ap. An.* (cf. A 168). || εὐξέστοις S *surp.* 6. ἐρέσσοντες U, γρ. A Lips. (and κατ' ἔνια τῶν ὑπομνημάτων *Did.*). 7. τῶ Ar. Ω: τοῖ Ammonios. 10. φιλομέδουσα G<sup>1</sup>PRS. 12. ὑπὸ: ὑπὲρ Cant. || ἐυχάλκου: εὐκύκλου D. || λῦσε: λύντο Ar. QS. 13. γλαῦκος R (γλαῦκος R<sup>m</sup>).

1. πυλέων: Bentley conj. πόλεως or ῥα πυλέων, as the gen. plur. fem. in -έων is almost always counted as a single syllable. The only exceptions appear to be M 340 καὶ πυλέων and φ 191 ἐκτὸς θυρέων. He should, however, have rather suggested πόλιος, as πόλεως is not found in H. except as a variant in one or two passages, A 168, T 52. In any case -έων for -άων is suspicious. Fick conj. πύργων.

4-6. A very similar comparison will be found in ψ 233 ff. The point lies in the part. ἐελδομένοισιν. For ἐπεὶ κε κάμωσιν (5) cf. on A 168.

6. πόντον ἐλαύνοντες: here only. Compare the Odyssean ἄλα τύπτειν.

9. For the title κορυνήτης see line 138, and for the difficulties involved in the legend, 149.

10. βοῶπις is used of a mortal as in Γ 144, where see the note.

12. στεφάνη seems to be merely one of the numerous synonyms for the helmet; see K 30 ἐπὶ στεφάνῃν κεφαλῇφιν αἰέρας θήκατο χαλκείην. It can hardly mean any special part, as here it covers the neck, while in A 96 it goes over the forehead. There is no archaeological evidence of anything that can be called the 'brim' of the helmet. For other senses of στεφάνη see N 138, Σ 597.



Ἴφίνοον βάλε δουρὶ κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην  
 Δεξιὰδην, ἵππων ἐπιάλμενον ὠκειάων, 15  
 ὦμον· ὁ δ' ἐξ ἵππων χαμάδις πέσε, λύντο δὲ γυῖα.  
 τοὺς δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη  
 Ἀργεῖους ὀλέκοντας ἐνὶ κρατερῇ ὑσμίνῃ,  
 βῆ ῥα κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων αἶξασα  
 Ἴλιον εἰς ἱερήν. τῇ δ' ἀντίος ὄρνυτ' Ἀπόλλων 20  
 Περγάμου ἐκκατιδών, Τρώεσσι δὲ βούλετο νίκην.  
 ἀλλήλοισι δὲ τῷ γε συναντέσθην παρὰ φηγῶι·  
 τὴν πρότερος προσέειπεν ἀναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων·  
 “τίπτε σὺ δ' αὖ μεμαυῖα, Διὸς θυγάτερ μεγάληο,  
 ἦλθες ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο, μέγας δέ σε θυμὸς ἀνῆκεν; 25  
 ἦ ἴνα δὴ Δαναοῖσι μάχης ἑτεραλκέα νίκην  
 δῶις, ἐπεὶ οὐ τι Τρώας ἀπολλυμένους ἐλεαίρεις;

17. τοὺς: τὸν LP (*supr.* ους). 18. ὀλέκοντα L (*p. ras.*). || ἀνὰ κρατερὴν  
 ὑσμίνην Vr. b. 20. ἱρὴν G: ἱρὴν T. 22. συναντίσθην G. || περὶ S. 23.  
 Διὸς υἱὸς: ἐκάεργος U. 24. εὐγάτηρ CQ. 25. οὐλύμποιο: οὐλύμπου  
 γε G. 27. οὐ τι: οὗτοι P.

15. ἐπιάλμενον: compare E 46; the aor. part. here is a reason against regarding ἐπιβησόμενον there as a future; it can only mean, 'just mounted' on his chariot. For the hiatus before -αλ- see on A 532.

17. The Argives appear to be routed after their success in E with very little trouble; but this is no doubt in order to avoid the monotony of fighting, and something of the sort is required after the pomp with which the arrival of Hector and Paris has been described. The ἀριστέα of Diomedes, having been fully developed, is now dropped. The turning of the battle—which here has no great effect upon the story—is told in a condensed form; 17-18=E 711-12, 19=B 167; 21, cf. Δ 508.

21. ἐκκατιδών: P. Knight ἐκκατιών.

22. φηγῶι, the oak-tree near the Skafan gate, see on E 693, Z 237, and l. 60 below.

24. δ': probably for δῆ; see A 340, 540.

25. οὐμὸς ἀνῆκεν: this phrase, which is peculiar to the *Iliad*, occurs only here and Φ 395 without an infinitive expressing the aim. The passage in Φ seems to be a reminiscence of the present lines.

26. The epithet ἑτεραλκῆς occurs only with νίκη, except in O 738, where

we have ἑτεραλκέα δῆμον. The idea in all cases seems to be 'a victory giving might to the other side,' i.e. turning the tide of battle, *ὅταν οἱ νικῶντες νικῶνται, ἢ ὅταν οἱ πρῶν νικηθέντες νικήσωσιν* Schol. A; in O the δῆμος is a *reserve* to change the tide of war. It is easy to see how from this meaning is derived the use of ἑτεραλκῆς in later Greek (Herod.) in the sense of *unexps pugna*, a battle where the tide *keeps turning*. This, however, cannot be deduced from either of the alternatives which have been proposed—(1) *decisive* victory, giving might to one only of the two parties; (2) victory of *other strength*, i.e. won by divine interference (Monro; in O 738 'a people to gain fresh help from'). We may compare for the sense of ἑτερος in composition Aisch. *Supp.* 403 Ζεὺς ἐτερορρεπής; ἐτερορροπος = 'ambiguous, uneven,' and the only other compound of ἑτερος in Homer (in a late passage however) λ 303 ἐτερήμερος, 'changing from day to day.' Compare also Aisch. *Pers.* 950.

27. It is practically a matter of indifference whether a note of interrogation is put at the end of the line, or after δῶις, or not at all. For δῶις, ἐπεὶ Brandreth reads δῶνις, and so van L. But see on A 129, *H. G.* § 81.

ἀλλ' εἴ μοί τι πίθοιο, τό κεν πολὺν κέρδιον εἶη·  
 νῦν μὲν παύσωμεν πόλεμον καὶ δηϊοτήτα  
 σήμερον· ὕστερον αὖτε μαχήσονται, εἰς ὃ κε τέκμωρ 30  
 Ἰλίου εὖρωσιν, ἐπεὶ ὧς φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῶι  
 ὑμῖν ἀθανάτησι, διαπραθέειν τόδε ἄστν."

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
 "ὦδ' ἔστω, ἐκάεργε· τὰ γὰρ φρονέουσα καὶ αὐτὴ  
 ἦλθον ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο μετὰ Τρῶας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς. 35  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε, πῶς μέμονας πόλεμον καταπανσέμεν ἀνδρῶν;"

τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων·  
 "Ἐκτορος ὄρωμεν κρατερὸν μένος ἵπποδάμοιο,  
 ἦν τινά που Δαναῶν προκαλέσsetαι οἴοθεν οἶος

29. Νῦν μὲν δὴ D. 32. ἀθανάτοισι Zen. D<sup>1</sup>Q Harl. a, Par. d f, Cant. Vr. b  
 c: ἀμφοτέρησι Aph. 33. γρ. τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα A. 35. μετὰ: κατὰ S.  
 39. οἶος: οἶον J.

30. τέκμωρ, properly a thing established; hence, as in A 526, the determination, settling of a resolve; or, as here, a fixed goal, a limit of destiny. This is illustrated by τεκμαίρεται, l. 70 below, 'Zeus settles an appointed time, against which you are to take Troy or yourselves be vanquished.' Hence, as Buttmann remarks, comes the later sense of 'foretelling by a sign'; for one who foretells an event by personal divine knowledge, like Kirke (κ 563, λ 112), 'appoints,' 'destines' it to mortals; to a god the two are identical. In N 20 Poseidon ἔκετο τέκμωρ, Αἰγῆς, i.e. 'the goal which he had set for his journey'; II 472 τοῖο εὔρετο τέκμωρ, 'attained the end at which he aimed.' The only question which can arise on the present passage is whether τέκμωρ means 'the limit set by fate for Ilios,' or 'the goal set for themselves by the Greeks with regard to Ilios.' Ameis, on the analogy of II 472, accepts the latter interpretation. There, however, the verb is εὔρετο in the middle, which makes some difference (v. however δ 374), while here it is in the active; and the similarity of l. 70 seems decisive in favour of the former: 'let them fight on' (the fut. gives the sense 'for all I care') 'till they find out by experience the limit set by fate for Ilios.' So I 48, 418.

36. For fut. indic. with μέμονα see also B 544, M 198, 200, 218, Ξ 89, O 105, Φ 482, ο 522, ω 395; with μενεαίνων Φ 176, ἐφορμᾶσθαι φ 399. The constr.

seems to depend on the idea of hope conveyed by the verb. In several cases, however, the aor. or pres. infin., the more usual constr., occurs as a variant, and van L. would restore it everywhere. Here it is easy to write καταπανέμεν. So in 29, which is the line referred to here, Mulvany (*C. R.* x. 27) would write παύωμεν, as the ω does not belong to the aor. subj. For the frequent confusion of pres., aor., and fut. infin. see note on Γ 28, *H. G.* § 238.

39. For the non-Homeric ἦν Heyne and Brandreth read εἴ. But κε or ἄν seem to be never omitted in this common constr. ἦν is probably only a mark of the late origin of this transitional passage. Cf. also X 419. οἴοθεν οἶος, which recurs l. 226, is, with αἰνόθεν αἰνῶς, 97, a phrase peculiar to this book, and hard to explain. Of αἰνόθεν αἰνῶς we can only say that it is a case of emphasis produced by the familiar resource of reduplication, as in μέγας μεγαλωστί, ὄψιμον ὄψιπέλεστον: no one has succeeded in explaining why the local suffix -θεν, with its very definite signification, should be used for the purpose. In οἴοθεν οἶος the meaning seems to be 'man to man,' and the repetition will then have a ground beyond mere emphasis. Bentley suggested οἶον, Döderlein οἶωι (with μαχέσασθαι), and either of these would make the phrase a little more intelligible. The closest analogy is perhaps to be found in αὐτὸς ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτόν. Phrases

ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτι·  
οἱ δέ κ' ἀγασσάμενοι χαλκοκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ  
οἶον ἐπόρσειαν πολεμίζειν Ἑκτορι δίωι."

40

ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθῃσε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη.  
τῶν δ' Ἑλενος, Πριάμοιο φίλος παῖς, σύνθετο θυμῶι  
βουλήν, ἥ ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐφῆνδανε μητιώωσι.

45

στῇ δὲ παρ' Ἑκτορ' ἰὼν καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·

"Ἑκτορ υἱὲ Πριάμοιο, Δὺ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντε,

ἥ ῥα νῦ μοί τι πίθοιο; κασίγνητος δέ τοι εἰμι·

ἄλλους μὲν κάθισον Τρῶας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς,

50

αὐτὸς δὲ προκάλεσσαι Ἀχαιῶν ὅς τις ἄριστος

ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι ἐν αἰνῇ δηϊοτήτι·

οὐ γάρ πώ τοι μοῖρα θανεῖν καὶ πότμον ἐπισπείν.

ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼν ὅπ' ἄκουσα θεῶν αἰγιγενετάων."

ὥς ἔφαθ', Ἑκτωρ δ' αὖτ' ἐχάρη μέγα μῦθον ἀκούσας,

55

καί ῥ' ἐς μέσσον ἰὼν Τρώων ἀνέεργε φάλαγγας,

μέσσου δουρὸς ἐλών· οἱ δ' ἰδρύνθησαν ἅπαντες.

καδ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων εἶσεν ἐνκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς.

41. ἀγασσάμενοι Ar. 53 ἀθ. Ar. || ἐγὼ G. 54. δ' om. P. 56. μέσσον  
Harl. a: μέσση G. || οἱ δ' (οἱ δ') ADPQSU Vr. b, Mosc. 1: τοῖ δ' Ω. || ἰδρύνθησαν  
A (T.W.A.) H.

like B 75 ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος have only a superficial resemblance, as in them each word has its distinct and separate meaning.

41. ἀγασσάμενοι, either *admiring* his chivalry, or *jealous* of their honour (cf. Ψ 639 ἀγασσάμενῳ περὶ νίκης—a doubtful line, however), *grudging* him the advantage. Observe the change of mood in ἐπόρσειαν, these two lines being added independently, and expressing the remoter result. χαλκοκνήμιδες is ἄπ. λεγ. for the regular ἐνκνήμιδες. The old Epic greaves were probably not of metal at all (App. B). Schulze points out that the early Epic poets always thus change ἐν- into καλλι- or the like when they want a long syll., rather than write ἥν-, which is strictly reserved for compounds which could not otherwise be used at all. Compare εὐπλόκαμος, εὐζωνος, εὐτριχας beside καλλιπλόκαμος, καλλίζωνος, καλλιτριχας, but ἡύκομος, ἡύγένειος. (So also ἡυπάτειρα, which we should read with L. Meyer in Z 292 for the false form εὐπατέρεια: cf. ἡ δ' εὐπάτειρα φιλογέλως τε παρθένος in a fragment

of Menander.) Thus the change of ἐν- into χαλκο- sacrifices archaeology to metrical purism.

44. *εὐμῶι*, i.e. not by the outer ear, but by his power as a soothsayer, Z 76.

48. For a wish expressed by the (potential) optative in a question cf. Δ 93.

53. This line was athetized by Ar. on the ground that Helenos had understood the counsel of the gods only διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς. This is a frivolous objection; prophets have always been accustomed themselves to describe the divine admonitions as a voice speaking to them, even when the outer world gives a different name to the communication. The previous line, though not rejected by Ar., is open to far graver objection. For it corresponds to nothing in the words of Athene or Apollo above, and seems quite inconsistent with Hector's words in 77, to say nothing of his behaviour in 216.

54-6=Γ' 76-8. The joy of Hector is rather less appropriate here than in Γ.

καὶ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
 ἐξέσθην ὄρνισιν εἰκότες αἰγυπιοῖσι  
 φηγῶι ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγίοχοιο, 60  
 ἀνδράσι τερπόμενοι· τῶν δὲ στίχες εἴατο πυκναί,  
 ἀσπίσι καὶ κορύθεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρικυῖαι.  
 οἷη δὲ Ζεφύροιο ἐχεύατο πόντον ἔπι φριξ  
 ὄρνυμένοιο νέον, μελάνει δέ τε πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς,  
 τοῖαι ἄρα στίχες εἴατ' Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε 65  
 ἐν πεδίῳ. Ἐκτωρ δὲ μετ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔειπε·  
 “κέκλυτέ μεν, Τρῶες καὶ ἐκκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,  
 ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.  
 ὄρκια μὲν Κρονίδης ὑφίζυγος οὐκ ἐτέλεσσεν,  
 ἀλλὰ κακὰ φρονέων τεκμαίρεται ἀμφοτέροισιν, 70  
 εἰς ὃ κεν ἢ ὑμεῖς Τροίην εὐπυργον ἔλητε,

60. ἔφ': ἐν Bar. Mor. 61. ΠΥΚΝΑΪ: ΠΑΝΤΗ Par. c (γρ. ΠΥΚΝΑΪ). 62.  
 ΠΕΦΡΙΚΥΪΑΙ: γρ. ΒΕΒΡΙΟΥΪΑΙ A (cf. Δ 282). 64. ΜΕΛΑΝΗ S *supr.*: ΜΕΛΑΙΝΕΙ  
 GQ. || ΠΟΝΤΟΝ Ar. C<sup>3</sup>G Lips. Vr. c, Par. h (and *supr.* T Harl. a, Par. a). || Αὐτῆ(ι)  
 Ar. T Lips. Ven. B, Harl. a (p. ras.) b, Par. a<sup>2</sup> h: Αὐτοῦ G Aristot. *Probl.* 23. 23  
 (and ἄλλοι ap. Did.). 71. ἔλοιτε H.

59. There can be no doubt that the gods are supposed by the poet to take the forms of birds. Some have understood εἰκότες to mean 'after the manner,' not 'in the likeness,' of birds, a translation which might be supported by B 337. But there is certainly no gain of dignity in supposing the gods to sit in human form at the top of a high tree. A similar transformation of Athene into a swallow takes place in χ 240, and cf. also Ξ 289 where Sleep sits in a tree ὄρνιθι λιγυρῇ ἐναλίκιος κτλ. Other similar passages are α 319, γ 371, ε 51, 337, O 236, in some of which there seems to be implied the form of a bird, in others the comparison is only to the bird's flight. αἰγυπιός is a poetical name which seems to include both eagles and vultures, for the αἰγυπιός eats live birds (P 460, χ 302) as well as carrion. The name is commonly taken to be for αἰγυγπιός, goat-vulture, cf. Lämmergeier. But Thompson (*Glossary*, s.v.) suggests that the αἰ-, which is very common in bird-names, contains an element akin to *avi-s*, Skt. *vi-s* (cf. *αἰτός*), and that γύψ is a shortened or derived form.

60. This is presumably the oak of 22, though the question is not quite clear.

63. ΦΡΙΞ (of course referring to πεφρικυῖαι above), lit. 'shudder,' the ripple before a rising wind. Cf. δ 402, φ 126 φριξ μέλαινα, and for the gen. Ζεφύροιο, Ψ 692 ὑπὸ φρικὸς Βορέω. The sparkling of the armour above the ranks is compared to the glancing of the ripple.

64. It will be seen that there are two main variants in this line, ΠΟΝΤΟΣ ὑπ' αὐτῆς and πόντον ὑπ' αὐτῇ. The former is supported by the analogy of μ 406 ἤχλυσε δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς. Ar. preferred the latter probably because verbs in -άνω and -αίνω are almost always trans. in H. But in T 42 κυδάνω is intrans. (in Ξ 73 trans.), and ἰζάνω always, except in Ψ 258. But the formation of μελάνω direct from μελαν- is in any case very unusual, and quite distinct from that of other verbs in -άνω. The regular Homeric form is of course μελαίνω. The Alexandrines (Ap. Rhod., Kallim., Aratos) use the form μελανεῖν, which is, however, no better than μελάνειν. We can only suppose that the word is a coinage based on the false analogy of κυδάνειν beside κυδαίνειν.

69-72. These lines are a patent interpolation designed to introduce a reference to Γ' (see *Intro.* to this book). For τεκμαίρεται see note on 30.



ἢ αὐτοὶ παρὰ νηυσὶ δαμείετε ποντοπόροισιν.  
 ὑμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἔασιν ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν·  
 τῶν νῦν ὃν τινα θυμὸς ἐμοὶ μαχέσασθαι ἀνώγει,  
 δεῦρ' ἵτω ἐκ πάντων πρόμος ἔμμεναι Ἑκτορι δίδωι. 75  
 ὦδε δὲ μυθέομαι, Ζεὺς δ' ἄμμ' ἐπὶ μάρτυρος ἔστω·  
 εἰ μὲν κεν ἐμὲ κείνος ἔλῃ ταναήκει χαλκῶι,  
 τεύχεα συλήσας φερέτω κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας,  
 σῶμα δὲ οἵκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν, ὄφρα πυρός με  
 Τρώες καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι λελάχωσι θανόντα. 80  
 εἰ δέ κ' ἐγὼ τὸν ἔλω, δώηι δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων,  
 τεύχεα συλήσας οἶσω προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρήν  
 καὶ κρεμόω προτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο,  
 τὸν δὲ νέκυν ἐπὶ νῆας ἐυσσέλμους ἀποδώσω,  
 ὄφρα ἔ ταρχύσωσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ 85

72. ἢ: ἢ καὶ G. || αὐτοὶ: αὐτοῦ Q. || δαμείετε JPU Bar. 73. μὲν om.  
 Q: δ' ἐν Ar. [S] Par. c g j, Vr. b, Mosc. 1. || γὰρ om. H. 74. τῶν εἵ κέν  
 τινα Q: γρ. τῶν εἰ καὶ τινα A. || ἐμοὶ μαχέσασθαι: ἐνὶ στήθεσσι H. 76.  
 ἄμμ': ἄμ' JP. || ἐπὶ μάρτυρος J. 78. φέροι Q. 81. αἶ κεν πῶς μιν ἔλω  
 Ar. Lex. 82. ποτὶ S. 83. ποτὶ CPQSTU: ἐπὶ G. || νηὸς L. 85.  
 ταρχύουσι H: ταρχεύωσι G: ταρχεύωσι Mor.: ταρχίωσι JQ Vr. b.

72. δαμείετε: subj. for the more correct *δαμήετε* which most edd. restore. See H. G. App. C.

73. It will be seen that Ar.'s δ' ἐν for μὲν has very weak Ms. authority. It is doubtless only a conjecture, but we have no ground for attributing it to Ar. himself; it is likely enough to have been introduced into some of his mss. The text is only explicable on the supposition that μὲν is original and remained untouched even after the interpolation of 69-72 (see Introd.).

74. For ἀνώγει La R. reads ἀνώγει, and the subj. is certainly required, as he says, after ὅς τις, where used, as here, to express a supposition: A 230, N 234, and often (except apparently β 114). In such a point the Ms. reading is of no authority.

75. The Alexandrian critics took offence at Hector applying to himself the epithet δῖος. It will, however, be felt by any one who is in sympathy with the heroic age that this is no more than a somewhat naïve touch of self-consciousness such as is quite characteristic of Hector. δῖος indeed is in Homer little more than an epithet of ordinary courtesy. Hentze, however, remarks that the only

other instance in Homer where a speaker alluding to himself by his own name adds a laudatory epithet is in Θ 22, where Zeus calls himself Ζῆν' ὑπατον μῆστορα. We may compare Virgil's *Sum pius Aeneas*.

76. ἐπὶ μάρτυρος: so A, as two words; cf. B 302 for the form μάρτυρος. The other mss. give ἐπιμάρτυρος, which may be defended by the analogy of ἐπιβούκολος, ὑφηνόλοχος, etc.; see Z 19. The sense is the same in either case.

79. δόμεναι: for the infin. used for the imper. of the third person see on Γ 285, Z 92; H. G. § 241. 79-80 = X 342-3, where the infin. more naturally stands for the 2nd pers. imper. The couplet is perhaps borrowed here.

85. ταρχύωσι: cf. Π 456, 674. The word is connected with τάρχος, and must therefore mean something more than simple burying. Helbig (*H. E.*<sup>2</sup> 55-6) suggests with great probability that it alludes to some process of partial mummification, such as seems to have been used on the bodies found at Mykene; most likely by the use of honey as a preservative. This was known in Babylon in early times (Herod. i. 198 ταφαί σφι ἐν μέλιτι), and was

σῆμά τέ οἱ χεύωσιν ἐπὶ πλατεῖ Ἑλλησπόντῳ·  
καί ποτέ τις εἵπησι καὶ ὄψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων,  
νῆὶ πολυκλήιδι πλέων ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον·  
ἄνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος,  
ὃν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ.<sup>90</sup>  
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος οὐ ποτ' ὀλεῖται."  
ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ·  
αἰδέσθην μὲν ἀνήσασθαι, δέισαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι.  
ὄψ' δὲ δὴ Μενέλαος ἀνίστατο καὶ μετέειπε  
νεῖκει ὀνειδίζων, μέγα δὲ στεναχίζετο θυμῷ.<sup>95</sup>  
"ὦ μοι, ἀπειλητῆρες, Ἀχαιοὶ, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί·  
ἦ μὲν δὴ λώβῃ τάδε γ' ἔσσεται αἰνόθεν αἰνῶς,  
εἰ μὴ τις Δαναῶν νῦν Ἐκτορος ἀντίος εἴσιν.  
ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν πάντες ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε,

86. χεύωσιν GJPQRST. 87. ὄψιγόνων U. 89. κατατεθνηῶτος ACDRSTU  
al. 90. ὃν ποτ' : γρ. καὶ ὃν τινα T. 91. οὐ ποτ' U. 93. ἀρνήσασθαι S.  
95. νεῖκε' Ar. (ἐν τισὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων) G (surpr. α). || δὲ στεναχίζετο CJQ : δ'  
ἔστεναχίζετο GP : δ' ἔτεναχίζετο HT. 97. ἐν τισὶ λώβῃ γε τάδ' ἔσεται T. ||  
τάδε : τὰ DU. 98. ἀντίον T.

the usual practice when Agesilaos the Spartan king died in Egypt. Compare the use of *τάριχος* in Herod. ix. 120 ὁ Πρω-  
τεσίλειος . . . καὶ τεθνεὺς καὶ τάριχος ἔων  
(where, however, the word is chosen with  
especial reference to fish). Of course in  
any case the word can only be a survival  
here from a past state of things, and  
means no more than 'perform the  
funeral rites'; for cremation appears to  
be the universal practice in Homer.  
Helbig ingeniously suggests that the  
pots of honey placed on the bier in Ψ  
170 are a similar survival in ritual of  
the practice of embalming in honey.

87. For καὶ ποτέ τις εἵπησι followed  
by ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει cf. Z 459. For the  
difference between subj. and future,  
which is hardly perceptible, see note on  
A 262. It is well known that there  
are many ancient grave-mounds on the  
shore of the Hellespont (see Schliemann  
*Ilios*); these no doubt suggested the  
speech of Hector.

94. ὄψ' δὲ δὴ is the regular com-  
plement of the formal line 92 in books  
H-I, where the two go together six  
times; and so twice in the *Odyssey*  
(η 155, ν 321), but not elsewhere in  
Homer. Indeed the word ὄψ' occurs  
eighteen times in these three books and

the *Odyssey*, against three times in the  
rest of the *Iliad* (once each in Δ, P, Φ).

95. The variant *νεῖκε'*, attributed to  
the 'notes' of Ar., may stand, not for  
*νεῖκεῖ*, but for *νεῖκεε* or *νεῖκεα* : but there  
can be little doubt that the latter is  
what Ar. meant. He took the word  
as acc. after *ὀνειδίζων* in the sense of  
*revilings*, cf. Ψ 483 *νέικος ἀριστε*, and I  
448 *φείγων νεῖκεα πατρός*. So also T  
251. The dat. may be taken in the same  
way, which is of course easily deduced  
from the ordinary sense *dispute*, when  
the second party has not had his say.  
For the constr. of *ὀνειδίζειν* see note on  
A 211.

96. See B 235. This quotation from  
Thersites intensifies the singular contrast  
between the whole of the present address  
and the tone of courteous regret which is  
elsewhere so characteristic of the attitude  
of Menelaos towards the Greeks. For  
*αἰνόθεν αἰνῶς* see on line 39.

99. The line is a curse, 'May you  
rot away to the elements of which you  
were made.' The legend that man was  
formed out of water and clay, the 'clod  
of saturated earth cast by the Maker  
into human mould,' is very common ;  
e.g. in Hesiod *Opp.* 61, when Zeus  
creates Pandora, he commands Hephaistos

ἤμενοι αἰθι ἕκαστοι ἀκήριοι, ἀκλεές αὐτως·  
τῶιδε δ' ἐγὼν αὐτὸς θωρήξομαι· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε  
νίκης πείρατ' ἔχονται ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν."  
ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας κατεδύσετο τεύχεα καλά.

100

100. ἀκήριον Mor. || ἀκλεεῖς G. 101. τῶιδε δ': τῶι δ' JP. 103.  
ΚΑΤΕΔΥΣΕΤΟ G Vr. c, Mosc. 1: κατεδύσσετο HT: καταδύσατο P: κατεδύ-  
σατο Ω.

γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν: and the same idea occurs in the lines quoted by Schol. A from Xenophanes, which are to be read

πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα·  
ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα, καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα  
τελευτᾷ.

100. ἀκήριοι, *spiritless* (from κῆρ, *heart*); in E 812, 817, N 224 an epithet of δέος, in A 392, Φ 466, *lifeless*. In Od. ἀκήριος is a different word, *harmless*. ἀκλεές: neuter used adverbially. Some write ἀκλέες, as nom. plur. for ἀκλεές by 'hyphaeresis'; but there is no good authority for such a form in H., though it is not uncommon in Pindar.

101. τῶιδε seems to be used like the dat. after μάχεσθαι, etc. But this is certainly harsh. Brandreth conj. τῶι δ' ἐπ' ἐγών.

102. The principal passages bearing on the difficult question of the sense of πείραρ are (1) μ 51, 162, 179, *Hymn. Ap.* 129, where the word undoubtedly means *ropes* (or *knots*: so Schulze *Q. E.* 109 ff.); cf. *πειραίνω* χ 175, 192, to *fasten*, *knot* a rope; (2) a group of phrases which must be considered together, though the words used differ: A 336 κατὰ ἴσα μάχην ἐτάνυσσε Κρονίων, M 436, O 413 ὥς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ ἴσα μάχῃ τέτατο πτόλεμός τε, N 358-60 τῶ δ' ἔριδος κρατερῆς καὶ ὁμοίου πολέμοιο | πείραρ ἐπαλλάξαντες ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι τάνυσσαν | ἄρρηκτόν τ' αὐτόν τε, Ξ 389 αἰνотάτην ἔριδα πτολέμοιο τάνυσσαν, Π 662 ἔριδα κρατερὴν ἐτάνυσσε Κρονίων, Τ 101 εἰ δὲ θεός περ | ἴσον τείνειεν πολέμου τέλος: (3) numerous passages in which the word πείραρ is clearly used in an abstract sense, *end*, *limit*. Under this head we should naturally include Z 143, Τ 429 δλέθρον πείραθ' ἵκηαι, though the similar δλέθρον πείρατ' ἐφήπται H 402, M 79, χ 41 would naturally come under (2). Some (e.g. Döderlein and Schulze) hold that the word in (1) is completely distinct from that in (3), which is to be taken in an abstract sense also in N 359

and here, in the sense of the *issues* of strife and victory. The alternative theory is that πείραρ from the abstract sense of *end* has acquired the technical meaning *rope's end*, and that in the two last passages the metaphor is from this concrete sense, the *ropes* of strife and victory. In favour of the former view is the use of the abstract τέλος in Τ 101 and of the simple μάχην, ἔριδα in A 336, Ξ 389, Π 662. In favour of the latter is the use of the verb τάνυσσαι, the adjectives ἄρρηκτον, αὐτόν in N 360, and the similar use of ἀρχή, first for *rope's end*, then for *rope* generally (see Herod. iv. 60, Eur. *Hipp.* 761, Diod. Sic. i. 104, *Act. Apost.* x. 11). Apart from the use of πείραρ it seems necessary to admit the concrete metaphor by which the tide of battle is pulled backwards and forwards, not by the combatants themselves as in the game of 'Tug of War' which is commonly compared, but by the gods, who thus become 'wire-pullers' of the battle. This somewhat grossly corporeal conception, however, must be regarded solely as a figure of speech; the Homeric gods employ, in fact, more subtle powers, and it is a reversion to an earlier stage of thought when we find the Ephesians stretching a rope from the city walls to the temple of Artemis in order that the goddess may help the defenders (Herod. i. 26), and Polykrates dedicating Rheneia to Apollo by binding it to Delos with a chain. The conclusion seems to be that the use of πείραρ in N 359 does convey, by an extension of the metaphor in τάνυσσαι, a distinct allusion to the meaning *rope-end* or *knot*; but that in every other case, including the present, the purely abstract sense *issue*, *consummation*, or the like, is possible, and on the whole preferable; though even thus the existence of the concrete sense will lend a certain colour. A full discussion of the question will be found in M. and R.'s note on μ 51.

ἔνθά κέ τοι, Μενέλαε, φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή  
 Ἔκτορος ἐν παλάμῃσιν, ἐπεὶ πολὺν φέρτερος ἦεν, 105  
 εἰ μὴ ἀναΐξαντες ἔλον βασιλῆες Ἀχαιῶν·  
 αὐτός τ' Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 δεξιτερῆς ἔλε χειρός, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἕκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·  
 “ἀφραΐνεις, Μενέλαε διοτρεφές, οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ  
 ταύτης ἀφροσύνης· ἀνὰ δὲ σχέο κηδόμενός περ, 110  
 μῆδ' ἔθελ' ἐξ ἔριδος σεῦ ἀμείνوني φωτὶ μάχεσθαι,  
 Ἔκτορι Πριαμίδῃ, τὸν τε στυγέουσι καὶ ἄλλοι.  
 καὶ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς τούτῳ γε μάχῃ ἐνὶ κυδιανείρῃ  
 ἔρριγ' ἀντιβολῆσαι, ὃ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν ἵξεν ἰὼν μετὰ ἔθνος ἐταίρων, 115  
 τούτῳ δὲ πρόμον ἄλλον ἀναστήσουσιν Ἀχαιοί.  
 εἴ περ ἀδευής τ' ἐστὶ καὶ εἰ μόθου ἔστ' ἀκόρητος,  
 φημί μιν ἀσπασίως γόνυ κάμψειν, αἶ κε φύγησι  
 δηῖον ἐκ πολέμοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηϊότητος.”  
 ὧς εἰπὼν παρέπεισεν ἀδελφείου φρένας ἥρωες, 120  
 αἵσιμα παρεϊπών· ὁ δ' ἐπείθετο. τοῦ μὲν ἔπειτα  
 γηθόσυνοι θεράποντες ἀπ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἔλοντο·

104. βιότοιο : γρ. θανάτοιο AT. 107. αὐτὸς δ' HSU. 109. διοτρεφές  
 GH. || χρεῶ H Harl. a. 110. δὲ σχέο Ar. (v. Ludwig) ADTU Par. b : δ'  
 ἔσχεο GPR Par. (f *supr.*) h : δ' ἄσχεο Q : δ' ἴσχεο Ω. 113. τούτῳ γε :  
 τοῦτόν γε Mose. 1 (and γρ. A). 114. ἀντιβολῆσαι : γρ. ἀντιβολῆσαι A. ||  
 ὅσπερ QU. || ἀμείνω Zen. 117. τ' om. DQT Par. e g, Harl. b, Vr. b c : γ' H  
 Par. k, Mose. 1, and γρ. A. 119. πολέμοιο D.

104. The variant θανάτοιο τελευτή must be the origin of Virgil's *Hic tibi mortis erant metae* (*Aen.* xii. 546).

108. For δεξιτερῆς . . χειρός Bentley would read δεξιτερὴν χεῖρα, on account of *Ἔπος* : cf. Ξ 137, Ω 671, α 121, σ 258.

109. This use of *χρή* with the gen. is elsewhere confined to the *Odyssey*. The form regularly used in this construction in the *Iliad* is *χρεῶ*.

111. ἐξ ἔριδος, virtually to *fight a match*, lit. to fight a battle arising from mere rivalry; cf. δ 343 ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλομηλεῖδῃ ἐπάλασεν ἀναστάς. But A 8 ἐρίδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι is different (cf. 210).

113-4. We have no incident in the *Iliad* to which these lines can refer; indeed they contradict I 352. They can only be explained as a rhetorical exaggeration used at the moment for a special purpose. πολλὸν ἀμείνων :

βέλτιον δ' ἂν, φασιν, εἶρητο Ὀμήρῳ “ὃ περ μέγα φέρτατός ἐστιν” Schol. A (Did.?) on the ground that the text is rather rude to Menelaos. We do not know who was the author of this criticism.

117. ἀδειῆς for ἀδφεῖς contains two offences against metre (cf. Θ 423 ἀδδείς). ἀταρβής and ἀτειρής have been suggested, but the corruption is wholly improbable. 117-9 may well be a later addition made up of reminiscences of T 72-3 and E 409. The repetition δηῖον . . δηϊότητος occurs only here and 174; it is especially disagreeable in view of the fact that δηϊότης regularly means the general engagement, not a single combat. See on I' 20. For γόνυ κάμπτειν ‘to take rest’ cf. also ε 453. The phrase is common in tragedy.

120-1 = Z 61-2, q. v.



Νέστωρ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἀνίστατο καὶ μετέειπεν·  
 “ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα πένθος Ἀχαιίδα γαίαν ἰκάνει·  
 ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς,  
 125 ἐσθλὸς Μυρμιδόνων βουλευφόρος ἡδ' ἀγορητής,  
 ὅς ποτέ μ' εἰρόμενος μέγ' ἐγήθεεν ὦι ἐνὶ οἴκῳ,  
 πάντων Ἀργείων ἐρέων γενεὴν τε τόκον τε.  
 τοὺς νῦν εἰ πτώσσοντας ὑφ' Ἑκτορι πάντας ἀκούσαι,  
 130 πολλά κεν ἀθανάτοισι φίλας ἀνὰ χεῖρας ἀείραι  
 θυμὸν ἀπὸ μελέων δύναι δόμον Ἀἰδὸς εἶσω.  
 αἰ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ Ἀπολλῶνι,  
 ἡβώμ' ὥς ὅτ' ἐπ' ὠκυρόωι Κελάδοντι μάχοντο

124. ἀχαιίδα J (*p. ras.*) R<sup>1</sup>. || ἰκάνει (*e corr.?*) P. 127. μειρόμενος μεγάλ' (μέγα δ' MS.) ἔστενεν Zen. 129. Νῦν: μὲν T. || πτώσσοντας Q. || ἀκούσαι DR (*supr.* αἱ) U: ἀκούσαι G Lips.<sup>2</sup>: ἀκούσαι HT. 130. φίλας ἀνὰ: βαρέας Q and ἐν ταῖς ἐξητασμέναις (? : τοῖς ἐξητασμένοις Ludw.) Ἀριστάρχου. || ἀείρη R (*supr.* αἱ): ἀείρει U: ἀείροι G (H *supr.*). 131. ἀπαὶ GL (*p. ras.*) S.

125. When Gelon demanded the command of the Greek army from the embassy who had come to ask his help against the Persians, Syagros the Spartan envoy replied ἦ κε μέγ' οἰμώξειε ὁ Πηλοπίδης Ἀγαμέμνων πυνθόμενος Σπαρτιήτας τὴν ἡγεμονίην ἀπαιρησθαι ὑπὸ Γέλωνός τε καὶ Συρηκοσίων (Herod. vii. 159). This is probably an adaptation of the present line, though of course we cannot be sure that it is not a quotation from some lost epic; there is no special point in the substitution of Agamemnon for Peleus. For the visit of Nestor to Peleus, when enlisting the Greek army, see Δ 765 sqq.

127. Zenod. appears to have read ὅς ποτε μειρόμενος μεγάλ' ἔστενε, taking μειρόμενος as 'being parted from his son.' But, as Didymos points out, such a sense of μεῖρεσθαι is not Homeric (cf. I 616). The reading, if admissible, would have the advantage of avoiding the awkward repetition of εἰρόμενος . . . ἐρέων, but would lose the essential contrast between οἰμώξειε and ἐγήθεε.

128. Τόκον, *birth*, i.e. parentage; apparently a more special term than γενεή, *family*. The word recurs in this phrase again in O 141, o 175, and in both it may have the same meaning, though there is a possible alternative, *offspring*. This does not suit the present passage, though the scholiasts put it forward (πατέρα καὶ παῖδα Schol. A), and it was the prevalent meaning in

later Greek (e.g. Aisch. *Sept.* 372 Οἰδίπου τόκος, 407). The only remaining instances of the word in Homer are P 5, T 119, both times in the physical sense of 'childbearing,' and so *Hymn. Cer.* 101. Cf. T 203 ἴδμεν δ' ἀλλήλων γενεήν, ἴδμεν τε τοκῆας.

129. This is the only case in Homer of the construction of ἀκούειν with acc. and participle, which is found in later Greek. πειθόμεναι is used in the same way only in δ 732.

133. This passage cannot be reconciled with geographical facts. Φεαί is no doubt the same as Φεαί (o 297) in Elis; but that was a maritime town, not near Arkadia; there is nothing known of a Keladon or Iardanos anywhere near it, nor, it would seem, are there any rivers that could correspond. Strabo (viii. 848) says that some would write Χάας for Φεαίς, taking κελάδοντι as adj.: while Did. is said in Schol. A (v. Ludwig) to have read Φήρης for Φεαίς, after Pherekydes. Pausanias v. 5. 9 identifies the Iardanos with the Akidas, on the authority of 'a certain Ephesian.' Ar. took κελάδοντι as an attribute of the Iardanos. In fact the name 'Jordan' (Yardēn from yārad, *to flow*) is not far from the equivalent of κελάδων. The name recurs in γ 292 applied to a river in Crete, where a Semitic name is natural; in Elis it is certainly surprising. The authorities and their various elucidations will be found in Ebeling's *Lexicon*, s.v. Κελάδων:

ἀγρόμενοι Πύλιοί τε καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐγχεσίμωροι,  
 Φειᾶς παρ τείχεσσι, Ἰαρδάνου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα. 135  
 τοῖσι δ' Ἐρευθαλίων πρόμος ἵστατο, ἰσόθεος φώς,  
 τεύχε' ἔχων ὥμοισιν Ἀρηϊθόοιο ἀνακτος,  
 δίου Ἀρηϊθόου, τὸν ἐπὶ κλησιν κορυνήτην  
 ἄνδρες κίκλησκον καλλίζωνοί τε γυναικες,  
 οὔνεκ' ἄρ' οὐ τόξοισι μαχέσκετο δουρί τε μακρῶι, 140  
 ἀλλὰ σιδηρεΐη κορύνη ρήγνυσκε φάλαγγας.  
 τὸν Λυκόεργος ἔπεφνε δόλωι, οὐ τι κράτει γε,  
 στεινωπῶι ἐν ὁδῶι, ὅθ' ἄρ' οὐ κορύνη οἱ ὄλεθρον  
 χραίσμε σιδηρεΐη· πρὶν γὰρ Λυκόεργος ὑποφθᾶς  
 δουρὶ μέσον περόνησεν, ὃ δ' ὕπτιος οὔδει ἐρείσθη. 145  
 τεύχεα δ' ἐξενάριξε τά οἱ πόρε χάλκεος Ἀρης.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔπειτα φόρει μετὰ μῶλον Ἀρης  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Λυκόεργος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐγήρα,  
 δῶκε δ' Ἐρευθαλίωι φίλῳ θεράποντι φορῆναι.

135. **φειᾶς** : χᾶς ἐνιοι (Strabo viii. 348); **φηρᾶς** Did. (*ap. Schol. T.*) || **ἰορδάνου**  
 H : Δαρδάνου Did. (? : Ἰαρδάνου Lehrs). 137. **ἀρηϊέοιο** P : ἀρηϊέοου G.  
 142. **λυκόεργος** QR Mor. : **λυκάοργος** G : **λυκόοργος** Ω. || **γε** : **τε** U. 144.  
**λυκόεργος** Q : **λυκάοργος** G : **λυκόοργος** Ω. || **ὑποφθᾶς** : Ἀρίσταρχός φησι καὶ  
 ἀναστὰς Did. (v. Ludwig). 146. **τεύχεά τ'** CDGP and *ap. Did.* 147. **ἔπειτ'**  
**ἐφόρει** H. 148. **λυκόεργος** Q : **λυκάοργος** G : **λυκόοργος** Ω. 149. **δῶκε**  
 δ' : δῶκεν D (*p. ras.*) GHS Harl. d, Par. k, and *τινὲς ap. Did.* : δῶκ' Q.

it is clear that nothing short of the excision of 135 as copied from γ 292 with a reminiscence of ο 297 (von Christ), or a general assertion of an interpolator's incapacity, extended to the whole of Nestor's speech (Köchly), will obviate the inconsistency. The cicerones of Olympia identified one of the scenes on the chest of Kypselos with this battle (Paus. v. 18. 6).

134. **ἐγχεσίμωροι** : see on B 692.

142. This Lykoergos is included in the list of early Arkadian kings given by Pausanias (viii. 4. 10), who further mentions the 'narrow way' which was pointed out as the scene of the death of Areithoos, and was even adorned with his tomb (viii. 11. 4). This is no doubt, however, founded upon the Epic, rather than upon genuine local tradition. The *στενωπὸς ὁδὸς* evidently implies a pass so narrow as not to allow the *κορυνήτης* room to swing his club. For the form *Λυκόεργος* see on Z 130.

145. **οὔδει ἐρείσθη** : see note on A 144. No variant is recorded here.

149. It is clear that if the now aged Nestor took the armour in question in his early youth (153) from the man who had it from Lykoergos in *his* old age, the Areithoos from whom Lykoergos took it cannot by any reasonable chronology have left a son young enough to be fighting in the tenth year of the siege of Troy; yet in l. 10 this would seem to be implied. Moreover the Areithoos of l. 8 lived in Arne in Boeotia, whereas Areithoos here seems to be an Arkadian. The only way in which the two passages can be brought into harmony is by supposing that *ὄν* in l. 9 refers to 'King Areithoos' of the line above, so that 'Areithoos the Mace-man' had a son, 'King Areithoos,' who, we must suppose, migrated from Arkadia to Boeotia; and that Menesthios is grandson of Areithoos I. and son of Areithoos II. This explanation is so forced as to drive us to the conclusion that the author of the present passage was as vague about his legendary history as about his geography. But difficulties

τοῦ ὃ γε τεύχε' ἔχων προκαλίζετο πάντας ἀρίστους· 150  
οἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν οὐδέ τις ἔτλη·  
ἀλλ' ἐμὲ θυμὸς ἀνῆκε πολυτλήμων πολεμίζειν  
θάρσει ὦι, γενεῇ δὲ νεώτατος ἔσκειν ἀπάντων.  
καὶ μαχόμεν οἱ ἐγὼ, δῶκεν δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀθήνη.  
τὸν δὴ μήκιστον καὶ κάρτιστον κτάνον ἄνδρα· 155  
πολλὸς γάρ τις ἔκειτο παρήγορος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.  
εἴθ' ὥς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη·  
τῷ κε τάχ' ἀντήσειε μάχης κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ.  
ὑμέων δ' οἳ περ ἔασιν ἀριστῆες Παναχαῖων,  
οὐδ' οἱ προφρονέως μέμαθ' Ἑκτορος ἀντίον ἐλθεῖν." 160  
ὥς νεέκεσσο' ὁ γέρων, οἱ δ' ἐννέα πάντες ἀνέστην.  
ὦρτο πολὺ πρῶτος μὲν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων,  
τῷ δ' ἐπὶ Τυδεΐδης ὦρτο κρατερὸς Διομήδης,  
τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' Αἴαντες θοῦριν ἐπιδιμένοι ἀλκῇν,  
τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' Ἴδομενεὺς καὶ ὀπάων Ἴδομενῆος 165  
Μηριόνης, ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρεΐφόντῃ,  
τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' Εὐρύπυλος, Ἐυαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,  
ἂν δὲ Θόας Ἀνδραϊμονίδης καὶ δίος Ὀδυσσεύς·

151. μάλ': μέγ' H. After this line add ἀντίβιον μαχέσασθαι ἐν αἰνῇ διήτορῃ (= 40, 51, Γ 20) GJSU<sup>3</sup> Vr. b, Harl. d, King's Par. b c<sup>m</sup> j. 153. ὦι: ἐμῷ Zen. ? (see below). 154. ἀθήνη: ἀπόλλων H. 162. πρῶτον S Lips.<sup>1</sup> || μὲν om. P. 164. θούροι Q: θούρη J. 166. ἀνδριφόντῃ DGHLU Lips.<sup>1</sup>: ἀνδροφόντῃ J. 168. ἄν: ἐν PR.

of this sort are familiar in the tales of Nestor's youthful exploits, all of which bear the mark of late work, introduced with no special applicability to the context, but rather with the intention of glorifying the ancestor of Peisistratos.

153. ὦι, i.e. in *my own* hardihood; see App. A. This is obviously better than the two ways in which ὦι can be taken as the pronoun of the third person: (1) to fight against *his* bravery; (2) in the courage of *it*, viz. of my spirit. No parallel can be adduced for either of these; for (1) the nearest is the use of βίη in the sense of 'a strong man,' for (2) the use of the quasi-personal epithet μεγαλήτωρ with θυμός. Zenod. is said to have read θάρσει ἐμῷ, but to judge from his usual practice this is probably a mistake, and means that he explained θάρσει ὦι to mean θάρσει ἐμῷ. Compare the similar Z 126 πολὺν προβέβηκας ἀπάντων | σῶι θάρσει.

156. παρήγορος seems to mean *sprawling*, having passed through the sense of 'dangling loosely' from that of 'hung on at the side,' which we have in the case of the trace-horse. Cf. Aisch. *Prom.* 363 ἀχρεῖον καὶ παράγορον δέμας. So in Ψ 603 it means 'loose, uncontrolled,' in mind. For πολλός in the sense of 'big' cf. A 307, Ψ 245, Σ 493, etc., Herod. vii. 14 μέγας καὶ πολλὸς ἐγένεο, Eur. *Hippol.* 1 πολλὴ μὲν ἐν βροτοῖσι . . Κύπρις, cf. 443; and often. The combination πολλός τις is common in Herod., but is not elsewhere found in Homer.

160. With this use of οἱ of the 2nd person cf. T 324 ὁ δὲ . . πολεμίζω. The use does not seem natural to us, and is made even less so by ἔασιν in the previous line, where we should have looked for ἐστέ.

166. For Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρεΐφόντῃ see on B 651.

πάντες ἄρ' οἳ γ' ἔθελον πολεμίζειν Ἑκτορι δίωι.  
 τοῖς δ' αὖτις μετέειπε Γερήμιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ· 170  
 “ κλήρῳ νῦν πεπάλεσθε διαμπερές, ὅς κε λάχησιν·  
 οὗτος γὰρ δὴ ὀνήσει ἐκνήμειδας Ἀχαιοῦς,  
 καὶ δ' αὐτὸς ὃν θυμὸν ὀνήσεται, αἶ κε φύγησι  
 δηῖον ἐκ πολέμοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηϊοτήτος.”  
 ὧς ἔφαθ', οἳ δὲ κλήρον ἐσημῆναντο ἕκαστος, 175  
 ἐν δ' ἔβαλον κυνέη Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαι.  
 λαοὶ δ' ἠρήσαντο, θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον·  
 ὦδε δέ τις εἵπεσκεν ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν·  
 “ Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ Αἴαντα λαχεῖν ἦ Τυδεὸς υἱὸν  
 ἦ αὐτὸν βασιλῆα πολυχρῦσιο Μυκλήνῃς.” 180  
 ὧς ἄρ' ἔφαν, πάλλεν δὲ Γερήμιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ,  
 ἐκ δ' ἔθορε κλήρος κυνέης, ὃν ἄρ' ἤθελον αὐτοί,  
 Αἴαντος. κῆρυξ δὲ φέρων ἀν' ὄμιλον ἀπάντη  
 δεῖξ', ἐνδέξια πᾶσιν ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν·  
 οἳ δ' οὐ γινώσκοντες ἀπηνῆναντο ἕκαστος. 185  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὸν ἵκανε φέρων ἀν' ὄμιλον ἀπάντη,

170. αὔεις C. 171. πεπάλεσε J : πεπάλασε Ar. AG Harl. b, Par. h, Lips.: πεπάλασε T (χ *in ras.*, c *supr.*): πεπάλασε U<sup>1</sup>, πεπάλασε U<sup>2</sup> “ou l'inverse”: πεπάλασε Ω. || ὧς κε Par. c<sup>1</sup> g, and *τινές* Schol. A. 172. οὕτως DP. || ὀνήσειεν Vr. A. 174. πολέμου P. 177. θεοῖσι δὲ C (*p. ras.*) DGJ (γρ. ἡδὲ) PRU: θεοῖς· ἰδὲ AST Vr. c, Ven. B: θεοῖσιν ἰδὲ Q: Ar. διχῶς. 179. λαχεῖν: τυχεῖν P. 180. ἰδομενῆα Q (*supr.* βασιλῆα). 182. ἐκ δ': καδδ' H. || ὃν ρ' C. || ἔθελον P. 185. γινώσκοντες L. || ἀπηνήνοντο Q. 186. δὴ τὸν: δὴ ρ' A: Ar. διχῶς. || ἀπάντη: ἀχαιῶν Q Vr. b<sup>1</sup>.

171. πεπάλεσε is the only defensible form here, from πάλλομαι (in the sense of *casting lots*, O 191, Ω 400), cf. ἀμπεπαλῶν. πεπάλασθε can only come from παλάσσω *to spatter* (e.g. Z 268), which has nothing to do with lots. πεπάλασθε is a *vox nihili*, no verb παλάζω being known—unless we are prepared to follow Ahrens in regarding it as a non-sigmatic aor. in -α like εἶπα, ἤνεια. Similarly read πεπαλέσθαι in ι 331 for πεπαλάσθαι or πεπαλάχθαι. Ar. Rhod. (i. 358), however, read πεπάλασθε. ὅς κε λάχησιν looks like the use of ὅς to introduce an indirect question. But this is against all the history and use of the pronoun; the sentence really means, not ‘draw lots to see who shall be chosen,’ but ‘draw lots (for one man), and he shall be chosen.’ Practically of course the meaning is the same, as the idea of a question is inherent in the drawing of

lots; but theoretically the distinction must be carefully observed. Cf. B 365, where the exact sense is ‘be a man a coward or be he brave, thou shalt know him’ (Delbrück *S. F.* i. 41).

177. See Γ 318 for the question of θεοῖσι δὲ and θεοῖς, ἰδέ.

179. On the form of the prayer see B 413, Γ 285.

184. ἐνδέξια: M 239. Some have seen in the use of the word an allusion to the sacred nature of an appeal by lot; but there is always a ‘lucky’ and an ‘unlucky’ direction of circulation, even with the wine. The herald goes ἐνδέξια for luck. It is evident that the marking in 175 did not imply any writing, as no one understands any mark but his own.

186-9. Observe the rapid changes of subject in these lines: ἵκανε, the herald; βάλε and ὑπέσχεσε, Aias; ἔμβαλεν, the herald; γινῶ, Aias.



ὅς μιν ἐπιγράψας κυνέηι βάλε, φαίδιμος Αἴας,  
 ἦ τοι ὑπέσχεθε χεῖρ', ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔμβαλεν ἄγχι παραστάς,  
 γνῶ δὲ κλήρου σῆμα ἰδών, γήθησε δὲ θυμῷ.  
 τὸν μὲν παρ πόδ' ἐὼν χαμάδις βάλε φώνησέν τε. 190  
 "ὦ φίλοι, ἦ τοι κλήρος ἐμός, χαίρω δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς  
 θυμῷ, ἐπεὶ δοκέω νικησέμεν Ἑκτορα δῖον.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγετ', ὅφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ πολεμήϊα τεύχεα δύω,  
 τόφρ' ὑμεῖς εὐχεσθε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἀνακτι  
 σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων, ἵνα μὴ Τρῳῆς γε πύθωνται, 195  
 ἦ καὶ ἀμφαδίην, ἐπεὶ οὐ τίνα δείδιμεν ἔμπης.  
 οὐ γάρ τις με βίηι γε ἐκὼν ἀέκοντα δίληται,  
 οὐδέ τι ἰδρεῖνι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὲ νήϊδά γ' οὕτως  
 ἔλπομαι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε."

187. ἐνὶ γράψας Mosc. 1 (γρ. ἐπὶ). || κυνέην P. 188. ἦτεῖ ὑπεσχέσαι H (supr. ε over αι). || ἔβαλεν GSU. 189. σῆμα κλήρου J. 191. ἦ τοι μὲν κλήρος ἐμοὶ G. 193. δύνω Ar. 195. γε πύθωνται: πεπύθωνται Vr. c, Mosc. 3. 195-99 ἀθ. Ar. Aph. Zen. 196. ἦ: ἠδὲ P. 197. τίς γε P (γρ. με). || γε om. JU Par. e. || ἐκὼν: ἐλὼν Ar. (καὶ αἱ πλείους) L (γρ. ἐκὼν) QS (γρ. ἐκὼν) Harl. d, and γρ. U<sup>2</sup>. 198. οὐδέ τι ἰδρεῖνι Ar.: οὐδὲ μὲν ἰδρεῖνι Aph.: οὐδέ γ' αἰδρεῖνι G: οὐδέ τ' αἰδρεῖνι Ω. || αὐτως H.

192. δοκέω, to think, with infin., seems to occur only here in Homer; but σ 382 shews the transitional stage, 'to seem to one's self.' δύω in the next line is of course an aorist.

195. ἐφ' ὑμείων, as T 255 ἐπ' αὐτόφιν εἶατο σιγῇ. The idea seems to be, 'Do not let the Trojans hear your words, lest they may endeavour to counteract your petitions by prayers of their own'; this he immediately revokes by the καὶ in 196, virtually = *nay*. There was a widely-spread primitive idea that every local or national god could be approached only by a particular form of words, which was therefore carefully concealed from an enemy. Thus the title by which the god of Rome was to be addressed was concealed, as a state secret of the highest importance. So the real pronunciation of Y-h-v-h was kept secret by the Jews, *Jehovah* being only a conventional form for reading with the vowels of *Adonai*. It is said that the direction in the Prayer Book to read the Lord's Prayer 'with a loud voice' goes back to a period when this too was superstitiously regarded as a magical formula to be repeated silently, lest the enemies of Christianity might find it out. 195-9 were athetized by Zenod.,

Aristophanes, and Ar. on the ground that 'they are not consistent with the character of Aias, and that he raises objections to himself (ἀνθυποφέρει ἑαυτῷ) absurdly'; a judgment which does not commend itself. It is certainly not inconsistent that a hero, after recommending a conventional precaution, should correct himself, and say that he has no need of such devices. (See, however, Wilamowitz *H. U.* p. 244.)

197. For ἐκὼν Ar. read ἐλὼν: but ἐκὼν and ἀέκων are sometimes joined more from a desire of emphasizing the second than in strict logic; the phrase indeed may fairly be compared to αἰνόνθεν αἰνῶς and οἰόνθεν οἶος. The collocation recurs in a somewhat different sense, Δ 43; cf. ε 155 οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐθελούσῃ, and γ 272, Aisch. *P. V.* 19, etc., for somewhat similar reduplications. For the subj. δῖηται cf. the instances in *H. G.* § 276 a.

198. There is not much to choose between the text and the vulg. αἰδρεῖνι, which would of course mean *by any ignorance of mine*. αὐτως, though poorly supported, is more Homeric (in the sense *a mere dolt*) than οὕτως.

199. τραφέμεν: intrans., see B 661. This is the only place in H., except the

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' εὐχοντο Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι· 200  
 ὦδε δέ τις εἶπεςκεν ἰδὼν εἰς οὐρανὸν εὐρύν·  
 “Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδῆθεν μεδέων, κύνδιστε μέγιστε,  
 δὸς νίκην Αἴαντι καὶ ἀγλαὸν εὐχος ἀρέσθαι·  
 εἰ δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορά περ φιλέεις καὶ κήδεαι αὐτοῦ,  
 ἴσῃν ἀμφοτέροισι βίην καὶ κῦδος ὕπασσον.” 205  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφαν, Αἴας δὲ κορύσσετο νώροπι χαλκῶι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα περὶ χροῖ ἔσσατο τεύχη,  
 σεύατ' ἔπειθ' οἴος τε πελώριος ἔρχεται Ἄρης,  
 ὅς τ' εἰσιν πόλεμόνδε μετ' ἀνέρας, οὓς τε Κρονίων  
 θυμοβόρου ἔριδος μένεϊ ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι· 210  
 τοῖος ἄρ' Αἴας ὦρτο πελώριος, ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν,  
 μειδιῶν βλοσυροῖσι προσώπασι, νέρθε δὲ ποσσὶν  
 ἦϊε μακρὰ βιβάς, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος.  
 τὸν δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι μέγ' ἐγήθεον εἰσορόωντες,  
 Τρῶας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἕκαστον, 215  
 Ἑκτορί τ' αὐτῶι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι πάτασεν·  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πῶς ἔτι εἶχεν ὑποτρέσαι οὐδ' ἀναδύναι  
 ἄψ λαῶν ἐς ὄμιλον, ἐπεὶ προκαλέσσατο χάρμη.

207. τεύχεα A *supr.*. 208. τε *om.* DRU<sup>1</sup>. 212. προσώποις L: προσώ-  
 ποις DGPQRU Vr. b A. 213. βιβὰς Ar. Ω: βιβῶν others? (cf. Γ 22). 214.  
 μέγ': μέν Ar. [H]. 215. τρώων G. || ἐπήλυσε Plut. *de aud. Poet.* 10. ||  
 ἐκάστου DGRU (Vr. A *e corr.*). 216. ἐν στήθεσφι Bar. Mor. 218. λαὸν P.

disputed lines B 557–8, where Aias is brought into connexion with Salamis. This is sufficient to raise a suspicion against the last couplet of the speech, which may have been added to give Homeric support to a local tradition universally accepted in later times. The lines, however, are obviously alluded to by Pindar (N. ii. 13), καὶ μὲν ἂ Σαλαμὶς γε θρέψαι φῶτα μαχατὰν δυνατός. ἐν Τροίᾳ μὲν Ἑκτωρ Αἰάντος ἀκουσεν.

204. Note the position of περ, which seems to go closely with εἰ. Compare O 372, with note. καὶ is here more naturally taken as = also than as even, the regular sense when it is joined with περ.

207. The Attic contraction τεύχη (also X 322, ω 534?) is a rare form in H. (perhaps τεμένη of mss. λ 185 is the only other case); τεύχε' ἔφαστο van L. In σάκεα (Δ 113, υ —) the mss. are as unanimously in favour of synizesis of -εα as they are here for contraction. See also Δ 282, O 444, Ω 7.

208. For the comparison cf. N 298–303.

212. βλοσυροῖσι, *shaggy*. Adam (in *C. R.* xiii. p. 10) argues that this sense suits all the Homeric passages (see Δ 36, O 608). In *Scut. Her.* 147, 175, 191, 250, the sense, as in the equivalent *horridus*, has sunk to the derivative notion of fierceness. So also in Aisch. *Eum.* 167, cf. *Supp.* 833. In Plato (*Rep.* 535 B, *Theact.* 149 A) it is combined with γενναῖος, and the sense *hairy* seems to have passed into *masculine*, *virile*. In Ap. Rhod. ii. 740 it may mean *bristling* (with trees). προσώπασι: so σ 192 προσώπατα; cf. ονειράτα by ονειρος, *H. G.* § 107. 2. νέρθε, as opposed to the face. So we have πόδες καὶ χεῖρες ὑπερθεν.

217. The hiatus in ἔτι εἶχεν is very harsh. Brandreth (and later Fick) conj. ἔτι Φέικεν, *there was no opportunity*, from Φέικω pres. of Φέικωκα, cf. Σ 520 ὅθι σφίσιν εἴκε λοχῆσαι, and X 321 ὅπηι εἴζειε μάλιστα. So also P 354.

- Αἴας δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε φέρων σάκος ἥυτε πύργον,  
 χάλκεον ἑπταβόειον, ὃ οἱ Τυχίος κάμε' τεύχων, 220  
 σκυτοτόμων ὄχ' ἄριστος, "Τληι ἐνὶ οἰκία ναίων·  
 ὃς οἱ ἐποίησεν σάκος αἰόλον ἑπταβόειον  
 ταύρων ζατρεφέων, ἐπὶ δ' ὄγδοον ἤλασε χαλκόν.  
 τὸ πρόσθε στέρνοιο φέρων Τελαμώνιος Αἴας  
 στή ῥα μάλ' Ἑκτορος ἐγγύς, ἀπειλήσας δὲ προσηύδα· 225  
 "Ἑκτορ, νῦν μὲν δὴ σάφα εἴσεται οἴοθεν οἶος,  
 οἶοι καὶ Δαναοῖσιν ἀριστῆες μετέασι,  
 καὶ μετ' Ἀχιλλῆα ῥήξήνορα θυμολέοντα.  
 ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν νήεσσι κορωνίσσι ποντοπόροισι  
 κεῖτ' ἀπομηνίσας Ἀγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν· 230  
 ἡμεῖς δ' εἰμὲν τοιοὶ οἷ ἂν σέθεν ἀντιάσαιμεν,  
 καὶ πολέες. ἄλλ' ἄρχε μάχης ἡδὲ πτολέμοιο."  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ·  
 "Αἴαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,  
 μὴ τί μευ ἥυτε παιδὸς ἀφανροῦ πειρήτιζε 235

220. ΤΕΥΧΩΝ : ΤΕΚΤΩΝ Cant. 221. ὙΛΗΙ : τινὲς ὕδῃ Strabo ix. 408.  
 230. ἐπιμηνίσας Ar. : κεῖται μηνίσας G. 231. ΤΟΙΟΙ : τοῖ H, and γρ. Vr. b.  
 232. πολέμοιο DJRU. 234 om. At. || αἴαν ἀμαρτοεπές, βουγάιε, ποῖον ἔειπες  
 (=N 824) JS Vr. A, Par. f (with text in margin).

219. The 'tower-like' shield of Aias is his constant attribute; it is the favourite type of the coins of his island of Salamis, and his son Eurysakes is named from it. Cf. A 526. The form on the coins is that known as 'Boeotian,' but the description, ἥυτε πύργος, evidently refers to the oblong form of the Mykenaeen shield; see App. B.

220. χάλκεον ἑπταβόειον, explained in 223. The seven layers of hide were dried and sewn together (App. B i. 1); the layer of metal was nailed on the top of them. Observe the obvious allusion in Τυχίος . . . τεύχων, and cf. E 59 Τέκτων Ἀρμονίδης; and for the use of κάμε, B 101.

221. "Τληι, in Boiotia, B 500, where the first syllable is long (*in arsi*), E 708. It has been suggested that this may be the town of the same name in Cyprus; but Cyprus is almost entirely ignored in the Epos, see on E 330. The breastplate given by Kingras (A 20) hardly bears on the question.

222. αἰόλον, sparkling with the light upon the metal surface. This is the only tenable meaning of the word; Butt-

mann's explanation 'easily moved' (*Lexil.* p. 65) is in the last resort based upon a mistaken notion as to the μέτρον. 'Agile' is the last epithet to be applied to this shield of Aias.

223. ταύρων, of bulls' hides; cf. βῶν below, and Δ 105 τόξον αἰγός.

226. οἶδεον οἶος, man to man (as 39), by experience in single combat; an ironical repetition of Hector's own words.

228. ῥήξήνορα, an epithet reserved to Achilles; though Odysseus claims ῥήξ-ηνορή in ξ 217. For the sense cf. Z 6 ῥήξε φάλαγγα, etc.

230. ἀπομηνίσας, giving his wrath full vent; see on B 772.

231. τοῖοι οἷ: cf. P 164; the οἷ is epezeugetic of τοῖοι, not correlative; we might have had τοῖοι ἀντιάσαι, as in β 60. Heyne and others would reject 229-32, with little reason. Indeed the last line is evidently alluded to in 235.

235. The usual course in a single combat was to draw lots for the first cast; see Γ 324-5. Aias, in telling Hector to begin, assumes a certain superiority, as though condescending to give his enemy every advantage, as in

ἤε γυναικός, ἢ οὐκ οἶδεν πολεμῆϊα ἔργα·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐν οἶδα μάχας τ' ἀνδροκτασίας τε·  
 οἶδ' ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, οἶδ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ νωμῆσαι βῶν  
 ἀζαλέην, τό μοί ἐστι ταλαύρινον πολεμίζειν·  
 οἶδα δ' ἐπαῖξαι μῆθον ἵππων ὠκείων,

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237. τ' om. PRU. 238. οἶδ' ἐπὶ: ἡδ' ἐπὶ D (p. ras.). || οἶδ' ἐπ': ἡδ' ἐπ' D (p. ras.) PQS Vr. A (τινές ap. Eust.). || βῶν Ar. Ω: βοῦν Aph. L: βῶ τινές (Rhianus, T), Did. 239. ταλαύρινον G: ταλάβρινον P: ταλάβριον R (supr. η over ο): ταλαύριον Cant., and γρ. R. 240. ἐπαῖξαι: γρ. ἐπαῖσσειν T: γρ. ἐπαῖζειν A Mose. 1. || (DRU Eust. have the line after 241).

the old story, 'Messieurs les Anglais, tirez les premiers.' Similarly in Φ 440 Poseidon, as the older and wiser, tells Apollo to take the first shot. This is why Hector feels himself treated like a child. Van L. objects to this explanation, however, that Hector does not refuse the offer of the first shot, and takes the phrase to mean simply, 'do not try to frighten me by big words.' *πειρήτιζε*, i.e. try if you can frighten me; cf. T 200.

238. The form βῶν is unique. It has been supposed to be a contraction for *βοεῖν*, but this is quite incredible, and is not supported by the analogy of *βῶσαντι* in M 337. It is the accusative of βῶς, which is twice used to mean 'an ox-hide,' in the sense of a shield simply (M 105 *τυκτῆσι βδέσσι*, M 137 *βῶας αἶας*, and cf. ταύρων above, 223). The exact form of the word is, however, doubtful. There was a variant βῶ for βῶα, but as the Homeric form must have been βῶφα this does not deserve much consideration. Aristophanes read βῶν. We have some (very slight) testimony indicating that βῶς was a form in actual use, in Hesych., βῶν ἀσπίδα, Ἀργεῖοι, and Priscian vi. 69 *et Acolis et Doris βῶς dicunt proβῶς*: cf. Lat. *bōs*, and ὦν beside the Attic οὦν. Hinrichs (*Hom. El.* p. 98) thinks that βῶν may represent βοF-ν, but J. Schmidt has pointed out that it may be a very ancient form answering exactly to the Skt. *gām*, acc. of *gāus* (see *H. G.* § 97). But it may be simply a mistake in transliterating the primitive BON (=βοῦν) by those who thought that βῶν might be a contraction of *βοεῖν*. Reichel remarks that only two evolutions were possible with the ponderous Mykenaeen shield; it might be slung either to the right, over the back, for retreat; or to the left, so as to cover the breast. These two movements are expressed here. This is the

meaning of Schol. B, which Heyne calls 'inept,' δεξιὰ μὲν τὸ φεύγειν, ἀριστερὰ δὲ διώκειν.

239. The sense of ταλαύρινον and the construction of τό both admit of doubt, and hence several alternative explanations of this line have been offered. The common solution (that of Aristarchos) is that τό is the relative agreeing in sense with βῶν, as though σάκος had been used instead, just as we have τό following αἰχμῇ in A 238; cf. also Φ 167, μ 75. Then ταλαύρινον will mean 'of tough hide,' from *ταλαός* *enduring*, and the translation will be *which is a sturdy weapon for me to fight with*. The title of Ares, ταλαύρινος πολεμιστής (E 289, etc.), will then mean *the warrior with shield of sturdy hide*. This is perhaps possible in itself; but as the adjective recurs only in these phrases, it is hardly possible here to separate *ταλ.* from *πολεμίζειν*. If these two then be joined, we may take τό either as an acc., *therefore it is in my power*, or as a nominative representing the whole of the preceding sentence, *that is to me*. With the last alternative again we may either take ταλαύρινος in the sense given above, *that is to me* (in my eyes) *to fight as a warrior with shield of sturdy hide*; or we may derive the adjective directly from root τ(α)λα, and divide it *ταλα-φρῶς*, 'shield-bearing'; 'that is what I call being a ταλαύρινος πολεμιστής, a warrior who can bear the shield.' Hector in fact claims the title of Ares. This best suits the form of ταλαύρινος, cf. *ταλαεργός*, *ταλαπηνθής*, *φέρασις* (Aisch.). ταλαύρινον is then best taken as an acc. masc., not an adverbial neuter.

240. ἐπαῖξαι, *to charge*, as Σ 159 ἐπαῖσσε κατά μῆθον, Ψ 64 Ἐκτορ ἐπαῖσσω. Fighting in the chariot is here opposed to *σταδίη*, battle on foot.



οἶδα δ' ἐνὶ σταδίῃ δῆμῳ μέλπεσθαι Ἄρηϊ.  
ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ σ' ἐθέλω βαλέειν τοιοῦτον ἔοντα  
λάβρῃ ὀπιπεύσας, ἀλλ' ἀμφαδόν, αἶ κε τύχωμι."

ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀμπεπαλὼν προῖει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,  
καὶ βάλεν Αἴαντος δεινὸν σάκος ἐπαβόειον

245

ἀκρότατον κατὰ χαλκόν, ὃς ὄγδοος ἦεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

ἔξ δὲ διὰ πτύχας ἦλθε δαΐζων χαλκὸς ἀτειρής,

ἐν τῇ δ' ἐβδομάτῃ ῥινῶι σχέτο. δεύτερος αὐτῇ

Αἴας διογενῆς προῖει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,

καὶ βάλε Πριαμίδαο κατ' ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' εἴσῃν.

250

διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε φαεινῆς ὄβριμον ἔγχος,

καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαϊδάλου ἡρήρειστο·

ἀντικρὺ δὲ παρὰ λαπάρην διάμῃσε χιτῶνα

ἔγχος· ὁ δ' ἐκλίνθη καὶ ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν.

τῷ δ' ἐκσπασσαμένῳ δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἄμ' ἄμφω

255

σύν ῥ' ἔπεσον λείουσιν ἐοικότες ὠμοφάγοισιν

ἢ συσὶ κάπροισιν, τῶν τε σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν.

Πριαμίδης μὲν ἔπειτα μέσον σάκος οὐτάσε δουρί,

οὐδ' ἔρρηξεν χαλκός, ἀνεγνάμφθη δέ οἱ αἰχμή·

Αἴας δ' ἀσπίδα νύξεν ἐπάλμενος, ἣ δὲ διαπρὸ

260

241. σταδίω(ι) QS (*supr.* H). || δῆμῳ Ar. 242. τοιοῦτον : τοῖον P : τοῖον  
per L. 243. ὀπιπεύσας ACDTU : ὀπιπεύσας Ω. || τύχωμι AHT Mor. :  
τύχωμαι J : γρ. τύχωμι Eust. : τύχοιμι Ω. 248. δεύτερον J. 251. ὄβριμον  
CGH. 253. παρὰ J. 254. ἐκκλίνθη J. 255-7 *om.* Zen. and others.  
258. οὐτά P. 259. χαλκός Ar. ST (U *supr.*) Harl. b : χαλκόν Ω. || ἀνεγνάμφη  
G : ἀνεγνάμφη Lips. 260. ἣ δὲ : ἡδὲ J : οὐδὲ Q.

241. μέλπεσθαι Ἄρηϊ, *to dance the war-dance to Ares*. So when Meriones 'dodges' to avoid a spear, Aineias calls him an ὄρχηστής, II 617. The allusion is evidently to the primitive war-dances in which all savage peoples delight, the warriors going through a whole battle-scene in dumb-show. Hector means, 'I can dance the war-dance not only in mimicry at a feast of Ares, but in grim reality on the battle-field.' The custom, as we know, survived till historical times in Greece, under the name of πυρρίχη.

242. Hector breaks off, that he may not be suspected of talking only to gain time and spy out a weak spot. As Hentze remarks, οὐ γάρ . . . τύχωμι is really a parenthesis between ἀλλά and the act of throwing, which forms a practical 'principal sentence.' Cf. Φ 487-9.

244. Part of the fight is told in the

same words as the duel between Paris and Menelaos, but not in such a way as to suggest mere copying. 244 = Γ 355, 250-4 = Γ 356-60, 256-7 = E 782-3, 259 = Γ 348, 260-1 cf. M 404-5, 264-5 = Φ 403-4.

247. διά, in the sense of 'passing through and out of,' regularly takes the gen. (see *H. G.* § 216); here, where the idea 'out of' is not in place, it has the acc.

255. ἐκσπασσαμένῳ, i.e. out of the shields in which they were fixed. Some of the old critics seem to have held that ἔγχεα must here mean ξίφη, in order to give the participle its usual meaning, 'drawing' a sword. It was probably on this ground that Zenod. rejected 255-7 (and perhaps 258).

256. λείουσιν : Brandreth (F) λίσσιν, see on E 782.

ἦλυθεν ἐγχείῃ, στυφέλιξε δέ μιν μεμαῶτα,  
 τμήδην δ' αὐχέν' ἐπῆλθε, μέλαν δ' ἀνεκῆκίεν αἷμα.  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἀπέληγε μάχης κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ,  
 ἀλλ' ἀναχασσάμενος λίθον εἴλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ  
 κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα, τρηχύν τε μέγαν τε· 265  
 τῷ βάλεν Αἴαντος δεινὸν σάκος ἑπταβόειον  
 μέσσον ἐπομφάλιον, περιήχησεν δ' ἄρα χαλκός.  
 δεύτερος αὐτ' Αἴας πολὺ μείζονα λᾶαν αἰείρας  
 ἦκ' ἐπιδινήσας, ἐπέρισε δὲ ἴν' ἀπέλεθρον,  
 εἴσω δ' ἀσπίδ' ἔαξε βαλὼν μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ, 270  
 βλάβῃ δὲ οἱ φίλα γούναθ'. ὁ δ' ὕπτιος ἐξετανύσθη  
 ἀσπίδ' ἐνχιρμιφθεῖς· τὸν δ' αἰψ' ὠρθωσεν Ἀπόλλων.  
 καὶ νύ κε δὴ ξιφέεσσ' αὐτοσχεδὸν οὐτάζοντο,  
 εἰ μὴ κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,  
 ἦλθον, ὁ μὲν Τρώων, ὁ δ' Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων, 275  
 Ταλθύβιός τε καὶ Ἰδαῖος, πεπνυμένω ἄμφω.  
 μέσσωι δ' ἀμφοτέρων σκῆπτρα σχέθον, εἰπέ τε μῦθον  
 κῆρυξ Ἰδαῖος, πεπνυμένα μῆδεα εἰδώς·  
 “μηκέτι, παῖδε φίλῳ, πολεμίζετε μηδὲ μάχεσθον·  
 ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ σφῶϊ φιλεῖ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς, 280  
 ἄμφω δ' αἰχμητά· τό γε δὴ καὶ ἴδμεν ἅπαντες.  
 νῦξ δ' ἤδη τελέθει· ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι.”  
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη Τελαμώνιος Αἴας·  
 “Ἰδαί', Ἑκτορα ταῦτα κελεύετε μυθήσασθαι·

265. τραχύν G. 268. δεύτερον H: δεύτερος δ' J. || αἰείρας: ἐνείρας Lips.  
 269. ἐπέρισε AR<sup>1</sup>. 271. ἐξετανύσθη P. 272. ἀσπίδ' ἐνχιρμιφθεῖς Ar. Mor.:  
 ἀσπίδι δ' ἐγχριφθεῖς Par. d: ἀσπίδι ἐγχρι(μ)φθεῖς Ω. || αἰψ' Ar. Ω: others ψ.  
 277. μέσσον Harl. a. || ἀμφοτέρω Mosc. 1. 279. μηδὲ: μήτε U. || μάχεσθε  
 Bar. Mor.: μάχεσθαι L. 280. σφῶε Ixion HJ. 281. αἰχμηταὶ G. 282.  
 δ' om. HU. 284. ἔκτορι GHJQ Lips. Ven. B (and A *supr.*, T.W.A.).

267. ἐπομφάλιον, ἐπὶ τῷ ὀμφαλῷ.  
 See note on E 19 μεταμάζιον.

269. ἴν' ἀπέλεθρον: see A 354. ἐπέ-  
 ρισε: E 856. Here it seems to mean  
 'pressed into the spear immeasurable  
 strength.'

270. μυλοειδέϊ, like the stone of the  
 ancient quern or handmill, such as is  
 turned by the maids in η 104, etc. So  
 M 161 μυλάκεσαι.

272. ἀσπίδ' ἐνχιρμιφθεῖς seems to  
 mean 'pressed into' his shield by the  
 force of the blow, which drives the shield  
 hard upon him. Apollo is watching  
 the fight from the oak-tree, l. 60.

273. οὐτάζοντο: the imperf. means  
 'they would have been for wounding  
 each other.'

275. Observe the 'chiastic' arrange-  
 ment, Τρώων — Ἀχαιῶν, Ταλθύβιος —  
 Ἰδαῖος.

277. σχέθον: Bentley σχέθε, on account  
 of the F of *Feiπε*. So also von Christ. But  
 then we must write σκῆπτρον also, and  
 it would be more natural for both heralds  
 to act alike. ἦρχε δὲ μύθων Brandreth.

282. νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι half personifies  
 Night, as a great power controlling men;  
 whence she is called *ιερόη*, see on A  
 366.

αὐτὸς γὰρ χάρμη προκαλέσσατο πάντας ἀρίστους· 285  
 ἀρχέτω· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ μάλα πείσομαι, ἦι περ ἂν οὔτος.”  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἴκτωρ·  
 “Αἴαν, ἐπεὶ τοι δῶκε θεὸς μέγεθός τε βίην τε  
 καὶ πινυτήν, περὶ δ' ἔγχει Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατός ἐσσι, 290  
 νῦν μὲν παυσώμεσθα μάχης καὶ δηϊοτήτος  
 σήμερον· ὕστερον αὖτε μαχησόμεθ', εἰς ὃ κε δαίμων  
 ἄμμε διακρίνηι, δῶνι δ' ἐτέροισί γε νίκην·  
 νῦξ δ' ἤδη τελέθει· ἀγαθὸν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι·  
 ὥς σύ τ' ἐυφρήνηις πάντας παρὰ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιοὺς,  
 σοὺς τε μάλιστα ἔτας καὶ ἐταίρους, οἳ τοι ἔασιν· 295  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κατὰ ἄστν μέγα Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος  
 Τρῶας ἐυφρανέω καὶ Τρωιάδας ἐλκεσιπέπλους,  
 αἷ τέ μοι εὐχόμεναι θεῖον δύσονται ἀγῶνα.

285. αὐτὸς: οὔτος P King's Par. a d e g, Vr. b<sup>1</sup>, ἐν ἄλλωι Δ. || γὰρ: δὲ G<sup>1</sup>:  
 δὴ G<sup>2</sup>. || χάρμη: κε μάχῃ Vr. b<sup>1</sup>. 286. εἴπερ GHPRS. 289. φέρτερός DJ.  
 290. παύσωμεν πόλεμον καὶ δηϊοτήτα G (πολέμου) JT Harl. a (γρ. as text), Par.  
 h j and γρ. A. || παυσώμεσθα P Par. e f g. 291. δ' αὖτε D. 292. γε om. J.  
 293 ἄθ. Ar. 294. εὐφράνης GJ(Q?). || ἀχαιῶν GU (R<sup>1</sup>?). 295 ἄθ. Ar. || οἳ  
 σοι G: οἳ τε Q: οἳ τ' D. 297. τρῶας τ' C. || τρωϊδας PR. 298. δύσονται:  
 γρ. εὐσονται (δύσονται Heyne) Schol. B: ἐν τισὶ δύνονται T.

286. ἦι περ ἂν οὔτος, sc. ἄρξῃ. Brandreth conj. (αἷ) κέ περ, and so van L.

288. The combat has been ἐξ ἔριδος only, a mere trial of skill. Thus Hector means, 'Since you have proved yourself a match for me, we need go no further.' This chivalrous acknowledgment of an enemy's prowess is rare in Homer, and recalls rather the stories of mediaeval knighthood.

289. περί, *exceedingly*, or *beyond*, the gen. being ablative; see *H. G.* §§ 185, 186 (2).

290. παυσώμεσθα: rather πανώμεσθα (Mulvany *C. R.* x. 27).

291-2 are no doubt interpolated here from 377-8 where they are quite in place. ἐτέροισι evidently implies a general combat between the two armies, and is not consistent with the single combat, which is never put forward as intended to have any decisive result upon the course of the war. Nor is there, either before or afterwards, any suggestion that the duel is to be renewed. 293 also was justly athetized by Aristarchos, as a weak repetition from 282. The speech runs quite smoothly when the three lines are omitted.

294. ὥς κύ τε, as though a second

clause with καὶ ἐγὼ subordinate to ὥς were to be added; instead of which we have in 296 an independent sentence with the fut. in place of the subj.

295. Athetized by Ar. on the ground that by the special reference to ἔται (cf. Z 239) and ἐταῖροι it unduly limits the more general πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς and that the repetition is tautological. Neither ground is cogent.

298. μοι seems to be a *dativus ethicus* belonging to the whole sentence, on my account. εὐχόμεναι, with thanksgivings; so ν 357 εὐχῶμαι. θεῖον ἀγῶνα, the assemblage of the gods (exactly as Σ 376 θεῖον δυσάλαν' ἀγῶνα), who are supposed to meet together to receive their worshippers, the ἀγῶνιοι θεοὶ of Aisch. *Ag.* 513 (cf. θεῶν πανάγυρις *Sept.* 225). For this sense of ἀγῶν see note on O 428. This is clearly better than the possible *divine assembly*, i.e. assembly of worshippers of the gods, for θεῖος is hardly, if at all, applied to human beings, and even if it were the phrase would be a strange one. There is an obvious alternative, 'they shall enter the assembly of the gods to pray to me as one of the gods.' This is supported by the phrase used of Hector, θεὸς ὥς τίετο δήμωι, cf.

δῶρα δ' ἄγ' ἀλλήλοισι περικλυτὰ δώομεν ἄμφω,  
 ὄφρα τις ὧδ' εἴπησιν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε· 300  
 'ἡμὲν ἐμαρνάσθην ἔριδος πέρι θυμοβόροιο,  
 ἦδ' αὖτ' ἐν φιλότῃ διέτμαγεν ἀρθμήσαντε.'"

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας δῶκε ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον  
 σὺν κολεῶι τε φέρων καὶ ἐντμήτῳ τελαμώνι·  
 Αἴας δὲ ζωστήρα δίδου φοίνικι φαεινόν. 305  
 τὼ δὲ διακριθέντε ὁ μὲν μετὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἦϊ', ὁ δ' ἐς Τρώων ὁμαδὸν κίε. τοὶ δ' ἐχάρησαν,  
 ὥς εἶδον ζῶν τε καὶ ἀρτεμέα προσιόντα,  
 Αἴαντος προφυγόντα μένος καὶ χεῖρας ἀάπτους·  
 καὶ ῥ' ἦγον προτὶ ἄστν, ἀελπτέοντες σόον εἶναι. 310  
 Αἴαντ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐνκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ  
 εἰς Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον ἄγον, κεχαρηότα νίκη.  
 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ κλισίῃσιν ἐν Ἀτρεΐδαο γένοντο,

299. δ' ἄγ' : δέ γ' *ap. Eust.* : δέ γ' R : δ' ἄμ' G. || ἄγ' *om.* D<sup>1</sup>H. 300. ΤΕ ΤΡΩΩΝ ΤΕ : χαλκοχιτώνων (*γρ. τε τρώων τε*) DU. 302. ἦδ' αὖτ' ἐν : ΝῦΝ αὖτε S : ἦδὲ καὶ αὖ *Et. Mag.* || διέτμαγον Mosc. 1. || ἀρμησάντες DU Vr. b : ἀριεμῆσαντε P Lips. : ἀρμωσέντε G : *γρ. ἀρμωσέντε J.* 304. εὐδμήτω G Par. b : εὐκμήτω Ar. 306. διακριθέντε CGHJPRT Lips. : διακριέντες Q. 307. δ' ἐς : δὲ H. || τοῖ : τὸν R<sup>1</sup>U. 309. αἴαντος δὲ P. 310. ἀελπέοντες JPR<sup>2</sup> Hesych. : ἀέλποντες G and *ap. Eust.* : ἀέλπτοντες Mosc. 1. 312. εἰς : ὥς Par. b, Mosc. 1. || κεκαφνότα *Et. Mag.* 482. 7 (οἶονεὶ πνευστιῶντα). 313. ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἐγένοντο Q.

also ν 231 σοὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε εὐχομαι ὥς τε θεῶι, X 394 ὡς Τρῶες κατὰ ἄστυ θεῶι ὥς εὐχετόωντο, Hes. *T'h.* 91 (of the just king) ἐρχόμενον δ' ἂν' ἀγῶνα θεὸν ὥς ἱλάσκονται : but the absence of the ὥς makes all the difference—the expression unqualified would be intolerably impious. A 761 πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορι γ' ἀνδρῶν is closer, but here again ἀνδρῶν is an essential qualification. The idea of worshippers actually entering among the gods, though primitive, was less familiar to later Greeks, and doubtless gave rise to the presumably conjectural θύονται (θύσονται?) for δύσονται mentioned by Schol. B. But θύεσθαι θεοῦς = to sacrifice to the gods is not a possible constr.

301. ἔριδος πέρι, like ἐξ ἔριδος (111), virtually for a match.

302. ἀρμησάντε : the verb is found here only (Ap. Rhod. i. 1344 ἀρμηνθέντες). But ἀρθμος occurs in π 427, and ἀρθμός, friendship, *Hymn. Merc.* 524, Aisch. *P. V.* 191.

304. φέρων is pleonastic, as ἔχων,

λαβών, ἄγων (A 488 etc.), and often in Trag. Instances are given in Kühner ii. p. 646.

305. δίδου, by the side of δῶκε, marks the second gift as simultaneous with the first ; see *H. G.* § 71. 1. According to the later legends, both these gifts proved ill-omened to the recipients, Hector being dragged behind the chariot of Achilles by the belt of Aias, who in turn slew himself with the sword of Hector ; for ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κοῦκ ὀνήσιμα, *Soph. Aj.* 665, referring to this passage (cf. *ibid.* 1029).

310. ἀελπτέοντες represents an imperf. because they were in despair of his safety, not daring to believe that he was yet alive. ἀελπής occurs in ε 408, ἀελπτος not before *Hymn. Ap.* 91, *Cer.* 219, so perhaps we should prefer the variant ἀελπέοντες. The synzesis is suspicious. Herod. imitates the phrase (vii. 168) ἀελπτέοντες τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὑπερβαλέσθαι.

313. The following passage is made up, with slight adaptations, of lines



τοῖσι δὲ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων  
 ἄρσενα πενταέτηρον ὑπερμενεί Κρονίωνι. 315  
 τὸν δέρον ἀμφί θ' ἔπον, καί μιν διέχευαν ἅπαντα,  
 μίστυλλον τ' ἄρ' ἐπισταμένως πείραν τ' ὀβελοῖσιν,  
 ὥπτησάν τε περιφραδέως ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα,  
 δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδέετο δαιτὸς εἴσης. 320  
 νώτοισιν δ' Αἴαντα διηνεκέεσσι γέραιεν  
 ἦρως Ἀτρεΐδης, εὐρὸν κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 τοῖς ὁ γέρων πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο μῆτιν  
 Νέστωρ, οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή. 325  
 ὃ σφιν ἐν φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν·  
 "Ἀτρεΐδη τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν,  
 πολλοὶ γὰρ τεθνήσκει κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί,  
 τῶν νῦν αἷμα κελαινὸν εὐρροον ἀμφὶ Σκάμανδρον  
 ἐσκέδασ' ὄξυς Ἀρης, ψυχαὶ δ' Αἰδὸςδε κατήλθον. 330  
 τῷ σε χρὴ πόλεμον μὲν ἄμ' ἡοὶ παῦσαι Ἀχαιῶν,  
 αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγρόμενοι κυκλήσομεν ἐνθάδε νεκροὺς  
 βουσι καὶ ἡμίονοισιν· ἀτὰρ κατακείομεν αὐτοὺς

314. δὲ om. T. 315. πενταέτηρα Q. 316. διέχευον A (*supr.* α). 317.  
 τ' ἄρ': δ' ἄρ' H. || πείραν δ' U. 320. δαίνυντο T. 321. γέραιεν J.  
 324. πάμπρωτον Plut. *Symp.* vii. 9. 1. || Μῆτιν: μύθῳ Vr. b: μῦθον Eust.:  
 μύθους Et. Mag. 785. 325. πρόσθεν: πρῶτον J. 326. ὃ: ὅς GJPR<sup>2</sup>.  
 327. ἀτρεΐδαί (A *supr.*) CGHRU Harl. a. 328. γάρ: μὲν J (γρ. γάρ) S Mor.  
 Harl. a: μὲν γὰρ G: δὴ U Vr. b<sup>1</sup>. 329. κάμανδρον LR<sup>1</sup> Harl. a (p. ras.).  
 331. σε: γε H. 332. νεκροὺς: πάντας Et. Mag. 544. 24. 333. ἡμίονοις  
 αὐτὰρ Q. || κατακείομεν [GS]T *supr.*

which occur in other passages of H.; it is merely a transition to the second portion of the book, which begins, properly speaking, at 327. 313=I 669, 314-5 = B 402-3, 316 = τ 421, 317-320 = A 465-8, 321 = ξ 437, 322 = A 102, 323 = A 469, 323-6 = I 92-5, 326 = A 73.

316. ἀμφὶ ἔπον, *handled*, 'treated' it (see on Z 321), i.e. cut off the superfluous parts, in order to make it ready for roasting. διέχευαν, *divided into joints*; μίστυλλον, *cut into slices*.

321. So Herodotus enumerates among the privileges of the Spartan kings (vi. 56) τῶν θυομένων πάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφέας. Cf. Virg.

*Aen.* viii. 183 *vescitur Aeneas . . per petui tergo bovis*. Similarly the chine (νῶτα) is the portion of honour in I 207, δ 65, θ 475, ξ 437.

328. γάρ, virtually = *seeing that*; H. G. 348 (2).

332. κυκλήσομεν on the analogy of κατακείομεν must be aor. subj.; *let us wheel hither*, i.e. bring on wagons. The use of oxen to draw wagons occurs in Homer only here and in Ω 782. They are yoked to the plough, K 352, N 703, ν 32.

333. αὐτοὺς in the weak anaphoric sense is very suspicious, the more so as it recurs several times in the next few lines.

τυτθὸν ἀποπρὸ νεῶν, ὥς κ' ὅστέα παισὶν ἕκαστος  
 οἴκαδ' ἄγῃ, ὅτ' ἂν αὐτε νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαίαν. 335  
 τύμβον δ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν ἓνα χεύομεν ἔξαγαγόντες  
 ἄκριτον ἐκ πεδίου· ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν δείμομεν ὦκα  
 πύργους ὑψηλοῦς, εἰλαρ νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν,  
 ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ποιήσομεν εὖ ἀραρυίας,  
 ὄφρα δι' αὐτάων ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἴη. 340

334-5 ἀθ. Ar. 336. τύμβόν τ' Ar. Q Mosc. 1. || ἀμφὶ πυρὴν: γρ. καὶ ἀμφί-  
 βολον Schol. T. 337. ἐν πεδίῳ Aph. and αρ. Eust. || ποτὶ: προτὶ P:  
 περὶ (Aph. ? cf. 436) Q. 339. εὖ: τινὲς γρ. ἔπ' A.

334-5 were athetized by Ar. on the sufficient ground that the making of a common tomb was inconsistent with taking home the bones: a practice which we do not elsewhere find in the Homeric age, though it is alluded to by Aisch. *Ag.* 435-44. 334 is ludicrously feeble in expression; the natural meaning would be, 'that every man may carry his own bones back.' As it stands, we must take it to mean 'that every man may take (somebody's) bones back to the children (of their owner).'

336. *ἔξαγαγόντες*: a difficult expression. Ar. explained it 'marching out,' a sense in which the word occurs in Xen. and later Greek; for the Homeric use he compared *ἐσάγουσα* (Z 252), explained to mean 'entering in,' but this is not satisfactory. *ἐξάγειν* is used by Thuc. in the sense of 'extending' the circuit of a circumvallation (i. 93 ὁ περίβολος ἐξήχθη), but the word is more naturally used of 'drawing' a line of walls than of 'raising' a mound. Perhaps the best explanation is *bringing it* (sc. the earth for it) *from the plain*. (It would be most natural to understand 'bringing the corpses out of the plain,' but this has already been mentioned in 332, and would evidently not suit 436.)

337. *ἄκριτον*, commonly explained *one for all alike*. But the order of the words is against this; the word can hardly be anything but an adv. going closely with *ἐκ πεδίου*. Here again the explanation *bringing the corpses indiscriminately* would be most natural; if the object of *ἔξαγαγόντες* is 'the soil,' the meaning must be 'such material as first comes to hand,' not selecting the suitable stones as for a regular wall. The idea seems to have been to combine utility with piety by making the burial mound serve as part of the circuit of

the walls (*πύργοι*, see on 436 and Δ 334). The mound is, however, never mentioned afterwards as part of the works of defence. Note the weak *αὐτόν*, with the forbidden lengthening by position in the fourth thesis.

339. *πύλας* does not necessarily mean more than one gate, in which sense Ar. took it. But it is probable that the poet regarded the wall as having several gates; see note on M 175.

340. *εἴη* is G. Hermann's reading, mss. (whose testimony on the point is perfectly indifferent) having *εἴη*. This form of the subj. is found in Ψ 47 *μετείω*, and is possibly to be introduced in I 245, Σ 88, ο 448 (for *ἐλθῃ*), ρ 586. Of course *ἔ-ηι*, the original form, could never give *εἴη*; that can only be a late formation from a stem *ἦ-* abstracted from *ἦν*, on the analogy *εἶω: ἔην:: βεῖω: ἔβην* (Mulvany in *C. R.* x. 25), or a purely metrical lengthening due to the sixth arsis (Schulze, see App. D). The opt. is quite out of place after the principal tense, and there is no clear instance of it in H. In ρ 243 *ὥς ἔλθοι* after an imperative expresses a *wish*, and here the opt. is in place. In A 344 the reading is wrong. In ρ 250 we may read *ἄλφῃ*. In no other case do we find the pure opt. in final sentences after principal tenses, and the opt. with *ἂν* and *κεν*, though not uncommon, is entirely confined to the *Odyssey*. (See Weber *Entwicklungsgesch. der Absichtssätze* pp. 43-5.) The fact seems to be that the form has been influenced by the opt. in 439, where it is necessary. Nestor's speech has been made up by expanding the actual account of the building in 435 ff.; all military wisdom has to be put into the mouth of the sage of Pylos, as usual. The refractory word *εἴη* was turned into a subj. in the process

ἐκτοσθεν δὲ βαθείαν ὀρύξομεν ἐγγύθι τάφρον,  
ἢ χ' ἵππον καὶ λαὸν ἐρυκάκοι ἀμφὶς ἐούσα,  
μή ποτ' ἐπιβρίσῃ πόλεμος Τρώων ἀγερῶχων."

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνησαν βασιλῆες.

Τρώων αὐτ' ἀγορὴ γένετ' Ἰλίου ἐν πόλει ἄκρῃ,  
δεινὴ τετρηχυῖα, παρὰ Πριάμοιο θύρῃσι.

345

τοῖσιν δ' Ἀντήνωρ πεπνυμένος ἦρχ' ἀγορεύει·

"κέκλυτέ μεν, Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἡδ' ἐπίκουροι,  
ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.

δεῦτ' ἄγετ', Ἀργείην Ἐλένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἅμ' αὐτῇ

350

δώομεν Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἄγειν· νῦν δ' ὄρκια πιστὰ

ψευδάμενοι μαχόμεσθα· τῷ οὐ νύ τι κέρδιον ἡμῖν

ἔλπομαι ἐκτελέεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ῥέξομεν ὧδε."

341. ἘΚΤΟΣΘΕΝ : ἔΣΩΘΕΝ Q.

342. ἸΠΠΟΝΟΥΣ S : ἸΠΠΟΝ (*supr.* ους) Par. g. ||

ἸΠΠΟΝ τὲ καὶ U. || ἐρυκάκει Q. || γρ. ἀμφὶς ἔχουσα T.

343. ἐπιβρίσει Q.

344. ἐπῆ(ι)νεσαν DGHJPQR.

345. δ' αὐτ' DGJRT. || ἰλίω J (*supr.* ου).

346. δεινὴ τε τρηχεῖα HJ : δ. τε τραχεῖα G. || εὐρήσι : ἐστίνισι(ν) S Cant. (*supr.* εὐρήσι).

347. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτ' Vr. b. || ἀντίον ἡῦδα A (γρ. ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν),

γρ. Mosc. 3.

348. μεν : μὲν R *e corr.*

349. στήθεσσι ἀνώγει DRU Vr. b<sup>1</sup>.

351. ἀτρεΐδῃσιν : ἀργείοισιν Harl. a. || Νῦν : γρ. μὲ C (*man. rec.*). 352. τῷ : τὸ J Cant. Vr. b. 353 ἀθ. Ar. || ἐκτελέεσθ', εἴ κεν μὴ 'in uno Vindob.' Heyne. || ἵνα : ἵν' ἂν Ar. (T *man. rec.*) : ἦν γε (γε erased) Par. e.

by the simple device of a false archaism. It is curious that there is another question between -η and -νι in this same line. ἰππηλασίη as written must be an adj. = ἰππηλάτος (δ 607), but we should expect ἰππηλασίη as a subst. (cf. A 672 βροηλασίη), and this reading is mentioned in the *scholia breviora*.

342. ἢ κε . . ἐρυκάκοι : here, in the relative sentence with κε, the (potential) opt. is quite in order ; see the numerous instances in *H. G.* §§ 304-6. ἵππον in the sense of *cavalry* is of course Herodotean and Attic ; there is no other instance of the use in *H.* Turnebus (1554), followed by subsequent editors, wrote ἵππους, with no authority but the text of the Roman ed. of Eust., thus concealing a valuable indication of the late date of Nestor's speech. ἀμφὶς ἐούσα appears to mean *surrounding the camp* ; but this sense of surrounding *completely* properly belongs only to περί : ἀμφί and ἀμφὶς mean properly 'on both sides' ; then they come to signify 'on different sides,' and so can be used to indicate surrounding, not by a continuous line, but by individual points — a distinction corresponding to

that between *umher* and *herum* in German. The δεσμοὶ ἀμφὶς ἔχοντες in θ 340 seem, however, to show that ἀμφὶς came ultimately to be identical with περί, though perhaps only at a late date. In Γ 115 ἀμφὶς is clearly *on both sides* of each heap, not *all around*. Perhaps therefore we ought to take it to mean here *apart from* the wall ; the trench is generally conceived as being some distance away from the wall itself, and ἐγγύθι shews at all events that they were not to be in immediate contact, like the modern moat with a rampart. On this question see note on O 213. The variant ἀμφὶς ἔχουσα would mean *keeping them apart* from the enemy.

Half of the following passage (344-405) is made up of lines found in other parts of the *Iliad*.

346. τετρηχυῖα : see on B 95 ; and for the assembly at the gates of Priam's palace, B 788.

352. ψευδάμενοι is not elsewhere found in *H.* with an accusative. But the addition of ὄρκια has numerous analogies in the very free Homeric use of that case ; e.g. I 115, O 33, etc.

353. This line was evidently added in

ἦ τοι ὅ γ' ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο, τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη  
 δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑλένης πόσις ἠυκόμοιο, 355  
 ὅς μιν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “Ἀντήνορ, σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις·  
 οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοῆσαι.  
 εἰ δ' ἐτεὸν δὴ τοῦτον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἀγορεύεις,  
 ἐξ ἄρα δὴ τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὤλεσαν αὐτοί. 360  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώεσσι μεθ' ἵπποδάμοις ἀγορεύσω.  
 ἀντικρὺ δ' ἀπόφημι, γυναιῖκα μὲν οὐκ ἀποδώσω·  
 κτήματα δ', ὅσσ' ἀγόμην ἐξ Ἄργεος ἡμέτερον δῶ,  
 πάντ' ἐθέλω δόμεναι καὶ ἔτ' οἰκοθεν ἄλλ' ἐπιθεῖναι.”  
 ἦ τοι ὅ γ' ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο, τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη 365  
 Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος, θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος,  
 ὃ σφιν ἐν φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπε·  
 “κέκλυτέ μεν, Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἠδ' ἐπίκουροι,  
 ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.  
 νῦν μὲν δόρπον ἔλεσθε κατὰ πτόλιν, ὡς τὸ πάρος περ, 370  
 καὶ φυλακῆς μνήσασθε καὶ ἐγρήγορθε ἕκαστος·  
 ἡῶθεν δ' Ἰδαῖος ἵτω κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας  
 εἰπόμεν Ἀτρεΐδης Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Μενελάω  
 μῦθον Ἀλεξάνδροιο, τοῦ εἵνεκα νεῖκος ὄρωρε·  
 καὶ δὲ τόδ' εἰπόμεναι πυκινὸν ἔπος, αἶ κ' ἐθέλωσι 375

357. ἀντήνωρ DJ. || τὰδ' H (*supr.* ταῦτ'). 358. ἀμύμονα P: ἀμύμονα T.  
 359. εἰ δ' Ar. Ω: ἄλλοι εἰ Did. || ἀγορεύεις G. 361. ἀγορεύω Lips. 364.  
 ἐπιδοῦναι Eust. on Ω 1. 366. μῆστωρ: μῆτιν U<sup>3</sup> *supr.* 367. ὅ: ὅς GP.  
 368-9 om. A<sup>4</sup>H (ἐν ἄλλωι καὶ ἐνταῦθα οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι κείνται A<sup>m</sup>). 370. πτόλιν:  
 πόλιν U Mor. Vr. b: στρατὸν HJ (γρ. πτόλιν) ST, γρ. A. 372. νῆας: νῆας  
 ἀχαιῶν HP. 374. ἀλεξάνδρου G.

order to supply a verb to the phrase οὐ  
 νύ τι κέρδιον ἡμῶν, which does not need  
 one. The clause ἵνα μὴ ῥέζομεν ὥδε  
 cannot be translated so as to make good  
 sense; it looks as though it were meant  
 for 'unless we do thus,' perhaps *where*  
 (=in the case where) *we do not thus*.  
 But for such a sense the Greek language  
 affords no support. Ar., while obelizing  
 the line, read *ἵν' ἂν* for *ἵνα*, which does  
 not help matters. ἐκτελέσθ' εἰ κεν is  
 the only satisfactory variant.

357. φίλα, *pleasing* (not *friendly*).

362. ἀπόφημι, *declare outright*; cf. I  
 422, B 772.

363. Ἄργεος, here in the general sense  
 of the Peloponnesos; Helen of course  
 had been brought from Sparta. οἴκοθεν,

*from my own store*. The F is neglected  
 as in Ἴλιον above (345) and εἴπω (349);  
 these are all signs of lateness. Of course  
 it is easy to omit *ἔτ'*.

371. There is no reason for this advice  
 here; the line is probably interpolated,  
 owing to the similarity of the preceding  
 line, from Σ 299, where it is appropriate,  
 as the Trojans are camping in the plain  
 near the Greek camp. ἐγρήγορε: see on  
 K 67.

375. καὶ δὲ τόδ': καὶ τόδε Brandreth.  
 ἔπος, *proposal*, which, however, is ex-  
 pressed not in a direct form, but politely  
 as a supposition; as though 'make to  
 them this proposition; whether they  
 will be willing,' etc. It is not necessary  
 to supply any apodosis to αἶ κε.



παύσασθαι πολέμοιο δυσηχέος, εἰς ὃ κε νεκροὺς  
κείομεν· ὕστερον αὖτε μαχησόμεθ', εἰς ὃ κε δαίμον  
ἄμμε διακρίνηι, δῶνι δ' ἑτέροισί γε νίκην."

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύουν ἡδ' ἐπίθοντο.  
[δόρπον ἔπειθ' εἴλοντο κατὰ στρατὸν ἐν τελέεσσιν.] 380  
ἡῶθεν δ' Ἰδαίος ἔβη κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας.  
τοὺς δ' εὖρ' εἰν ἀγορῇ Δαναοὺς, θεράποντας Ἄρῃος,  
νῆϊ πάρα πρυμνῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι  
στάς ἐν μέσσοισιν μετεφώνεεν ἡπύτα κῆρυξ·  
"Ἀτρεΐδῃ τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν, 385  
ἡνώγει Πρίαμός τε καὶ ἄλλοι Τρῶες ἀγανοὶ  
εἰπεῖν, αἳ κέ περ ὕμμι φίλον καὶ ἡδὺ γένοιτο,  
μῦθον Ἀλεξάνδροιο, τοῦ εἵνεκα νεῖκος ὄρωρε·  
κτῆματα μὲν ὅς' Ἀλέξανδρος κοίλῃσι ἐνὶ νηυσὶν  
ἡγάγετο Τροίηνδ'—ὥς πρὶν ὠφέλλ' ἀπολέσθαι— 390  
πάντ' ἐθέλει δόμεναι καὶ ἔτ' οἴκοθεν ἄλλ' ἐπιθεῖναι·  
κουριδίην δ' ἄλοχον Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο  
οὐ φησιν δώσειν· ἥ μὲν Τρῶές γε κέλονται.  
καὶ δὲ τόδ' ἡνώγεον εἰπεῖν ἔπος, αἳ κ' ἐθέλητε

376. παύσεσθαι Vr. b. 377. κῆομεν [GS]: κῆομεν L. || ὕστερον δ' PRU. ||  
μαχε(ς)όμεθ' GJ. 380 om. A<sup>4</sup>D<sup>4</sup>PQU<sup>4</sup>: ἐν ἄλλωι καὶ οὗτος ὁ στίχος A<sup>m</sup>. 382.  
εἰν om. J: ἐν D. 384. προσεφώνεεν Q: μετεφώνηεν J. 385 om. A<sup>4</sup>. ||  
ἀτρεΐδα Mor.: ἀτρεΐδαί GPQRSU. || εὐκνήμιδες ἀχαιοὶ DPQRU, Vr. b c, γρ.  
Mosc. 1 3, Harl. a, and ἐν ἄλλωι A. 386. ἡνώγει J. || τε: με T. 387.  
εἰπέμεν C Lips. || κέ περ: κέν πως G. 389. κοίλας G. || ναυὶ Q. 390.  
ὥς: ὅς QR. 393. μῆν Ag. Ω: μιν DR<sup>4</sup>S, and ἄλλοι (Did.). || γε: τε JQ.  
394. ἡνώγην Mor.

376. δυσηχέος: see on B 686.

380. Wrongly interpolated from Σ 298; here the phrase κατὰ στρ. ἐν τελέεσσιν is quite inappropriate; cf. 371.

381. ἡῶθεν, next day; the Trojan assembly must, like the Greek council, have been held late at night. From 421 it appears that Idaios came so early that he took the answer back to Troy before sunrise! But the want of clearness in marking the passage of the night is quite unlike the real Epic style. Why the Greeks are thus early in assembly it is impossible to say. Probably in the original context, when this episode followed Γ, they had sent the Trojans a formal demand for the surrender of Helen, and were assembled to receive the answer.

383. According to A 806 it was the ship of Odysseus, not of Agamemnon,

which marked the place of assembly. This is the μέσον στρατήγιον of Soph. *Aj.* 721.

387. αἳ κε . . γένοιτο is not part of the message, but apparently a courteous introduction by Idaios himself; Monro compares 'an it please you.'

393. ἢ μῆν, virtually 'although'; this clause shews how such a conjunctive sense may arise in simple particles introducing a paratactic clause, where the concessive quality is given only by the context. Τρῶες: Antenor seems to be regarded as the leader of a popular party. Cf. Γ 149, 454.

394. For ἡνώγεον Spitzner and most subsequent edd. read ἡνώγει(ν). In form it must be the imperf. of a secondary present ἀνωγέω (like γεγωνέω by the side of γέγωνα), of which, however, there is no further evidence, ἡνώγει (386,

παύσασθαι πολέμοιο δυσηχέος, εἰς ὃ κε νεκροὺς 395  
κείμεν· ὕστερον αὖτε μαχησόμεθ', εἰς ὃ κε δαίμων  
ἄμμε διακρίνηι, δώμη δ' ἐτέροισί γε νίκην."

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.  
ὄψε δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·

"μήτ' ἄρ τις νῦν κτήματ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο δεχέσθω 400  
μήθ' Ἑλένην· γνωτὸν δέ, καὶ ὃς μάλα νήπιός ἐστιν,  
ὥς ἦδη Τρώεσσιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφήπται."

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπίαχον νῆες Ἀχαιῶν,  
μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἱπποδάμοιο.

καὶ τότε ἄρ' Ἰδαῖον προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων· 405

"Ἰδαῖ', ἦ τοι μῦθον Ἀχαιῶν αὐτὸς ἀκούεις,  
ὥς τοι ὑποκρίνονται· ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπιανδάνει οὕτως.

ἀμφὶ δὲ νεκροῖσιν κατακαίμεν οὐ τίς μεγαίρω·

οὐ γάρ τις φειδῶ νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων

γίγνεται, ἐπεὶ κε θάνωσι, πυρὸς μειλισσέμεν ὦκα. 410

ὄρκια δὲ Ζεὺς ἴστω, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης."

ὥς εἰπὼν τὸ σκήπτρον ἀνέσχεθε πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,

395. παύσασε Q: παῦσαι δὴ G. 396. κήμεν [S]: κήμεν GL. || δ' αὐτε JR. || μαχεσόμεε J Mor. Bar. 400. μὴ γάρ GH: μὴτάρ D. 401. γνώτω G. 407. ἐμοὶ γ' Q. || οὕτω U. 408. κατακαίμεν Q: κατακήμεν GLS: κατακαίμεν D: κατακείμεν Ω (including A, T.W.A.). 409. κατατεθνηώτων ACDPRSTU. 410. γίγνεται ALS. || μελίσσμεν C, γρ. J. 412. ὥς δ' J.

unless we read *ἤνωγε* with van L.) being plupf. to *ἀνωγα*. Bentley's *ἤνωγον* (as Γ 578, etc.) is therefore preferable, as an aorist; see note on A 313 (*καὶ τότε μ' ἤνωγον* Brandreth). It may be observed that the change to the 3rd plur. is natural, in order to shew that the subject is not the same as that of οὐ φησιν.

400. Ἀλεξάνδροιο: ablative gen., *from A.*; cf. A 596.

401. ὅς here virtually = *εἴ τις*, as in Ξ 81 βέλτερον ὅς προφύγῃ, where see note. Numerous similar instances are quoted by Kühner ii. p. 945.

402. ὀλέθρου πείρατα, *issues of destruction*; though the metaphor of the end of a rope is suggested by ἐφήπται. See note on 102.

408. There is a slight pause after *νεκροῖσιν*, as *concerning the dead*.

409. The sense seems to be *there is no grudging concerning dead corpses, as to giving them the consolation of fire speedily*. The last clause would in Attic

be introduced by *μὴ οὐ*. Monro (*H. G.* § 234 fin.) regards the infin. as 'equivalent in sense to the genitive depending on a noun'; 'there is no grudging about the appeasing.' It seems simpler to regard it as a case of epexegetis, where the original dative sense of the infin. is still felt, 'for the appeasing by fire.' For φειδῶ with gen. compare phrases like *χόλος νιός*, anger *concerning* his son; *H. G.* 147. 1. *πυρός*, as in *πυρὸς λελαχεῖν, πρῆσαι* (B 415, q.v.), etc.

411. ὄρκια, the oath of truce. It is not clear why Agamemnon lifts his sceptre to *all* the gods, when only Zeus, the presiding deity of oaths, is named; see K 328, where the sceptre is again used as the instrument of the oath as in A 234. This is a place where some allusion to the breach of the previous truce in Δ would seem to be imperative, if the author of this passage knew of it.

412. τό as the article with *σκήπτρον* looks like a later use.

ἄψορρον δ' Ἰδαῖος ἔβη προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρήν.  
 οἱ δ' ἔατ' εἰν ἀγορῇ Τρῶες καὶ Δαρδανίῳνες  
 πάντες ὁμηγερέες, ποτιδέγμενοι ὀππότην ἄρ' ἔλθοι 415  
 Ἰδαῖος· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἦλθε καὶ ἀγγελίην ἀπέειπε  
 σταῖς ἐν μέσσοισιν. τοὶ δ' ὠπλίζοντο μάλ' ὦκα,  
 ἀμφοτέρων, νέκυάς τ' ἀγέμεν, ἕτεροι δὲ μεθ' ὕλην.  
 Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐτέρωθεν εὐσσέλμων ἀπὸ νηῶν  
 ὀτρύνοντο νέκυς τ' ἀγέμεν, ἕτεροι δὲ μεθ' ὕλην. 420  
 ἥελιος μὲν ἔπειτα νέον προσέβαλλεν ἀρούρας,  
 ἐξ ἀκαλαρρείταιο βαθυρρόου Ὠκεανοῖο  
 οὐρανὸν εἰσανιών· οἱ δ' ἦντεον ἀλλήλοισιν.  
 ἔνθα διαγνῶναι χαλεπῶς ἦν ἄνδρα ἕκαστον·  
 ἀλλ' ὕδατι νύζοντες ἀπο βρότου αἱματόεντα, 425  
 δάκρυα θερμὰ χέοντες, ἀμαξίων ἐπάειραν.  
 οὐδ' εἶα κλαίειν Πρίαμος μέγας· οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ

413. ποτὶ QS. 414. ἐν Q. 415. ὁμηγερέες L. || προτιδέγμενοι D<sup>1</sup>U. ||  
 ὀππότην ἂν J (γρ. ὀππότην ἄρ): ὀππότην G. || ἔλθῃ R (S *supr.*). 418. ἀμφοτέροι  
 L (*supr.* ON) Vr. c<sup>1</sup> (U *supr.*): ἀμφοτέρων Mosc. 3. 419-20 om. QT<sup>t</sup> King's.  
 419. ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας P (*supr.* εὐσέλμων ἀπὸ νηῶν), γρ. L. 420.  
 ὀτρύνοντο Ar. Par. a<sup>1</sup> b: ὠτρύνοντο T<sup>m</sup> (το struck out): ὠτρύνοντο Harl. b,  
 Par. a<sup>2</sup> c<sup>2</sup>: ὀτρυνον DGJU Par. j: ὠτρυνον Ω. || Νέκυς Ar. Harl. b, Par. a<sup>2</sup> b:  
 νέκυάς Ω. 424. χαλεπὸν CJQS (*supr.* ὦς) Vr. b. 427. οὐκ R. || ἔα  
 Q. || οἱ δὲ: ἀλλὰ King's Par. a f k, ἐν ἄλλωι A.

414. Δαρδανίῳνες only here and Θ 154; it is of course a patronymic; cf. *vies* Ἀχαιῶν.

415. ποτιδέγμενοι: see note on B 794.

416. ἀπέειπε, *declared*, as I 309, 431, Ψ 361, and elsewhere; cf. ἀπόφημι in 362. In A 515 and other places it means *refuse*.

418. There is a slight change of construction in ἕτεροι δὲ μεθ' ὕλην, as though another ἕτεροι had introduced the preceding clause.

420. ὀτρύνοντο νέκυς: so Ar.; vulg. ὠτρυνον νέκυσ, but the active ὀτρύνειν is always transitive. νέκυς: acc. pl. as ω 417; see *H. G.* § 100 for other instances, and note on Σ 180. But the line is probably added to supply the verb to 419, quite needlessly.

421-2=τ 433-4. It may be observed that the lines appear to have been adopted in the *Odyssey* from this passage, not *vice versa*, as the omission there of the clause οὐρανὸν εἰσανιών makes the second line very awkward. The words would naturally seem to indicate

the opening of a fresh day (see note on 381 ἥωθεν). But ἦντεον (more correctly ἦνταον) seems clearly to be contemporaneous with ὠπλίζοντο (and ὀτρύνοντο) above; and we cannot suppose that a whole day was filled with mere preparations for bringing in the dead.

422. ἀκαλαρρείταιο occurs only here and τ 434. It is explained *silently flowing* from ἀκαλός (cf. ἀκήν, ἡκαλός), a word found only in the lexicographers, who say that the divine Ocean, θεῶν γένεσις, is not stirred by tempests like 'earth's human shores.'

424. χαλεπῶς ἦν: for the use of the adverb instead of the adj. with εἶμι see note on A 416, and *H. G.* § 162. 5 a. ἀλλά in the next line means 'but yet by washing them they could discern; and so,' etc. There is no reason to limit the shedding of tears to the Trojans, as some have done. Priam forbids them to *cry aloud*, which was the habit of a non-Greek people, see Ω 721; hence the silence of the Greeks does not need mention.

νεκρούς πυρκαϊῆς ἐπενήνεον ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ,  
 ἐν δὲ πυρὶ πρήσαντες ἔβαν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρήν.  
 ὧς δ' αὐτως ἐτέρωθεν ἐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ 430  
 νεκρούς πυρκαϊῆς ἐπενήνεον ἀχνύμενοι κῆρ,  
 ἐν δὲ πυρὶ πρήσαντες ἔβαν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας.  
 ἦμος δ' οὐτ' ἄρ πω ἠώς, ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ,  
 τῆμος ἄρ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν κριτὸς ἔγρετο λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν,  
 τύμβον δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἕνα ποίεον ἑξαγαγόντες 435  
 ἄκριτον ἐκ πεδίου, ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τεῖχος ἔδειμαν,  
 πύργους ὑψηλοὺς, εἴλαρ νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν.  
 ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίηον εὖ ἀραρυίας,  
 ὄφρα δι' αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἴη.  
 ἔκτοσθεν δὲ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφρον ὄρυξαν 440  
 εὐρεῖαν μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.  
 ὧς οἱ μὲν πονέοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί·  
 οἱ δὲ θεοὶ παρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἀστεροπητῇ

428. **ΠΥΡΚΑΪΗΣ** Ar. Ω: **ΠΥΡΚΑΪΗ** Zen. (Δ *supr.*). || **ἘΠΕΝΗΝΕΟΝ**: γρ. **ἘΠΙΝΗΝΕΟΝ** A. 429. **ΠΟΤΙ** GJPQS. 431. **ΠΥΡΚΑΪΗ** Δ *supr.* 434. **ἄρ'**: δ' J Bar. Mor.: δ' ἄρ P. 436. **ἐν πεδίῳ** Aph. P (-ω) (cf. 337). || **ΠΟΤΙ**: **ΠΕΡΙ** Aph. QRU Harl. a (γρ. **ΠΟΤΙ**): **ΚΑΤΙ** H. 437. **ΠΥΡΓΟΥΣ** ADHPQTU Harl. a, Cant. Lips. Vr.\*c (p. ras.), Mosc. 1 3: **ΠΥΡΓΟΥΣ** Θ' Ω. 440. **ἐπ'**: ἐν S. 441. **εὐθεῖαν** J. || **ἐν**: **ΠΕΡΙ** HQS. 443-64 *ἀθ.* Ar. Aph. Zen.

428. **ἘΠΕΝΗΝΕΟΝ**, if correct, must be a reduplicated intensive of *νέω*, *νηέω*. Payne Knight, however, conj. *ἐπενήσον*, which is doubtless right; cf. Ψ 139, 163, Ω 276. The same correction is required in a 147, π 51.

431-2 can hardly be considered genuine if 420 is to be condemned, as they are added from what precedes in precisely the same manner.

433. In the compound **ἀμφιλύκη** *ἀμφί* seems to give the idea of doubtfulness, hesitation between two sides, just as in our 'twilight,' where *twi-* 'is used in the sense rather of "double" or "half." The ideas of double and half are liable to confusion; cf. A.S. *twóon*, doubt, from the hovering between two opinions,' Skeat *Dict.* s.v. This sense is common in later Greek compounds, *ἀμφίλογος*, *ἀμφιγνοεῖν*, etc., but there is no other instance in Homer. *λύκη* is evidently = *lux*. With this line another day must begin, but the mention of the night is even more imperatively demanded here than in 381.

434. **ἔγρετο**, *was awakened* (*ἐγείρω*), is an

obvious blunder of transcription from ΕΓΡΕΤΟ = *ἔγρετο*, *gathered* (*ἀγείρω*). The same mistake has been made in Ω 789, the converse apparently in υ 123; cf. also Ψ 287.

435-40: see 336-41.

437. **ΠΥΡΓΟΥΣ**, *ramparts*, see on Δ 347. The *θ'* was added (see above) when the word had acquired the later sense of *towers*, *bastions*. The gates would naturally be made in the walls, not the towers. Cf. also 337. (Platt in *J. P.* xviii. 130.)

443-64 were rejected as an interpolation by Zen., Aph. and Ar., on the ground that the same question arises in the beginning of M with no allusion to this passage. In fact we have here another case of two parallel and independent versions of the same theme brought into the narrative. One is as 'genuine' as the other; both are late. It must, however, be noted that out of the twenty-two lines the following appear more or less in other places: 443=Δ 1, 445-6 (first halves)=E 420-1, 449-50=M 5-6, 454=A 517, 455=Θ 201, υ 140, 460=B 140, 462=M 31, 464=E 274, etc.; or nearly half.



θεῖντο μέγα ἔργον Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.  
 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἤρχε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων. 445  
 “Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥά τίς ἐστι βροτῶν ἐπ’ ἀπείρουνα γαίαν  
 ὅς τις ἔτ’ ἀθανάτοισι νόον καὶ μῆτιν ἐνίψει;  
 οὐχ ὀράαις, ὅτι δ’ αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
 τεῖχος ἐτειχίσσαντο νεῶν ὕπερ, ἀμφὶ δὲ τάφρον  
 ἤλασαν, οὐδὲ θεοῖσι δόσαν κλειτὰς ἐκατόμβας; 450  
 τοῦ δ’ ἦ τοι κλέος ἔσται, ὅσον τ’ ἐπικίδναιτο ἡώς.  
 τοῦ δ’ ἐπιλήσονται, ὃ τ’ ἐγὼ καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
 ἥρωι Λαομέδοντι πολίσσαμεν ἀθλήσαντε.”  
 τὸν δὲ μέγ’ ὀχθήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς.  
 “ὦ πόποι, ἐννοσίγαι’ εὐρυσθενές, οἶον ἔειπες. 455  
 ἄλλός κέν τις τοῦτο θεῶν δείσειε νόημα,  
 ὃς σέο πολλὸν ἀφανρότερος χειράς τε μένος τε.  
 σὸν δ’ ἦ τοι κλέος ἔσται, ὅσον τ’ ἐπικίδναιτο ἡώς.  
 ἄγρει μάν, ὅτ’ ἂν αὖτε κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
 οἴχωνται σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν, 460  
 τεῖχος ἀναρρήξας τὸ μὲν εἰς ἄλα πᾶν καταχεῦναι,

445. μῦθον DQU. 447-60 om. R<sup>t</sup>. 448. ὅτε ACHT Lips. 449.  
 ἐτειχίσσαντο : ἐτεκτίναντο Hesych. 451. ὅσην τ’ Ar. A (supr. o) Ambr. || τ’  
 om. JPR<sup>m</sup>. 452. ὃ τ’ : τὸ Ar. Q Par. j : (τὸ δ’ Ar. “κατ’ ἐνια τῶν ὑπομνημάτων”  
 An.) : τό τ’ APR<sup>m</sup> Ambr. Par. c g. 453. ἀελήσαντες GHPQR<sup>m</sup> Vr. b. 455.  
 ἔειπας CL (supr. ες). 458. σὸν : σοὶ S. || δὴ τοι DPS Vr. b A, Mosc. 1 3. ||  
 ὅσην τ’ Ar. A (supr. o) Ambr. || τ’ om. PR<sup>m</sup>. 459. μᾶν : μὲν Mosc. 3. 460.  
 οἴχονται GHJPRQ<sup>m</sup>T Vr. A. || σὺν : ἐπὶ PR<sup>m</sup>. 461. κατὰχευε P : κατέχευε  
 H : καταχεύω G : καταχεῦσαι JQ Mor. Lips.

445. Poseidon is not generally found in Olympus unless specially summoned, cf. T 13-14.

447. ἐνίψει, *will declare* his intentions to the gods in order to ask their approbation. The word must be meant for the fut. of ἐνέπω, not of ἐνίπτειν (more usually ἐνίσσειν) *to blame*; so also β 137, λ 148. Pindar in fact uses ἐνίπτειν in the sense of ἐνέπειν. There seems to be a confusion of the two words, as ἐνίψω cannot regularly come from ἐνέπειν. Ap. Rhod. uses ἐνίψω freely but not ἐνίπτω : but ἐνέψω, as some MSS. read in ii. 1165, may have been a variant here also.

451. ὅσων τ’ ἐπικίδναιτο : cf. Γ 12, O 358. With ὅσων, Ar.’s reading, we must of course supply γῆν.

452. ὃ τ’ better suits Homeric usage than τό (with a rather harsh hiatus) or τό τ’ : see H. G. § 262. 2.

453. ἥρωι for ἥρωϊ and ἀελήσαντε for ἀεθλ. are signs of late origin. The former recurs in θ 483. For the latter cf. I 124, A 699, O 30, Ω 734, P 160, 164. Platt (*J. P.* xviii. 130) would read ἥρωϊ on the analogy of words like αἰδώς : cf. ἥρωος as a dactyl in ζ 303 and ἥρωα *Anth. Pal.* App. 376. Here, of course, ms. evidence counts for nothing. But we should have expected some other traces of the quantity in Greek literature, if it was original. πολίσσαμεν must mean *built*; in T 217 πεπόλιστο = *was founded as a city*, and this is the ordinary sense of the verb, which does not seem to be used elsewhere of a wall. Brandreth conj. Λαομέδοντι Γάνακτι πονεύμεθ’ ἀεθλεύσαντε, Agar Λαομέδονθ’ ἥρωϊ ἐπελάσσαμεν : both are equally improbable. For the building of the wall of Troy cf. Φ 446 (where it is the work of Poseidon alone), and note on Z 438.

αὐτις δ' ἥϊόνα μεγάλην ψαμάθοισι καλύψαι,  
 ὥς κέν τοι μέγα τέλχος ἀμαλδύνηται Ἀχαιῶν."  
 ὥς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον·  
 δύσετο δ' ἥελιος, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον Ἀχαιῶν, 465  
 βουφόνεον δὲ κατὰ κλισίας καὶ δόρπον ἔλοντο.  
 νῆες δ' ἐκ Δήμνοιο παρέστασαν οἶνον ἄγουσαι  
 πολλαί, τὰς προέηκεν Ἰησονίδης Εὐνῆος,  
 τόν ῥ' ἔτεχ' Ὑψιπύλη ὑπ' Ἰήσωνι ποιμένι λαῶν.  
 χωρὶς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης Ἀγαμέμνονι καὶ Μενελάω 470  
 δῶκεν Ἰησονίδης ἀγέμεν μέθυ, χίλια μέτρα.  
 ἔνθεν ἄρ' οἰνίζοντο κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί,  
 ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῶι, ἄλλοι δ' αἶθωνι σιδήρῳι,  
 ἄλλοι δὲ ῥινοῖς, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῇσι βόεσσιν,  
 ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραπόδεσσι· τίθεντο δὲ δαῖτα θάλειαν. 475  
 παννύχιοι μὲν ἔπειτα κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ

462. αὐτις δ' CJ : αὐτις τ' S. || καλύψω G. 465. δύς(ε)τό τ' A (*supr.* δ')  
 CDHPQRU Lips. : δύσσατο δ' G : δύσετ' T. 467. παρέσταν P. 468. πολλαί  
 σ' ἄς P. 472. ἔνε' ἄρ DJR. 474. δὲ : δ' ἐν GJ. || αὐτῇσι Ar. Ω : αὐτοῖσι  
 CJCQ. 475 ἀθ. Ar. Aph. Zen. || ἀνδραπόδοις Ar.

463. ἀμαλδύνηται recurs in H. only in the same connexion, M 18, 32. In *Hymn. Cer.* 94 εἶδος ἀμαλδύνουσα means apparently *disfiguring, disguising* her aspect.

464 comes as usual after a scene in Olympus ; see on E 431.

466. **βουφόνεον**, a curious expression, *murdered oxen*; for the idea of *murder* is always conveyed by *φόνος* and its compounds. The curious ritual of the *βουφόνια* at Athens distinctly brought out this idea ; every one concerned in the sacrifice was formally tried for murder, and finally the sacrificial axe was found guilty and thrown into the sea. See Paus. i. 24. 4 with Frazer's note. So *βουφόνε* applied to Hermes, *Hymn. Merc.* 436, clearly expresses in jest the same sense. In Aisch. *Prom.* 531 *βουφόνους θοῖνας* the ritual sense remains, though that of *murder* has vanished. It is strange that in the present passage even the connotation of sacrifice should have also disappeared, as sometimes in *ιερεῖν* simply=*kill*, Z 174, etc. The verb appears to be ἄπ. λεγ. in Greek.

467. *παρέσταν*, the reading of P, was long ago conjectured by Bentley in place of *παρέστασαν*, on account of the *F* of *Φοῖνον*. The aor., bringing the actual arrival, not the mere presence, of the

ships into the picture, adds something to the liveliness of the narrative. Unfortunately it appears to contravene the rule about lengthening before the bucolic diaeresis (see note on B 751) ; but there is a possibility that the α is long by nature, see on Δ 146.

468. This is one of the few allusions in Homer to the legend of the Argonauts. The others are in Φ 40, Ψ 746, and μ 69-72. Lemnos is mentioned also in B 722, Θ 230 (here again with an allusion to wine-drinking). The Minyan colony there seems to be regarded as preserving a friendly neutrality towards the Greeks. In I 72 the supply of wine is said to come from Thrace.

471. *μέτρα* indicates some recognised quantity, as in Ψ 268, β 355.

472. Here again a conj. of Bentley's, *ἐνθ'* for *ἐνεον*, has since found MS. support. *οἰνίζοντο*, as Θ 506 ; cf. *ὑδρεύεσθαι*.

474. *αὐτῇσι*, *whole* or *live*, as opposed to the *hides*.

475. Rejected by Zen., Aph., and Ar., on the ground that *ἀνδραπόδον* is a later word, unknown to Homer (cf. also note on Γ 409 *δοῦλη*). The heteroclite dat. *ἀνδραπόδεσσι* does not recur in Greek ; it seems to suggest the derivation from *ἀνδρὸς ποῦς*, which is, however, very

δαίνυντο, Τρῶες δὲ κατὰ πτόλιν ἡδ' ἐπίκουροι·  
 παννύχιος δέ σφιν κακὰ μῆδετο μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 σμερδαλέα κτυπέων. τοὺς δὲ χλωρὸν δέος ἥρει,  
 οἶνον δ' ἐκ δεπᾶων χαμάδις χέον, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη  
 πρὶν πῖεειν, πρὶν λείψαι ὑπερμενέϊ Κρονίωνι.  
 κοιμήσαντ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα καὶ ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο.

480

481. πῖεμεναι (πινέμεναι Cobet) πρὶν λείψαι Ar.

482 om. Zen. (with Θ 1).

doubtful. Ar. also objected to the (fifth) repetition of ἄλλοι.

478. There is no reason for confining σφιν to the Greeks alone; Zeus gives both sides alike ominous warning of the coming battles.

482. See I 713, τ 427. δῶρον seems to mean 'the gift (of the gods) consisting in sleep'; cf. τέλος θανάτοιο. Ovid *Fasti* iii. 185 translates by *carpebat munera somni*.

## INTRODUCTION

THE plan of this book is simple. Zeus, in accordance with the promise given to Thetis in Book I., forbids the gods to take any part in the war, in order that the Trojans may gain the upper hand. The Greeks are accordingly defeated, by means of a divine panic; and after a short rally, in which the archery of Teukros plays a chief part, are again driven back to the ships. Hera and Athene, attempting to go to their assistance, are stopped by command of Zeus, and Hector and the Trojans, flushed with success, bivouac on the plain, in full hopes of capturing the Greek camp next day. The narrative is clear and consistent with itself; the chief difficulties with regard to the book consist in the question of its position in the scheme of the poem as a whole.

The fact that, after the lapse of six books, we again recur to the position of affairs at the end of the first, led Grote to include Θ in his *Achilleis* as the immediate sequel to A. There can be no doubt that the sequence is a possible one; but the objections to it are fatal. We shall see that a connexion between the end of A and the beginning of the battle in Δ is equally possible; and of Δ and Θ it is clear that Δ alone can be regarded as the original successor to A.

The main characteristic of Θ is the extraordinary number of lines in it which recur in other parts of the *Iliad*. A very large portion of these are clearly borrowed; whole passages are centos made up from other places. This is notably the case with the arming of the goddesses, where sixteen lines in succession (381-96) are taken bodily from the similar passage in E. Similar cases are pointed out in the notes. So, again, from 28 to 72 every line except 33-7 and half of 51 occurs elsewhere; and in the whole book at least 175 whole lines, or nearly one third (allowing for repetitions of messages and other lines within Θ itself), are found again in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—sometimes with a slight difference. The repetitions of half-lines are still more numerous. Including these, it may be fairly said that not more than half of the book is really original. The only episode which is substantially independent is the little *ἀπαστεία* of Teukros in 266-329; and this has a parallel in O 436-83.

The action, too, is extremely hurried. The changes of battle succeed each other with astonishing rapidity, and are brought about, not as in other battle-scenes by the victories of heroes, but by a somewhat monotonous



interference on the part of Zeus. When in the end the Greeks have been driven headlong from the field, the fighting ceases with an abruptness which has earned the book the title of *κόλος μόχλη*.<sup>1</sup>

This peculiar character is easily understood when we once recognise the fact that Θ is intended to serve only as a means for the introduction of I into the scheme of the *Iliad*. The latter book shews many signs of late composition. It was easily capable of separate recitation with the general background of a Greek reverse consequent upon the quarrel in Α; but it could not well be inserted into a continuous narrative after the original Greek defeat in Α, when the subsequent books had taken much the same form which they now have. Hence a special defeat was made for the purpose; and the fighting having been already described at quite sufficient length in other places, nothing remained but to use the same material over again, with the greatest possible brevity.

It is evident that the author of the book had the Diomedea before him. Diomedes himself takes the leading part in the fighting, and for the last time. Except for a brief passage in Α he henceforth retires into obscurity, and yields the first place to Aias till the Myrmidons and Achilles reappear. His capture of the horses of Aineias in Ε is distinctly referred to in 105 ff. (= Ε 221 ff.). The curious opening scene, too, is only intelligible after the active interference of the gods in Ε. In the *Menis* itself, as has been pointed out in the *Prolegomena*, the gods take little or no part in the action; it was therefore needless to forbid them to intervene, till a new conception of their participation had made its way.

In spite of this apparent want of originality in the composition of the book, it has undoubtedly great spirit and movement. If such a fancy may be permitted, one might almost say that it is such a work as might be expected from the author of the *Embassy* in I; one who was a rhetorician of the highest order rather than an epic poet in the proper sense, trusting for effect rather to his speeches than his narrative, and depending to a certain extent upon intimate familiarity with the older poetry in order to produce so much of a story as was necessary to form a basis for his own splendid work. In any case we must not ascribe to him several passages of some length which, on any theory of the origin of the book, can hardly be considered as anything but poor interpolations; see 28-40, 184-212, 524-41.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Schol. B ταύτην τὴν ῥαψωιδίαν κολοβομάχην καλοῦσι. συντέμνει γὰρ τὴν διήγησιν, συναχθόμενος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.

# ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Θ

## κόλος μάχη.

Ἡὼς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἐκίδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν,  
 Ζεὺς δὲ θεῶν ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο τερπικέραυνος  
 ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο.  
 αὐτὸς δέ σφ' ἀγόρευε, θεοὶ δ' ὑπὸ πάντες ἄκουον·  
 “κέκλυτέ μεν, πάντες τε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι,  
 [ὄφρ' εἴπω τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.]  
 μήτέ τις οὖν θήλεια θεὸς τό γε μήτέ τις ἄρσην  
 πεिरάτω διακέρσαι ἐμὸν ἔπος, ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες  
 αἰνεῖτ', ὄφρα τάχιστα τελευτήσω τάδε ἔργα.  
 ὃν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἐθέλοντα νοήσω

1 *om.* Zen., placing it after 52. 4. ὑπὸ : ἅμα S. 5. τε (after πάντες)  
*om.* DGJPQR. 6 *om.* AD<sup>4</sup>Q. 7. θεός : θεῶν Ar. || τό γε *om.* P. 8.  
 ἀλλ' ἅμα : ἀλλά με J. 10. ἐγὼ U. || ἀπάνευθε : ἀπάτερθε Aph. : μετόπισθε  
 Zen.

1. Zen., who omitted the last line of H, placed this after 52. The council of the gods is thus put a day earlier, and so brought into closer connexion with the omens of H 478, but Zeus is made to take an all-night journey to Ida in 41-52. The whole introductory passage 1-52 may be a later insertion, and the reading of Zen. may indicate a variation in the place assigned to it.

The following lines are borrowed in 1-52, occasionally with small variations: 1=Ω 695; 3=A 499; 5-6=T 101-2; 10 cf. A 549, B 391, O 348; 11=N 9; 28=Γ 95; 28-9=I 693-4; 30-1=a 44-5; (33-7 recur 464-8); 38-40=X 182-4 (with Δ 356); 41-4=N 23-6; 45=E 366; 46=E 769; 47=Ξ 283 (*Hymn. Ven.* 68); 48 cf. θ 363; 50-1 cf. E 775-6; 51-2 cf. A 81-2. Cf. also notes on 12 and 39 for other echoes.

3. The 'topmost peak' of Olympus

is a suitable outlook for Zeus in Δ 499, but hardly convenient for an assembly. The line is thoughtlessly copied; in T 10 the assembly properly takes place in the palace of Zeus.

4. ὑπό, simply *thereat*. It does not necessarily imply the idea of subjection, but is commonly used of any phenomenon following in connexion with another.

5. θέαιναι, a form which recurs, only in this particular phrase, in Θ 20, θ 341. It seems to have a half comic effect; compare λέαινα.

7. τό γε anticipates διακέρσαι, 'this, namely to thwart.' For the verb cf. O 467 μάχης ἐπὶ μῆδεα κείρει δαίμων, and Θ 408 ἐνικλᾶν.

10. The conjunction of the two participles ἐθέλοντα and ἐλεόντα is excessively awkward, and only explicable by the fact that 10 is adapted from B 391 (cf.

ἐλθόντ' ἢ Τρώεσσιν ἀρηγέμεν ἢ Δαναοῖσι,  
 πληγεῖς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἐλεύσεται Οὐλυμπόνδε·  
 ἢ μιν ἐλὼν ρίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα,  
 τῆλε μάλ', ἦχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον,  
 15 ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,  
 τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδew ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης·  
 γνῶσεται ἔπειθ' ὅσον εἰμὶ θεῶν κάρτιστος ἀπάντων.  
 εἰ δ' ἄγε πειρήσασθε, θεοί, ἵνα εἴδετε πάντες,  
 σειρήν χρυσεῖην ἐξ οὐρανόθεν κρεμάσαντες·  
 20 πάντες δ' ἐξάπτεσθε θεοὶ πᾶσαι τε θέαιναι·  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐρύσαιτ' ἐξ οὐρανόθεν πεδίονδε  
 Ζῆν' ὑπατον μῆστωρ, οὐδ' εἰ μάλα πολλὰ κάμοιτε.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ πρόφρων ἐθέλωμι ἐρύσσαι,

13. ἐς: εἰς Q. 14. βέρεθρον P. 16. αἶδew U *supr.* Plut. Mor. 940 e.  
 17. θεῶν: θεός P. 18. εἶδῃτε T: ἴδῃτε Q. 19. τ ἐξ G (*supr.* ε over τ).  
 20. πάντες τ' C. 21. ἄν μ' S Mosc. I. || ἐρύσῃτ' G: ἐρύσεται P Vr. b. 22.  
 κάμοιτε HP Vr. b: γρ. πάθοιτε A (πέοιῃτε T). 23. δὴ: κεν Aristid. ii. 506. ||  
 πρόφρων: πρόσω Ptol. Oroand. || ἐθέλωμι Ar.

A 549, O 348), and 11 borrowed without change from N 9. ἀρηγέμεν must depend on ἐθέλοντα.

12. πληγεῖς, sc. with lightning, as 455, O 17. οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, as B 214 (cf. 264). Compare *Hymn. Merc.* 255 ff. τάχα νῶϊ διουσόμεθ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον. ρίψω γάρ σε λαβὼν ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα, εἰς ζόφον αἰνόμορον καὶ ἀμήχανον. The author of one of these passages must have had the other before him—it is hard to say which. So with the unmistakable echoes in Hesiod: *Th.* 720 Τάρταρος ἡρόεις is τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης: 726 τὸν περὶ χάλκεον ἔρκος ἐλήλαται: 732 πύλας δ' ἐπέθηκε Ποσειδῶν χαλκείας: 811 ἔνθα δὲ μαρμάραι τε πύλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός.

14. The βέρεθρον reminds us of the famous βάραθρον at Athens. The word is used again of the cave of Skylla in μ 94.

18. The text follows Nikanor (with L. Lange and Döderlein) in putting a comma after πάντες and a colon at the end of the next line, so that κρεμάσαντες goes closely with πειρήσασθε, 'fasten a rope, and try me.' With the ordinary punctuation, in which there is a colon after πάντες and no stop after κρεμάσαντες, it is necessary either to read πάντες τ' for πάντες δ' in 20, or to assume a harsh change of construction, 'the

participle being regarded as half independent, and the imperative being added in 20 as though another finite verb had preceded.' (So Ameis.)

19. It is curious that this line, which evidently alludes to a mere trial of strength by pulling at a rope, ἐλκυστίνδᾳ, should have been made the base of all sorts of mystical interpretations and esoteric myths from the earliest times. Thus in Plato we find, *Theaet.* 153 C, τὴν χρυσὴν σείραν ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸν ἥλιον Ὅμηρος λέγει: Eur. *Or.* 982 τὰν οὐρανοῦ μέσον χθονός τε τεταμέναν αἰωρήμασι πέτραι ἀλύσει χρυσέαισι. A collection of similar far-fetched allegories will be found in Eustathios ad loc. The neo-Platonists took up the idea, and from them it was handed on to the alchemists of the Middle Ages, in whose mystical cosmogony the aurea catena *Homeri* signified the whole chain of existences up to the *quinta essentia universalis*. The rope is here of gold simply because it is divine.

23. Ameis points out that the δῆ shews that ὅτε is here strictly temporal, and not merely conditional: 'as soon as I-determined to pull.' For ἐθέλωμι Aristarchos read ἐθέλωμι, which is less appropriate, as the case is purely imaginary; see note on A 549. πρόφρων, in good earnest.

αὐτῇ κεν γαίῃ ἐρύσαιμ' αὐτῇ τε θαλάσσῃ·  
 σειρὴν μὲν κεν ἔπειτα περὶ ῥίον Οὐλύμποιο 25  
 δησαίμην, τὰ δέ κ' αὐτε μετήορα πάντα γένοιτο.  
 τόσσον ἐγὼ περὶ τ' εἰμὶ θεῶν περὶ τ' εἰμὶ ἀνθρώπων."  
 ὧς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ  
 μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσεν.  
 ὁψέ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη· 30  
 "ὦ πάτερ ἡμέτερε Κρονίδη, ὕπατε κρειόντων,  
 εὖ νυ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ὃ τοι σθένος οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν·  
 ἀλλ' ἔμπης Δαναῶν ὀλοφνύρομεθ' αἰχμητάων,  
 οἳ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὄλωνται.  
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι πολέμου μὲν ἀφεξόμεθ', ὥς σὺ κελεύεις, 35  
 βουλὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ὑποθησόμεθ', ἣ τις ὀνήσει,  
 ὥς μὴ πάντες ὄλωνται ὀδυσσαμένοιο τεοῖο."  
 τὴν δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·  
 "θάρσει, τριτογένεια, φίλον τέκος· οὐ νύ τι θυμῷ  
 πρόφρονι μυθέομαι, ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι." 40  
 ὧς εἰπὼν ὑπ' ὄχεσφι τιτύσκετο χαλκόποδ' ἵππω

24. ΤΕ: ΚΕΝ DT. 25-6 ἀθ. Zen. 28-40 ἀθ. Ar. 28. ἄρα: ἄρ S.  
 29. ἀγασσάμενοι: γρ. καὶ φρασσάμενοι AT. || ἀγόρευε(ν) DJPQRU (*supr.* c).  
 32. ὃ τοι: ὅτι GQR (U *supr.*). 34. οἳ: γρ. εἰ C *man. rec.* 35. ὥς Ar.  
 APQ Vr. b (Par. e *supr.*), γρ. T: ἦ C: εἰ Ω. 36. βουλὴν τ' Q. || ὀνήσει:  
 γρ. ἀρίστη Par. e. 37 ἀθ. Ar. (cf. 28), om. Zen. || ὄλωνται L. || ὀδυσσαμένοιο  
 L Vr. b A. 39. ΝΥ ΤΙ: τοι G: ΝΥ τοι JP.

24. For the use of the 'comitative' dative with αὐτός see *H. G.* § 144. The object of ἐρύσαιμι is 'you.'

25-6 were athetized by Zen. on the obvious ground that the earth could not be suspended to a peak of Olympus, which is a part of itself. It is clear that the poet of these lines has entirely lost the real Epic conception of Olympus as a mountain in Thessaly, and follows the later mythology which removed it from earth to heaven.

28. The following passage, down to 40, was athetized by Aristarchos, on the grounds that it is wholly composed of lines from other places, and that it entirely destroys the effect of the masterful words of Zeus. Few will be disposed to doubt the validity of these reasons for condemnation. In the sequel Zeus unmistakably shews that his threats were seriously meant (397 ff.). The lines seem to have been added by some one who thought that excuse was needed

for the moral support so freely given to the Greeks by Athene and Hera, e.g. 218, K 507, Λ 438, O 668, P 552, etc.

32. ἐπιεικτόν: cf. E 892, and for οἶτον ἀναπλήσαι Δ 170.

37. τεοῖο is a quite impossible form, recurring only in the equally spurious line 468. Heyne proposed τεῖο for σείο, which may be defended on the analogy of τεός (τερός) for σός. So Ap. Rhod. has έείο (iv. 782), cf. έοῦ read for έο by Zen. T 384. In a passage like this such a form can hardly be anything but a false archaism, and is not worth correcting.

39. τριτογένεια: see Δ 515. πρόφρονι θυμῷ, *in full earnest*. ἐθέλω . . εἶναι recurs in *Hymn. Merc.* 466. It will be seen that this couplet is evidently borrowed from X 184-5, where it is quite in place, as Zeus there makes a proposition which he has no intention of carrying out. Here he merely stultifies himself.



ὠκυπέτα, χρυσέησιν ἐθείρησιν κομόωντε,  
χρυσὸν δ' αὐτὸς ἔδυνε περὶ χροῖ, γέντο δ' ἰμάσθλην  
χρυσείην εὐτυκτον, εἰοῦ δ' ἐπεβήσето δίφρου.

μάστιξεν δ' ἐλάαν· τῷ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην  
μεσσηγὺς γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.

45

Ἴδην δ' ἵκανεν πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν,  
Γάργαρον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις.  
ἔνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε  
λύσας ἐξ ὀχέων, περὶ δ' ἡέρα πουλὺν ἔχευεν·  
αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφήσιν καθέζετο κύδεϊ γαίῳν,  
εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

50

οἱ δ' ἄρα δεῖπνον ἔλοντο κάρη· κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ  
ρίμφα κατὰ κλισίας, ἀπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ θωρήσσοντο.

Τρώες δ' αὐθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀνὰ πτόλιν ὀπλίζοντο,  
παυρότεροι, μέμασαν δὲ καὶ ὧς ὑσμῖνι μάχεσθαι,  
χρειοὶ ἀναγκαίηι, πρό τε παίδων καὶ πρὸ γυναικῶν.  
πᾶσαι δ' ὠῆγνυντο πύλαι, ἐκ δ' ἔσσυτο λαός,  
πεξοί θ' ἱππῆές τε· πολλὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει.

55

42. κομόωντας L (supr. e) P: κομόωνται D. 44. ἐπιβήσето H: ἐπεβήσато (A supr.) GJP. 45. μάστιξέν T' S. 48. ἔνεα τέ C. 50. λύσας δ' H. ||  
περὶ: κατὰ ACT, γρ. Harl. a. || πολὺν D<sup>1</sup>GQU: πολλὺν P: πολλὴν C. 53.  
Zen. placed line 1 before this. 54. κλισίης Cant. || ἀπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ: τινὲς τοῖ δ'  
αὐτοῖσι A. 55. αὐθ' G. || πόλιν QU. || ὀπλίζοντο Ar. T Harl. b, Mosc. 1<sup>m</sup>:  
ὠπλίζοντο Ω. 56. ὑσμῖνῃ(i) DGJLRTU: ὑσμῖνῃ P. 57. χρεῖα(i) QR (supr.  
oi) Mor. Vr. b. 59. ε' om. Cant.: δ' J. || ὀρυμαγδὸς C<sup>1</sup>GJHJP, γρ. T.

43. χρυσόν: the panoply, like other divine gear, to the very manes of the horses, is made of the noblest metal (see E 729, etc.). γέντο, *grasped*, also N 241, Σ 476; a syncopated aor. apparently from a root γεμ-, cf. Hesych. ἀπόγεμε· ἀφελε, and γέννον Κύπριοι καὶ λαβὲ καὶ κάθιζε (ὑγγεμος· συλλαβή?). The old etymology from ἐλεῖν (Feleῖν? with γ for F and ν as in Dor. ἦνθε = ἦλθε) is untenable.

47. Ἴδην . . Γάργαρον, a 'whole and part' figure, like θ 362 Κύπρον . . ἐς Πάφον. Gargaros is one of the three peaks of Ida, cf. Ξ 292; the others were Lekton (Ξ 284) and, acc. to Kallimachos, Phalakre. For μητέρα ἐμρῶν cf. B 696, I 479, A 222.

51. κύδεϊ γαίῳν: A 405, E 906.

53-77. The borrowed lines in this passage are 58-9=B 809-10; 60-5=Δ 446-51; 66-7=Λ 84-5 (66=ι 56, 67=O 319, II 778); 68=II 777; 69-70=X 209-

10; 71=Γ 127; 72 cf. X 212. Only 53-7 and 73-7 are original.

53. The δεῖπνον is here, as in B 381, T 171, in anticipation of a long day's fighting, taken before the start from the camp. It is properly the mid-day meal, see A 86, and only in later times took the place of δόρπον, *supper*.

54. ἀπό, *rising up from*, i.e. immediately after; a transition from the local to the temporal sense not elsewhere found in H., but common in later authors from Herod. on. αὐτοῦ seems to have the weak sense, *it*, but it may possibly mean *from the very meal*, i.e. without a moment's interval.

55. It may be noticed that ὀπλίζεσθαι in Homer means to *prepare* in a general way, cf. H 417, etc. The use of the verb as identical with θωρήσσεσθαι seems to be a later specialization; besides the present passage it occurs in Homer only in ω 495, the latest part of all the poems.

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐς χῶρον ἓνα ξυνιόντες ἴκοντο,  
 σύν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥινοῦς, σὺν δ' ἔγχεα καὶ μένε' ἀνδρῶν  
 χαλκεοθωρήκων· ἀτὰρ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι  
 ἐπληντ' ἀλλήλησι, πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει.  
 ἔνθα δ' ἄμ' οἰμωγὴ τε καὶ εὐχολὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν «  
 ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων, ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα.

ὄφρα μὲν ἡὼς ἦν καὶ ἀέξετο ἱερὸν ἡμαρ,  
 τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βέλε' ἤπτετο, πῦπτε δὲ λαός·  
 ἥμος δ' ἥελιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκει,  
 καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐτίταινε τάλαντα,  
 ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,  
 Τρώων θ' ἵπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.

60. ῥ' *om.* DRU Bar. Cant. || ἴκοντο: ἴκανον PQ Par. c d g j, γρ. A Mosc. 1.  
 61. ῥηνοῦς DU. 62. αὐτὰρ CDGFPQ. 63. ἐπληντ' Mosc. 3. || ἀλλήλοισι  
 PQR Cant. || ὀρυμαγδός CD (*p. ras.*) GHJPRU. 64. ἔνθα δ' ἄμ': ἔνεα θ'  
 Par. a f: ἔνε' ἄμ' CQT Harl. b d, King's Par. e: ἔνε' ἄμα G: ἔνε' ἄρα L: ἔνε'  
 ἄρ P (α over αρ erased). 67. πειπτε Pap. δ. 68. οὐρανοῦ P. || γρ. σὺν τῷ ν  
 ἀμφιβεβήκειν A (Ar. ?). 69. καὶ τότε δὴ: αὐτὸς δὲ Clem. Al. *Strom.* v. 727.  
 70. ἐν δ': ἔνε' LQR.

So the use of ὄπλα to mean armour occurs only in K 254, 272, Σ 614, T 21.

66. ἱερὸν ἡμαρ: so κνέφας ἱερὸν A 194, etc. See notes on A 366, H 282.

67. ἤπτετο, *kept reaching the mark.*

68. ἀμφιβεβήκει, stood with both feet upon the midst of heaven, as a warrior stands with both feet over a fallen comrade. Cf. δ 400, and in a different sense Z 355.

69. ἐτίταινε, *drew out* at full length, so as to leave the scale-pans clear; ἔλκε (72), *lifted* off the ground. For the metaphor of the scales cf. II 658, T 223, (perhaps A 509), Aisch. *Pers.* 346 δαίμων τις κατέφθειρε στρατὸν, τάλαντα βρίςας οὐκ ἰσορροπῶι τύχηι. The exact relation which this balancing of fates, and the general power of destiny, bear to the omnipotence of Zeus, is a question which has greatly exercised the minds of students. It is perhaps enough to say that such problems would have been perfectly unintelligible to the men of Homer's time; in a primitive state of thought man does not seek for a rational consistency in his abstract ideas. Such conceptions of fate and of supreme divinity as he has, have in all probability been evolved in his mind by two quite different processes, and he

sees no necessity to reconcile them. Indeed the weighing may be taken rather as a declaration by Zeus that the turning-point has come, than the seeking of a decision from any other power superior to himself. In all cases the result is a foregone conclusion; there is no uncertainty implied. The appeal to the scales recurs in the same words in X 209-10, when the death of Hector is at hand. In that passage it is in place, as the fates are really fatal; whereas here the only result of the ordeal is a temporary repulse of the Greeks, which before long is decisively reversed.

70. For the κῆρες see note on B 302. The schol. of An. here is an interesting proof that the consciousness of their ghostly origin long survived: ὁ δὲ Αἰσχύλος νομίσας λέγεσθαι (sc. κῆρε) τὰς ψυχὰς ἐποίησε τὴν Ψυχοστασίαν, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ὁ Ζεὺς ἰστὰς ἐν τῷ ζυγῷ τὴν τοῦ Μένεμορος καὶ Ἀχιλλέως ψυχὴν. See further on X 210. τανηλεγέος occurs also in the parallel line X 210, and often in the *Odyssey*, always in the same phrase. The oldest derivation seems to be the best, παρατεταμένην ἔχοντας τὴν ἀλγηδόνα, Hesych., *bringing long woes*, from *tanais* and *algos*. So also *δυσσηλεγής*, T 154, χ 325. See M. and R. on β 100.

ἔλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβών· ῥέπε δ' αἴσιμον ἡμαρ Ἀχαιῶν.  
αἱ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν κῆρες ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ  
ἐξέσθην, Τρώων δὲ πρὸς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἄερθεν.  
αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ Ἰδης μεγάλ' ἔκτυπε, δαιόμενον δὲ 75  
ἦκε σέλας μετὰ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες  
θάμβησαν, καὶ πάντας ὑπὸ χλωρὸν δέος εἶλεν.

ἐνθ' οὐτ' Ἰδομενεὺς τλῇ μίμνειν οὐτ' Ἀγαμέμνων,  
οὔτε δὴ Αἴαντες μενέτην, θεράποντες Ἀρης·  
Νέστωρ οἶος ἔμιμνε Γερήνιος, οὔρος Ἀχαιῶν, 80  
οὐ τι ἐκών, ἀλλ' ἵππος ἐτείρετο, τὸν βάλεν ἰῶι  
δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑλένης πόσις ἠυκόμοιο,  
ἄκρην κακ κορυφὴν, ὅθι τε πρῶται τρίχες ἵππων  
κρανίῳ ἐμπεφύασι, μάλιστα δὲ καίριον ἔστιν.  
ἀλγῆσας δ' ἀνέπαλτο, βέλος δ' εἰς ἐγκέφαλον δῦ, 85  
σὺν δ' ἵππους ἐτάραξε κυλινδόμενος περὶ χαλκῶι.  
ὄφρ' ὁ γέρων ἵπποιο παρηγορίας ἀπέταμνε

73-4 ἀθ. Ar. 73. πολυβοτεῖρῃ DJQT (-HI) U. 74. ἐξέσθην: ἐν ἐνίοις ἐξεσθεν A Mosc. 1. 77. εἶλεν: ἥρει P, ἐν ἄλλωι A; cf. H 479. 78. οὐδ' ἀραμ. R. 79. οὔτε: οὐδὲ DR: οὐτ' (om. δὴ) Mor. || αἶαντες P (p. ras.) R Mor. Vr. A: οὐτ' αἶαντες δὴ C. 80. νέστωρ δ' GJLS. 81. ἐτείρετο: ἐν τισι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐδάμνατο Did., and so γρ. T. 83. ὄει: ἴνα Aristot. *de Gen. An.* v. 5. || τε om. C<sup>1</sup>. 87. παρηγορίας GJP: παρηγορέας L. || ἀπέταμνε DGHRSST Lips. Vr. b c A, Mosc. 3: ἀπέταμνε J: ἀπετάμνε A (ε in ras. with a sup., T.W.A.).

73-4. This couplet was athetized by Ar., and seems quite indefensible. The dual ἐξέσθην must be meant to stand for the plural; there is no reason why Zeus should have taken two fates for each side. Matters are not mended by the alternative ἐξεσθεν mentioned by Schol. A. The lines seem to be a gloss on 72. The sinking of the Achaeans' fates (or souls?) is evidently symbolical of descent to Hades, X 213.

75. A free use of thunder and lightning is characteristic of this book; see 133, 170, 405.

78-183. We now come to a part where borrowed lines are less frequent: 80 cf. A 840, O 370, etc.; 82 = Γ 329; 93 passim in *Od.* and six times again in *Il.*; 95 cf. X 283; 99 cf. E 184; 105-7 = E 221-3; 112 = A 516; 122 = O 452; 123 = E 296; 124 cf. P 83 (121-5 are repeated in 313-7); 130 = A 310; 141 cf. Φ 570; 146 = A 286; 147 = O 208, etc.; 150 cf. Δ 182; 152 cf. Δ 370; 158-9 = O 589-90; 161 cf. Δ 257; 162 = M 311; 169 cf. E 671; 172 = Z 110;

173-4 = A 286-7 (and elsewhere); 182 cf. Ξ 47; 183 cf. I 243.

81. Aristarchos, 'in some of the commentaries,' read ἐδάμνατο, which seems rather more appropriate to the effect of an immediately fatal wound.

83. πρῶται, i.e. the beginning of the mane.

84. καίριον: see Δ 185.

85. ἀνέπαλτο is a doubtful form; it may be divided either ἀν-ἐπ-αλτο or ἀν-ἐπαλτο (πάλλομαι). The former is best, as it is not clear that πάλλομαι can have any sense but that of *quivering*. See note on O 645. The passage is twice imitated by Virgil, *Aen.* x. 890 ff., xi. 637 ff.

86. περὶ χαλκῶι, a bold phrase, *writhing about the point of the arrow*. Similar expressions occur in N 441, 570, Φ 577, Ψ 30, λ 424, μ 395; but in all of these the victim is pierced through the middle of the body, which makes the expression more natural.

87. παρηγορίας, the *traces* of the παρήγορος or extra trace-horse, which is

φασγίνωι ἄϊσσω, τόφρ' Ἑκτορος ὠκέες ἵπποι  
 ἦλθον ἀν' ἰωχμὸν θρασὺν ἡνίοχον φορέοντες  
 Ἑκτορα. καὶ νῦ κεν ἔνθ' ὁ γέρον ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσε, 90  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὄξυν νόησε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης.  
 σμερδαλέον δ' ἐβόησεν ἐποτρύνων Ὀδυσῆα.  
 “διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
 πῆμι φεύγεις, μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν, κακὸς ὥς ἐν ὀμίλῳ;  
 μὴ τίς τοι φεύγοντι μεταφρένωι ἐν δόρῳ πῆξῃ. 95  
 ἀλλὰ μὲν, ὄφρα γέροντος ἀπώσομεν ἄγριον ἄνδρα.”  
 ὧς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἐσάκουσε πολὺτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἀλλὰ παρήϊξεν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.  
 Τυδείδης δ' αὐτὸς περ ἐὼν προμάχοισιν ἐμίχθη,  
 στῆ δὲ πρόσθ' ἵππων Νηληϊάδαο γέροντος, 100

89. φέροντες GJQR. 90. ἀπὸ : μετὰ Mor. 94. ποι L. || φεύγει P<sup>1</sup>. ||  
 λαβῶν U<sup>1</sup>. 99. περ ἐὼν : πονέων Schol. Theokr. xi. 12. || εμειχῶν Pap. δ.  
 100. νηληϊάδω G : νηληϊάο Pap. δ.

mentioned by Homer only here and in II 152, cf. δ 590 *τρεῖς ἵππους καὶ δίφρον*.

89. *ἡνίοχον* is here used in the general sense of rider in the chariot, not as distinguishing the driver from the *παρά-βάτης*; so in T 401 *ἡνιοχῆα* means the fighter. From 121 we see that as a matter of fact Hector is not conceived as driving his own chariot. So also P 427. It may be noticed that *θρασύς* is an epithet peculiarly appropriated to Hector; it is used eight times of him in Homer, and only four times of all other heroes together.

94. *μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν*, generally rendered *turning thy back*, a strange use. It is perhaps allowable to understand the shield as the direct object of *βαλὼν*, *throwing thy shield behind thy back*, as we know was actually done in retreat, e.g. by Aias in A 545 *ὅπιθεν δὲ σάκος βάλεν ἐπαβόειον*. The taunt in 95 thus gains in sarcastic bitterness, 'take very good care of your back.' Platt in *J. P.* xviii. 131 would put a comma after *ὀμίλῳ*, and the interrogation after *πῆξῃ*. This is of course more logical, but weaker. Davis and Bentley both conj. *βαλὼν σάκος, ὥς ἐν ὀμίλῳ μὴ τις κτλ.*, chiefly on the ground that the post-positive *ὥς* in comparisons is *ῥῶς*. This, however, is not clear, and the naming of the *σάκος* is not essential. Such an expression as *μετὰ νῶτα βαλεῖν* describing a well-known manœuvre might easily pass into a technical phrase in

which it was needless to name the shield. In X 283, however, the words of l. 95 are used merely to express the inherent disgrace of a wound in the back; cf. also N 289.

97. It was debated by the old critics whether *ἐσάκουσε* meant that Odysseus did not *hearken*, or only that he did not *hear* what was said. The former was the view of Aristarchos, but the latter is supported by the fact that Homer never represents any of the leading Greek heroes as a downright coward. The compound does not recur in H., and both senses are found in Trag. *Hymn. Cer.* 284 is ambiguous. Platt, however (*J. P.* ut supr.), aptly quotes Thuc. iv. 34 *ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς μείζονος βοῆς τῶν πολεμίων τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς παραγγελλόμενα οὐκ ἐσακούοντες*, which shews it to be 'the correct term for catching a word in the tumult of battle.' The fact that the flight here is caused by the act of Zeus would hardly exonerate Odysseus under the circumstances, as Diomedes is able to resist the panic for a while under the action of a special incentive.

99. *αὐτός*, i.e. *μόνος*, as B 233, N 729, Ω 499. The phrase *προμάχοισιν ἐμίχην* seems out of place here, as it is regularly used of a hero who comes forward from the rear to take his place among the champions of his own side; but now there are no Greek *πρόμαχοι* at all, as all have fled. The phrase is merely copied from E 134.



καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “ὦ γέρον, ἦ μάλα δὴ σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχηταί,  
 σὴ δὲ βίη λέλυται, χαλεπὸν δέ σε γῆρας ὀπάζει·  
 ἡπεδανὸς δέ νύ τοι θεράπων, βραδέες δέ τοι ἵπποι·  
 ἀλλ’ ἄγ’ ἐμῶν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσεο, ὄφρα ἴδῃαι 105  
 οἰοὶ Τρώϊοι ἵπποι, ἐπιστάμενοι πεδίοιο  
 κραιπνὰ μάλ’ ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα διωκόμεν ἡδὲ φέβεσθαι,  
 οὓς ποτ’ ἀπ’ Αἰνείαν ἐλόμην, μῆστωρε φόβοιο.  
 τούτῳ μὲν θεράποντε κομείτων, τῷδε δὲ νῶϊ  
 Τρῳσὶν ἐφ’ ἵπποδάμοις ἰθύνομεν, ὄφρα καὶ Ἑκτωρ 110  
 εἴσεται εἰ καὶ ἐμὸν δόρυ μαίνεται ἐν παλάμῃσιν.”  
 ὥς ἔφατ’, οὐδ’ ἀπίθησε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ.  
 Νεστορέας μὲν ἔπειθ’ ἵππους θεράποντε κομείτην,  
 ἴφθιμος Σθένελός τε καὶ Εὐρυμέδων ἀγαπήνῳρ·  
 τῷ δ’ εἰς ἀμφοτέρῳ Διομήδεος ἄρματα βήτην. 115

103. **CH** TE H. || **ὀπάζει** Ar. Ω: ἐπείγει Ixion: ἰκάνει HST Vr. b, Mosc. 1<sup>m</sup>, Harl. b, King's, Par. a b c f g j k, and. ἐν ἄλλῳ A. 108 **ἀθ.** Ar. || **αἰνείου** HP, γρ. R: **αἰνείας** D (ο *man.* 2). || **μῆστωρε** Ar. Ω: **μῆστωρα** JPS Harl. a King's (*supr.* e), Par. (c *supr.*) e (*supr.* e) h j, Plato *Lach.* 191 b, *τινὲς* ap. Schol. T: οἱ δὲ γράψαντες **μῆστωρε φόβοιο** πάνν σφάλλονται τοῦ ὀρθοῦ Eust. See on E 272. 109. **κομείτην** Zen. (A *supr.*) C (*supr.* ων) DHU Vr. b, Mosc. 1<sup>1</sup>, Par. d e (p. *ras.*) g k: **κομίτην** Pap. δ. || **τῷδε** Pap. δ. || **νῶϊν** GL. 110. **ἵπποδάμοις(ν)** DGPQRSTU. **ἰθύνομεν**: οὐνομεν G: οείνομεν P: ἄγειμεν U (ἐγείρομεν?). 111. **εἰ**: Ἡ A (*supr.* ei) (R?) T. 113. **κομείτην** J: κομίτην CG. 114. **ἴφθιμος** ADJR (? γρ. ἴφθιμοι) U: ἴφθιμοι Ω.

103. **ΓΗΡΑΣ** ὀπάζει: see A 493. Here as elsewhere the tradition varies between ὀπάζει, ἐπείγει and ἰκάνει.

104. For the horses of Nestor, which seem to have been as famous for their slowness as those of Diomedes for their speed, see Ψ 309. **ἡπεδανός** recurs also in θ 311, *Hymn. Ap.* 316. The scholiasts are probably right in taking it to be for ἀ-πεδ-ανος, the opposite of ἐμπεδος, lit. *not firm on the feet* (πεδ- weak form of ποδ-). But see Schulze *Q. E.* p. 148.

105-7. See E 221-3; and for the phrase **μῆστωρα** or **μῆστωρε φόβοιο**, E 272. Here, as there, ms. evidence is in favour of the latter reading, though the consensus is not so general.

108 was athetized by Aristarchos, according to Aristonikos, on the following grounds:—ὅτι ἀποπον προστιθέναι τὴν ἱστορίαν τῷ εἰδῶτι καὶ ὁ καιρὸς δέεται συντομίας· καὶ ὅτι τὸ ποτέ χρονικὴν ἔχει ἔμφασιν (i.e. implies a considerable interval of time), τῆς ἀφαιρέσεως γεγοννίας τῇ πρὸ

ταύτης ἡμέραι. These arguments hardly seem sufficient.

109. As usual **τούτῳ** refers to the person addressed (*iste*), **τῷδε** to the speaker. **εεράποντε**: Eurymedon (A 620) and Sthenelos. **κομείτων**: 3rd dual imper., an isolated form in Greek; for A 338 **ἔστων** is probably a plural. See Curtius *Verb.* ii.<sup>2</sup> 67, van L. *Ench.* p. 295, *H. G.* §§ 5, 173. The form and contraction throw suspicion on the word, yet the want of analogy makes late coinage improbable.

111. For the use of the future instead of the subj. in final clauses see *H. G.* § 326. 3. For **εἰ**, which has by far the best ms. authority, most editors read **ἦ**. But this use of **ἦ** to introduce a single dependent interrogation is not well supported. See *H. G.* § 333, note. **μαίνεται**, *rages*, by a bold personification, as Π 74-5 Διομήδεος ἐν παλάμῃσιν μαίνεται ἐγχείη.

114. **ἴφθιμος Σθένελος**, as Ψ 511. **ἀγαπήνῳρ**: see on N 756.

Νέστωρ δ' ἐν χεῖρεσσι λάβ' ἡνία σιγαλόεντα,  
 μάστιξεν δ' ἵππους· τάχα δ' Ἔκτορος ἄγχι γένοντο.  
 τοῦ δ' ἰθὺς μεμαῶτος ἀκόντισε Τυδέος υἱός·  
 καὶ τοῦ μὲν ῥ' ἀφάμαρτεν, ὁ δ' ἡνίοχον θεράποντα,  
 υἱὸν ὑπερθύμου Θηβαίου Ἡνιοπῆα, 120  
 ἵππων ἡνὶ ἔχοντα βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν.  
 ἥριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων, ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι  
 [ὠκύποδες· τοῦ δ' αὖθι λύθη ψυχὴ τε μένος τε].  
 Ἔκτορα δ' αἰνὸν ἄχος πύκασε φρένας ἡνίοχοιο·  
 τὸν μὲν ἔπειτ' εἶασε, καὶ ἀχνύμενός περ ἑταίρου, 125  
 κείσθαι, ὁ δ' ἡνίοχον μέθεπε θρασύν. οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔτι δι' ἡν  
 ἵππω δευέσθην σημάντορος· αἰψα γὰρ εἶρεν  
 Ἰφιτίδην Ἀρχεπτόλεμον θρασύν, ὃν ῥα τόθ' ἵππων  
 ὠκνύδων ἐπέβησε, δίδου δέ οἱ ἡνία χερσίν.  
 ἐνθά κε λοιγὸς ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γένοντο, 130  
 καὶ νύ κε σήκασθεν κατὰ Ἴλιον ἡύτε ἄρνες,  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.  
 βροντήσας δ' ἄρα δεινὸν ἀφήκ' ἀργῆτα κεραυνόν,  
 καδ δὲ πρόσθ' ἵππων Διομήδεος ἦκε χαμᾶζε·  
 δεινὴ δὲ φλόξ ὦρτο θεεῖοιο καιομένοιο, 135

116. χερσί(ν) DGJRU. || **σιγαλόεντα** : φοινικόεντα A (ἐν ἄλλωι σιγαλόεντα)  
 HQS Harl. a (γρ. σιγαλόεντα) Vr. b c, Mosc. 3, and γρ. J. 117. **μάστιξεν** :  
**φαίνισεν** H (φοίνισεν ?). 119. **ἐφάμαρτε** U. 121. **στήθεος** P. 123 *om.*  
 D<sup>h</sup>H<sup>t</sup>U Harl. b, King's, Par. a b c e<sup>h</sup> g. || **αὐτ' ἐλύθη** Mosc. 1. 126. **μέθεπε** J.  
 128. **ἀρχεπτόλεμον** : ἐρασιπτόλεμον Zen. 129. **δέ οἱ** : δ' ὅγε P. 131. **κ'**  
**ἐσάκασε** T. || **ἡύτε** : ἡὐτ' T : ἡύτε γ' S. || After this *τινὲς τῶν παλαιῶν* added  
 Τρώες ὑπ' Ἀργείων, ἔλιπον δὲ κεν Ἔκτορα διὸν χαλκῶι διήδωντα (Διομήδεος  
 La Roche), δάμασσε δὲ μιν Διομήδης T. 135. **εεῖοιο** P : εεοῖο LQ.

116. For the variant *φοινικόεντα* (with doubtful synizesis) compare the staining of harness in Δ 141, and of leather in ψ 201.

122. *ὑπερώησαν*, *swerved aside thereat*, on missing the guiding hand, as ψ 433 (*ἵπποι*) *ἠρώησαν ὀπίσω*. For the verb *ἐρώέω* see on B 179.

124. *πύκασε*, *covered up*, veiled his mind; in this metaphorical sense only in the present phrase, which recurs also in 316 and P 83. Cf. Γ 442, etc. *ἔρος φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν*.

126. *μέθεπε*, *drove in quest of*; the construction is the same as in E 329 (where see note) *Τυδείδην μέθεπε κρατερώνυχας ἵππους*, the direct object *ἵππους* being omitted here, as continually with

*ἔχειν* when meaning 'to drive.' *ἐφέπειν* is used in a similar way II 724, 732, Ω 326.

130. The sudden turn in the battle is quite out of proportion to what has gone before; there is no indication of any general rally on the Greek side, and the idea that Diomedes could unaided have caused a general rout of the enemy seems to be a mere outbidding of his exploits even where he has divine assistance, as in the fifth book. These objections could to some extent be evaded by supposing 131 to be an interpolation. *ἀμήχανα*, *irremediable*, admitting no *μῆχος* to evade them.

135. For the smell of sulphur accompanying a lightning flash see Ξ 415.

τὼ δ' ἵππῳ δείσαντε καταπτήτην ὑπ' ὄχεσφι.  
 Νέστορα δ' ἐκ χειρῶν φύγον ἡνία σιγαλόεντα·  
 δεῖσε δ' ὃ γ' ἐν θυμῷ, Διομήδεα δὲ προσέειπε·  
 “Τυδεΐδη, ἄγε δ' αὖτε φόβονδ' ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους.  
 ἡ οὐ γινώσκεις ὃ τοι ἐκ Διὸς οὐχ ἔπετ' ἀλκή;  
 νῦν μὲν γὰρ τούτῳ Κρονίδης Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀπάξει,  
 σήμερον· ὕστερον αὖτε καὶ ἡμῖν, αἶ κ' ἐθέλησι,  
 δώσει· ἀνὴρ δέ κεν οὐ τι Διὸς νόον εἰρύσσαιτο,  
 οὐδὲ μάλ' ἴφθιμος, ἐπεὶ ἡ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι.”  
 τὸν δ' ἡμέμβετ' ἔπειτα βοῇν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 “ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, γέρον, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες·  
 ἀλλὰ τόδ' αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἰκάνει·  
 “Ἐκτωρ γάρ ποτε φήσει ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων·  
 ‘Τυδεΐδης ὑπ' ἐμείῳ φοβούμενος ἵκετο νῆας.’  
 ὥς ποτ' ἀπειλήσει· τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών.”  
 τὸν δ' ἡμέμβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·  
 “ὦ μοι, Τυδεὸς υἱὲ δαΐφρονος, οἶον ἔειπες.  
 εἴ περ γάρ σ' Ἐκτωρ γε κακὸν καὶ ἀνάλκιδα φήσει,

136. καταπλήτην L. || ὑπ' : ἐπ' J. 137. φύγον Ar. Ω: φύγεν (A *supr.*) DJRU Harl. d, Par. f j<sup>1</sup> (?) k. || σιγαλόεντα : φοινικίσεντα Q Harl. d, Par. e (γρ. σιγαλόεντα), ἐν ἄλλῳ A (A has σιγαλόεντα *in ras.*). 138. ὃ γ' ἔν : ὃ γε DJU.  
 139. δ' αὖτε : νῶϊ Zen. 140. ὃ τοι AP[S]TU (*supr.* τι) Cant. Vr. a c, Lips. : ὅτι τοι J : ὅ τι Ω. 142. ὕστερον δ' DJRU. 144. ἐπεὶ ἦ : οὐδ' εἰ R. || φέρτατος PQR Eust. 146. ναὶ : καὶ R (ναὶ R<sup>m</sup>). || ἔειπας GJL (*supr.* ες).  
 147. τόδ' : τό γ' G. 148. γάρ : δέ J (*supr.* γάρ) : δὴ Eust. 149. τυδεΐδης δ' DU. 150. χάνει J. 152. ἔειπας CH<sup>1</sup>. 153. γε om. P : τε H.

136. For the form καταπτήτην see B 312.

139. φόβονδ' ἔχε, lit. 'drive towards flight.' Cf. E 252 φόβονδ' ἀγόμενε, and Γ 263 πεδίονδ' ἔχον.

141. ὀπάξει is of course the causative form of ἔπεται above, 'makes to accompany.'

143. εἰρύσσαιτο : a singular use of this verb, obviously different from that in A 216 (see note there), where it means 'to obey, observe.' It appears to be rather analogous to B 859 ἐρύσαστο κῆρα, *warded off fate*, here no man can ward the design of Zeus, the idea of *watching* (*ob-serv-are*) passing on the one hand into that of *guarding* a friend, on the other into that of *guarding against* a foe. φυλάσσω and φυλάσσομαι shew a similar divergence in sense, as the scholia note; though there the distinction is aided by the difference of voice. Cf. π 463, where

εἰρύσσαιτο = *watch for* in a hostile sense. The form εἰρύσσαιτο for ἐρύσσαιτο is due to the analogy of the reduplicated εἰρύναι and the similar aor. of Φερύω, ἀραν, aided by metrical necessity.

147. It is most natural to take τόδε as agreeing with ἄχος, 'this is the sore grief.' It is, however, possible to understand it as an accusative anticipating the content of the following clause, 'It is in respect of this that great grief comes upon me, namely, that,' etc. For this use of the pronoun cf. E 827 τό γε, and Z 523 τὸ δέ.

148. The future φήσει is found in Homer only here and in 153.

150. ἀπειλήσει, here in the primitive sense, *declare loudly*, cf. Ψ 863, 872, and θ 383 ἀπειλήσας βητάρμονας εἶναι ἀρίστους. For the last half of the line see Δ 182.

153. εἴ περ φήσει admits Diomedes's

ἀλλ' οὐ πείσονται Τρῶες καὶ Δαρδανίῳνες  
καὶ Τρώων ἄλοχοι μεγαθύμων ἀσπιστάων,  
τάων ἐν κονίησι βάλες θαλεροὺς παρακοίτας." 155

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας φύγαδ' ἔτραπε μώνυχας ἵππους  
αὐτὶς ἀν' ἰωχμόν· ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶές τε καὶ Ἑκτώρ  
ῥῆχῃ θεσπεσίῃ βέλεα στονόεντα χέοντο.  
τῷ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄνυσε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἑκτώρ· 160  
"Τυδεΐδῃ, περὶ μὲν σε τίον Δαναοὶ ταχύπωλοι  
ἔδρῃ τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείους δεπάεσσι·  
νῦν δέ σ' ἀτιμήσουσι· γυναικὸς ἄρ' ἀντὶ τέτυξο.  
ἔρρε, κακὴ γλήνη, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἷξαντος ἐμεῖο  
πύργων ἡμετέρων ἐπιβήσῃ, οὐδὲ γυναικάς 165  
ἄξεις ἐν νήεσσι· πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω."

ὥς φάτο, Τυδεΐδης δὲ δινύδιχα μερμήριζεν,  
ἵππους τε στρέψαι καὶ ἐναντίβιον μαχέσασθαι.  
τρὶς μὲν μερμήριξε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,

157. φύγαδε τράπε Ar. A : φύγαδ' ἔτραπε PQ Par. a e f. 158. αὔεις CQ.  
159. στενόεντα J. 162. τ' ἡδὲ G : τε ἡδὲ QΓ. 163. ἄρ' : γάρ G. || ἀντὶ  
τέτυξο Ar. : ἄντι τέτυξο DH : ἀντιτέτυξο J Mosc. 1 : ἄντ' ἐτέτυξο or ἀντετέτυξο  
Ω. 164. εἷξαντος J. || ἐμοῖο P. 164-6 ἀθ. Ar. Aph. 166. τοι : γάρ τοι  
G. || δαίμονα δώσω : πότμον ἐφῆκω Zen. 167. μερμήριζε(ν) LS Mor.  
168. τρέψαι D. || ἀντίβιον H. || Some added ἢ μᾶτε στρέψαι μᾶτ' ἀντίβιον μαχέ-  
σασθαι (An.). 169. μερμήριζε S.

view of Hector's action as right, *though Hector will indeed say*.

157. φύγαδ' ἔτραπε, like φόβονδ' ἔχε above (139).

161. Hector loses no time in justifying the opinion of Nestor and Diomedes. For the chief seat and other marks of distinction see Δ 262, H 321, M 310, with the notes on the two first passages.

163. ἄρα with τέτυξο, 'you are after all,' as often. ἀντί, lit. *in the place of* a woman, i.e. no better than one. It may also mean 'as good as,' i.e. no worse than, I 116, Φ 75, θ 546; it merely indicates *equality*.

164. γλήνη, *plaything*, doll, puppet. The word recurs in Ξ 494, ι 390, in the sense of *cyc-ball* or *pupil* (so also Soph. O. T. 1277); and the cognate γλήνεια is found in Ω 192, meaning *trinkets* (compare *πρίγληνος* Ξ 183, σ 298, *with three drops*, of earrings; Helbig, H. E.<sup>2</sup> 271). The word seems to come from the root γαλ, and to mean 'something bright.' In the present passage it

has been taken to mean *girl* by a process the inverse of that by which κόρη comes to mean the pupil of the eye. But it implies no more than 'you pretty toy.' οὐκ of course goes with ἐπιβήσῃ, not with εἷξαντος.

166. δαίμονα δώσω, *I will deal thee fate*, a strange expression, not elsewhere found. Cf. I 571 *δομεν θάνατον*, and the phrase *δαίμονος αἶσα*. Zen. read *πότμον ἐφῆκω*, a more likely phrase, but to all appearance a mere conj.; cf. Δ 396 *πότμον ἐφῆκε*. Ar. and Aph. athetized 164-6, partly on account of this, partly because they considered the lines 'poor and unsuited to the characters of the speakers.' Against this may be set Bergk's remark that the speech of Hector without these lines is very weak and jejune.

167. δινύδιχα μερμήριζεν, followed by the statement of only one of the alternatives which present themselves, is exactly paralleled by our colloquial 'had half a mind to turn his horses and to fight.' See on A 189, where the same phrase is found.



τρίς δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων κτύπε μητίετα Ζεὺς 170  
 σῆμα τιθεῖς Τρώεσσι, μάχης ἑτεραλκία νίκην.  
 "Ἐκτωρ δὲ Τρώεσσιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὔσας·  
 "Τρώες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχῆταί,  
 ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς·  
 γινώσκω δ' ὅτι μοι πρόφρων κατένευσε Κρουῖον 175  
 νίκην καὶ μέγα κῆδος, ἀτὰρ Δαναοῖσιν γε πῆμα·  
 νήπιοι, οἳ ἄρα δὴ τάδε τείχεα μηχανόωντο  
 ἀβλήχρ' οὐδενόσσωρα· τὰ δ' οὐ μένος ἀμὸν ἐρύξει·  
 ἵπποι δὲ ῥέα τάφρον ὑπερθορέονται ὀρυκτὴν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῆσι γένωμαι, 180  
 μνημοσύνη τις ἔπειτα πυρὸς δηΐοιο γενέσθω,  
 ὥς πυρὶ νῆας ἐνιπρήσω, κτείνω δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς  
 [Ἀργείους παρὰ νηυσὶν, ἀτυζομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ]."  
 ὥς εἰπὼν ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο φώνησέν τε·

170. ἄρ' *om.* QRT. || ἀπ': γρ. ἐπ' A. 174. ἄνδρες P. || δὲ *om.* P. 175.  
 γινώσκω L. 177. οἳ' Dion. Sid. || τάδε: τάγε Bar. || μηχανόωνται C<sup>1</sup>D<sup>2</sup>L  
 (*supr.* ο) RT (*supr.* ο). 178. ἀβλήχρ' G: ἀβλήχ' J: αὐλήχρ' P. || οὐδ'  
 ἐνόσσωρα P: οὐδὲ νόσσωρα G. || ἐμὸν JPR (ε *in ras.*). || ἐρύξει L: ἀμύσει Harl.  
 a (glossed ἀμβλυσεῖ: γρ. ἐρύσει). 181. γέννται T. 182. κτενέω Cant.  
 183 *om.* ACDH<sup>t</sup>PR<sup>t</sup> Harl. a, King's, Par. a c<sup>t</sup> et f<sup>t</sup> g j k Lips.<sup>t</sup> || καπνώ(i) S Harl.  
 b<sup>m</sup>, Par. b c<sup>m</sup> f<sup>m</sup>, Mor. Vr. a c A, Mosc. 13 (περὶ καπνώ(i) ἢ ὑπὸ καπνοῦ Eust. ||  
 ἔκτωρ ἄργεῖους παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀτυζομένους γε Par. h. 184. ἵπποισι κέκλετο P.  
 φώνησέν τε: γρ. μακρὸν αὔσας Vr. A.

171. For the phrase μάχης ἑτεραλκία  
 νίκην see H 26. According to Nikanor,  
 the comma must be put after Τρώεσσι,  
 as is always printed, εἰάν γάρ συνάπτωμεν,  
 σολοικοφανὲς γίνεται. I.e. he objects to  
 taking σῆμα as adverbial accusative, 'by  
 way of a sign,' and joining τιθεῖς ἑτ. νίκην  
 Τρώεσσι, 'appointing for the Trojans a  
 turning of the tide of battle.' This  
 construction is perhaps possible, though  
 not very Homeric; it may have been  
 suggested by the fact that the common  
 phrase is σήματα φαίνων, or the like.  
 There is no difficulty in taking both  
 νίκην and σῆμα with τιθεῖς by a slight  
 zeugma.

177. For οἳ Dion. Sidon. (and Bentley)  
 read αἳ, which is pleasing in itself,  
 and agrees with the habit of making a  
 decided pause after νήπιος used inter-  
 jectionally, instead of connecting it  
 closely with what follows. We have,  
 however, νήπιοι οἳ in O 104 and a 8, so  
 that the question is doubtful. μηχαν-  
 αασθαι is elsewhere always followed by

an adj. in the neuter plural, not by a  
 substantive.

178. ἀβλήχρ': E 337. οὐδενόσσωρα,  
 not worth a thought; ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in  
 Greek till Oppian. Döderl. takes it to  
 mean *recking of nothing*, impious, which  
 may be right. Hes. explains οὐδενός  
 φυλακτικά, *guarding nothing*; hence  
 Brandreth conj. οὐδενόσσωρα (οὐρός =  
*guard*). For the almost unique com-  
 position of the word see *H. G.* §§ 124 f.  
 The form in any case is not early, for  
 οὐδελ is practically unknown to Homer,  
 except in the form οὐδέν (the only  
 exceptions are X 459, λ 515; *H. G.*  
 § 356).

181. ΜΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ ΓΕΝΕΣΘΩ, a sort of  
 periphrastic passive to μέμνημαι: cf.  
 H 409 φειδὼ γίνεται.

183 is omitted by all the best mss.;  
 it is merely intended to introduce  
 Ἀργείους as a gloss on αὐτοῖς.

184. The following passage down to  
 212 has given rise to many well-founded  
 suspicions. For 185 see below. 186-90

“Ξάνθέ τε καὶ σύ, Πόδαργε, καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπέ τε διέ, 185  
 νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνετον, ἦν μάλα πολλήν  
 Ἀνδρομάχῃ, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡετίωνος,  
 ὑμῖν παρ προτέροισι μελίσφονα πυρὸν ἔθηκεν  
 οἶνόν τ' ἐγκεράσασα πιεῖν, ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνώγει, 190  
 ἢ ἐμοί, ὅς πέρ οἱ θαλερὸς πόσις εὐχομαι εἶναι.  
 ἀλλ' ἐφομαρτεῖτον καὶ σπεύδεται, ὅφρα λάβωμεν  
 ἀσπίδα Νεστορέην, τῆς νῦν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει  
 πᾶσαν χρυσεῖην ἔμεναι, κανόνας τε καὶ αὐτὴν,  
 αὐτὰρ ἀπ' ὠμοῖν Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο  
 δαιδάλεον θώρηκα, τὸν Ἡφαιστος κάμε τεύχων. 195

185 *ἀθ. Ar.* || καὶ λάμπε τὲ J. 186. ἀποτίνετε G. 189 *ἀθ. Ar. Aph.*  
 ἐγκεράσασα J. || ὅτι J. || ἀνώγει ADJQT: ἀνώγει Cant.<sup>1</sup>: ἀνώγει Ω. 190.  
 ὅστις οἱ C. 191. ὅφρα Ar. Ω: αἶ κε HT Harl. b, Par. b h k, and ἄλλοι (Did.).  
 λάβωμεν Q. 192. Νεστορίην GPR. || ἵκει GL (*supr.* ι) Vr. A, Mosc. 3. 194.  
 ὠμοῖσι P.

are confused and absurd, even if we cut out 189; 192-7 are exaggerated, and do not agree with the rest of the *Iliad*. 198-211 are weak in themselves, contradict the introduction to this book, and have no bearing whatever on the story; 212 is a familiar sign of interpolation. 213 follows naturally after 182. The lines appearing in other places are only 184=Ψ 442; 187=Z 395; 210-11 cf. T 134-5; 212 *passim*. The passage is therefore substantially original.

185 was athetized by Ar. on the ground that H. knows nothing of four-horse chariots, and that the four names conflict with the dual ἀποτίνετον. It appears that some tried to evade the difficulty by taking Ξάνθε and Πόδαργε as epithets, not as proper names, which is equally un-Homeric. There is apparently an allusion to a four-horse chariot in the late passage A 699, and in a simile ν 81. The names of the horses are all copied from other places; see II 149, Ψ 295, ψ 246. There seems no good reason to reject this one line, which is of a piece with what follows. It is likely enough that the composer of the passage may have regarded dual and plural as interchangeable, like Zen.; or he may have carelessly copied from some lost passage where only two horses were addressed. The speech would begin very badly without the opening line.

188. The constr. changes, as often;

it begins as though ἔθηκεν alone were to follow, but the idea is expanded so that πυρὸν has to come in a rather awkward apposition with κομιδὴν.

189. This line was athetized by Aph. and Ar. on the ground that it is absurd to make the horses drink wine. The line in this case will be a singularly unfortunate expedient on the part of an interpolator who was offended at Hector's being made to eat grain, as is the case if we omit it. πυρός has to be ground before it can be the food of men, ν 109. The whole passage is too hopeless to be remedied by a single omission. The attention shewn to the horses is paralleled in Ψ 281-2.

192. A famous shield of Nestor is as little known elsewhere to the *Iliad* as a divine breastplate of Diomedes. As the story now stands, the latter must have belonged to Glaukos, with whom Diomedes had exchanged armour, and could not have failed to obtain mention in Z 236; while there is no allusion to the former in the passage which refers to the arms which Nestor may be presumed to have taken from Ereuthalion, H 146-55. Besides, the effect anticipated from the capture of these two pieces of armour seems quite disproportionate. Νῦν in 192 is a mere metrical makeshift; for the phrase see θ 74. For the κανόνες of the shield see App. B, i. 1.

εἰ τούτω κε λάβοιμεν, ἐελποίμην κεν Ἀχαιοὺς  
αὐτοनुχὶ νηῶν ἐπιβησέμεν ὠκείων.”

ὥς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος, νεμέσῃσεν δὲ πότνια Ἥρη,  
σεΐσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον,  
καὶ ῥα Ποσειδάωνα μέγαν θεὸν ἀντίον ἤυδα·

200

“ὦ πόποι, ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές, οὐδὲ νῦ σοί περ  
ὀλλυμένων Δαναῶν ὀλοφύρεται ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός.  
οἱ δέ τοι εἰς Ἑλίκην τε καὶ Αἰγὰς δῶρ' ἀνάγουσι  
πολλὰ τε καὶ χαρίεντα· σὺ δέ σφισι βούλεο νίκην.  
εἴ περ γέρ κ' ἐθέλοιμεν, ὅσοι Δαναοῖσιν ἄρωγοί,  
Τρῶας ἀπώσασθαι καὶ ἐρυκέμεν εὐρύοπα Ζῆν,  
αὐτοῦ κ' ἔνθ' ἀκάχοιτο καθήμενος οἶος ἐν Ἰδηι.”

205

τὴν δὲ μέγ' ὀχθήσας προσέφη κρείων ἐννοσίχθων·  
“Ἥρη ἀπτοεπές, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες ;

197. αὐτοनुχὶ CDJQS and *ap.* Eust. 199. ἐνέλιξε J. 201. εἰνόςιγαι' G :  
ἐννοσίγαι' P : αἰνόςιγαι' Q. || *κοί γε* H (*supr.* περ). 202. ἐν φρεσὶ : ἐνδοσε QR.  
203. οὐ δέ τοι ἔς J. || *τοί : τι* P : *τε* G : καὶ Vr. b. || ἐνάγουσι Vr. b. 206.  
Ζᾶν P : Ζᾶν' G (*supr.* α) LQR : Ζᾶνα HS : Ζᾶ with *ν'* at the beginning of next  
line, Ar. ACDJT (γρ. Ζεὺς). 207. ἔνεα κάθοιτ' ἀκαχήμενος Zen. 209.  
ἔειπας GH'S.

196. See note on E 273. Except in this place Hector, far from hoping to see the Greeks embark, desires to prevent them by burning the ships ; see 182, 217.

199. This line seems like a poor imitation of the famous A 530. *εἰνί* for *ἐνί* is found only in this phrase (also O 150) and *εἰνὶ θύρῃσι* (θ 325(?), ι 417, κ 310, μ 256). It is a purely metrical form, excused in the case of *εἰνὶ θύρῃσι* by absolute necessity ; *ἐν θρόνῳ*, however, is not impossible, so that Schulze regards *εἰνί* here as a later imitation of *εἰνὶ θύρῃσι* (Q. E. 221).

200. ἀντίον ἤυδα must here be taken to mean *addressed* ; it is elsewhere used only of a reply to something previously said.

203. Helike and Aigai are two cities in Achaia, both chief seats of the worship of Poseidon ; B 575, N 21, T 404.

204. βούλεο is generally taken as an imperative, but it may equally well be an imperfect, 'you used to wish them the victory.' βούλεσθαι as usual indicates *preference* of one of two things ; while ἐθέλοιμεν in the next line = 'make up our minds,' B 123.

206. Ζᾶν : a somewhat doubtful form.

Ar. wrote Ζῆν', assuming a synaphea with the following line. There are some other traces of this in Homer, but they are all very doubtful, and the short form Ζῆν is defensible on analogy, though there is no direct evidence for it. It apparently represents the Skt. *Djām*, as βῶν represents *gām*, see H 238. Herodianos attests also a nom. Ζῆς, which might have an accusative Ζῆν on the analogy of nouns of the first declension. But the question is by no means certain ; it is at least a curious coincidence that in every case where the form Ζῆν occurs, the following word, at the beginning of the next line, should commence with a vowel (Ξ 265, Ω 331). See *H. G.* § 106 (2). Van L. *Ench.* p. 11 compares δῶ for δῶμα at the end of a line (but see on A 426), and the cases of elision at the end of the Virgilian hexameter, *Georg.* i. 295, *Aen.* vii. 160, and others.

207. This is quite inconsistent with the introduction to the book. καθήμενος is virtually the principal verb, 'he would sit alone, to his vexation.'

209. ἀπτοεπές used to be explained either as ἀπτόητος (undaunted) τοῖς ἔπεσιν or καταπτομένη τοῖς ἔπεσιν, neither of which will do. As the word stands it is

οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γ' ἐθέλοιμι Διὶ Κρονίῳ μάχεσθαι  
 ἡμέας τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐπεὶ ἡ πολὺν φέρτερός ἐστιν."

210

ὥς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον.  
 τῶν δ', ὅσον ἐκ νηῶν ἀπὸ πύργου τάφρος ἔεργε,

210. ἐγὼ γ': ἐγὼν G. 211. ὑμέας J. || φέρτατός DJPQRS. 213. ἀπό:  
 καὶ Zen. (see Ludwig *ad loc.*). || ἐν τισι γρ. ἀπὸ τάφρου πύργος ἔεργεν A. ||  
 διχῶς 'Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ ἔεργε καὶ ἔρυκε Did.

better derived from root *jap* of *ιάπτω*, *iacio*, in the sense of 'hurling words about,' reckless in speech (so Monro). But there is much plausibility in Wackernagel's suggestion *ἀεττοεπές* (or perhaps rather *ἀαπτοεπές*), 'unmanageable, uncontrollable, in language.' Cf. the forms B 212 *ἀμετροεπής*, N 824 *ἀμαρτοεπές*; and for *ἄεπτος* or *ἄαπτος* see on A 567. Tradition varies between *ἀπτ-* and *ἀπτ-*.

213-65. The repeated lines here are 216=A 300, T 204; 220=N 167, 208; 221 cf. θ 84; 222-6=A 5-9; 227=A 275 etc.; 228=E 787; 232 cf. β 431; 235 cf. O 507, X 374; 242 cf. A 455; 244=O 376; 245=P 648; 246 cf. A 117; 247=Ω 315; 252=Ξ 441; 258-9=A 447-8; 260=E 294; 262-5=H 164-7.

213. It seems impossible to get a good sense out of the text as it stands, and the few variants recorded do not materially help, with the exception of Zen.'s *καί* for *ἀπό*, of which more below. There are two possible explanations of the space filled by the Achaeans: (1) ships and wall may be regarded as close together, and the trench at a considerable distance off; the Greeks are driven behind the trench but not inside the wall. (2) Wall and trench are regarded as close together; the Greeks are driven inside both, and fill the space between them and the ships. Of these (2) is by far the most natural, and is what we should like to get; but (1) in one form or another is what the words seem to imply. While *ἐκ* signifies *origin from*, and does not connote distance, *ἀπό* distinctly implies *far away from*, e.g. I 353 *ἀπὸ τείχεος*, *far from the wall*; so that whether we take *ἀπὸ πύργου* with *ἔεργε* or attributively with *τάφρος*, emphasis is laid upon the *separation* of wall and trench. The same sense comes from Zen.'s *καί* for *ἀπό*, for this makes ships and wall one limit, the trench the other. Now in some places the trench is clearly conceived as being at some little distance from the wall;

see particularly Σ 215 *στῇ δ' ἐπὶ τάφρῳ ἰὼν ἀπὸ τείχεος*. The interval between them is the station where the sentinels are posted in I and K. But we are nowhere led to believe that the distance is such as to afford a *place d'armes* for the whole Greek host; if the trench were virtually a separate first line of defence, we should look for more recognition of the fact in the long battles from M to O. This is the serious objection to Zen.'s *καί*. With the text we have the following alternative renderings: (a) *the space which, beginning from the ships, the trench cut off at a distance from the wall*. This is a clumsier way of expressing the same thing, and *ἐκ νηῶν* seems entirely otiose. We cannot take *ἐκ νηῶν* as *outside the ships*, i.e. in a space separated from them, for *ἐκ*, unlike *ἀπό*, implies *connection* (*ἐκ βελών* in Ξ 130 is the nearest analogy; but that means 'in a space measured from the (range of) darts'). This would involve reading *ἐκ πύργου ἀπὸ νηῶν*. (b) Take *ἀπό* with the verb, and join *πύργου τάφρος*, *all that the moat of the wall enclosed, starting from the ships*. This gives the desired sense (2), but the order of the words is intolerably harsh. (c) We might take *πύργου* not in the Homeric sense, *wall*, but in the later, *tower*; *all that, starting from the ships, the trench, away from the tower, enclosed*. This involves the entirely unsupported assumption that there is some definite tower (the common grave?) used as a landmark, and that the space enclosed is defined as being 'away from' this. Apparently there is no alternative but conjecture. Monro suggests *ἐπὶ πύργῳ* for *ἀπὸ πύργου*, *the trench at the wall*, i.e. 'the wall with the trench.' This gives the required sense; but still better would be *ἐπὶ πύργους*, 'all the space that the trench enclosed, from ships to walls.' *ἐπὶ* with acc. is the regular word for expressing extension, as far as a limit, e.g. 224 *γεγωνέμεν ἐπὶ κλισίας*: and *πύργου* is rather commoner than



πλήθεν ὁμῶς ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀσπιστάων  
 εἰλομένων· εἴλει δὲ θοῶι ἀτάλαντος Ἄρηϊ 215  
 Ἔκτωρ Πριαμίδης, ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκε.  
 καὶ νύ κ' ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλέωι νῆας εἵσας,  
 εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκ' Ἀγαμέμνονι πόντια Ἥρη  
 αὐτῷ ποιπνύσαντι θοῶς ὀτρῦναι Ἀχαιοὺς.  
 βῆ δ' ἵεναι παρά τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν 220  
 πορφύρεον μέγα φᾶρος ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παχείῃ,  
 στή δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγακῆτεϊ νηὶ μελαίνῃ,  
 ἥ ρ' ἐν μεσσάτῳ ἔσκε γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσε,  
 [ἡμὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίας Τελαμωνιάδαο  
 ἡδ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, τοί ρ' ἔσχατα νῆας εἵσας 225  
 εἵρυσαν, ἡγορέῃ πίσυνοι καὶ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν]  
 ἦυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον Δαναοῖσι γεγωνῶς·  
 “αἰδῶς, Ἀργεῖοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, εἶδος ἀγητοί·  
 πῆι ἔβαν εὐχωλαί, ὅτε δὴ φάμεν εἶναι ἄριστοι,

214. πλῆσθεν C. 217. κ' ἐνέπρησε(ν) CQS Harl. a, Lips. Vr. b: κεν  
 ἐνέπρησεν T: κεν' ἐνέπρησε R (sic): κεν ἐπρησε(ν) Ω. | εἵσας: ἀχαι]ων? Pap.  
 ε (the preceding line ends with ]νοντο—ἐνεά κε λοιγὸς ἐκιν καὶ ἀμύχανα ἔργα  
 γένοντο Monro). 219. ποιπνύσαντι U. || ἀχαιοὺς: ἐτ]αιρους Pap. ε. 220  
 om. L. || εἵσας Vr. b (γρ. ἀχαιῶν). 223. ἀμφοτέρωσεν P<sup>2m</sup> Vr. c, Mosc. 3.  
 224-6 om. ACDGPTQTU<sup>t</sup>, Harl. a, Lips. Vr. b, Mosc. 1. 224. κλισίης S: κλισίης  
 P<sup>m</sup>: κλισίην U<sup>m</sup>. 225. ἡδὲ κάχιλλῆος R. || ἔσχατοι P<sup>m</sup> Vr. c A. 229. ποί  
 P. || ἀρίστους U.

πύργος when the fortification of the camp is spoken of as a whole. The loss of the final *s* of πύργους would easily lead to the change of ἐπὶ to ἀπό, ἐπὶ πύργου being meaningless. (ἐπὶ πύργον would of course be wrong, as a syllable long by position only cannot stand in the second half of the fourth foot.) The relative sentence ὅσον . . . ἔργε is the nom. to πλήθεν, τῶν anticipating ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

221. It is not quite clear whether Agamemnon holds the mantle in his hands in order to be the freer, like Odysseus in B 183, or as a sort of flag, to call attention to what he is doing; perhaps both ideas may be intended. It may be noticed that purple does not seem to be a distinctively royal colour in Homer, see θ 84, δ 115, etc. But it was the only colour with which the ancients could dye linen, the material of the luxurious φᾶρος (see on B 43, Ω 230), which is the apparel of the great alone.

222. μεγακῆτεϊ, with mighty hollow,

capacious; so Φ 22, with mighty maw, and γ 158 of the sea with mighty deeps. Jordan proposes to derive the word from the ordinary sense of κῆτος, monster, explaining πόντος μεγακ. as teeming with great monsters, and μεγακ. νηὶ as 'with a great monster' at the prow; for it was a common practice to make the prow of the ship in the form of an animal's head; see the Egyptian ship of about 1000 B.C. in Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 65 and fig. 6. The 'ram' in the form of a head, a pig's for choice, is apparently post-Homeric; see Helbig *H. E.*<sup>2</sup> p. 77. The phrase recurs in A 600.

223. μεσάτῳ: a superlative form recurring only in the parallel passage A 6 (whence a few mss. have added 224-6). γεγωνέμεν οὐ ψιλῶς ἐστὶ φωνεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀκουστὸν φθέγγεσθαι, Schol. A.

228. ἐλέγχεα: see note on Δ 242.

229. εὐχωλαί, boastings, not in a bad sense, which is only given by κεναυχές. For the phrase πῆι ἔβαν cf. E 472, Ω 201. The following relative clause is evidently

ὡς ὁπότ' ἐν Λήμνῳ κενεαυχέες ἡγοράσθε, 230  
 ἔσθοντες κρέα πολλὰ βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων,  
 πίνοντες κρητῆρας ἐπιστεφέας οἴνοιο,  
 Τρώων ἄνθ' ἑκατόν τε διηκοσίων τε ἕκαστος  
 στήσεσθ' ἐν πολέμῳ· νῦν δ' οὐδ' ἐνὸς ἄξιοί εἰμεν  
 "Εκτορος, ὃς τάχα νῆας ἐνιπρήσει πυρὶ κηλέῳ. 235  
 Ζεὺ πάτερ, ἧ ρά τιν' ἤδη ὑπερμενέων βασιλῆων  
 τῇδ' ἄττι ἄσας καὶ μιν μέγα κῦδος ἀπηύρας;  
 οὐ μὲν δὴ ποτέ φημι τεὸν περικαλλέα βωμόν

230. ἡγοράσθε: ἐν ἄλλῳ εὐχετάσθε A. 231 ἀθ. Ar. || ὀρθοκραίων G  
 (p. ras.) U. 232. κρατῆρας J. 233. ἑκατόν (om. τε) GR. 234. δ' om. A. ||  
 οὐδ' ἐνὸς HP: οὐδενὸς Ω. 235 ἀθ. Ar. Aph. (Ar. mentions with disapproval  
 a variant ἕκτορος ὧι δὴ κῦδος 'Ολύμπιος αὐτὸς ὀπάξει). 237. ἄσας (ἄσας)  
 AD<sup>1</sup> (?) HT (supr. ἄ?) Ambr. Lips. Vr. b: ἄ\*σας P (σας P<sup>2</sup> e corr.). 238. δὴ:  
 γάρ H: γάρ δὴ T.

imperfect, as there is a verb wanting either after ἄσ or ὁπότ' according as we punctuate. If we put a comma after Λήμνῳ, we must assume an ellipse of ἦτε, as in our idiomatic 'you boasted when in Lemnos.' We may compare ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ followed by one verb only in Ω 42 (where see note), and ὡς ὅτε in similes without a verb. It is common enough for the substantive verb to be omitted in relative clauses (H. G. § 271), and an instance after a temporal adverb will be found in κ 176 ὅφρ' ἐν νηὶ θεῇ βρώσις τε πόσις τε: but here the omission is harsh, because the subject of the verb is not expressed. Hence some join ὁπότε with ἡγοράσθε, and hold that there is an anacoluthon, the verb governing ὡς being forgotten after the interposed relative clause. Bentley conj. ἄσά ποτ', van L. ἄς τότ' ἐνί. Von Christ thinks that the confused construction indicates interpolation from the Kypria, which may from the abstract have given some such story of a feast on the journey to Troy. But this is hardly probable. There is an evident allusion to the wines of Lemnos; see H 467. κενεαυχέες, only here and in late imitators. The verb αὐχεῖν does not reappear in H.

231 was athetized by Aristarchos on the ground that beef does not tend to make men boastful.

232. For ἐπιστεφέας see A 470.

234. στήσεσθαι is taken by Porphyrios to mean weigh (ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ζυγοῖς ἰσταμένων εἶρηται . . ἔφασκεν ἕκαστον αὐτὸν λέγειν ἀντίσταθμον εἶναι ἑκατόν καὶ

διακοσίων). In this case we must read ἀνθ' (= ἀντί) in 233, cf. 163. This gives excellent sense and suits also the literal sense of ἄξιοι: but στήσαι = weigh (trans.) is very rare in H., if found at all (T 247, X 350, Ω 232 are all more or less ambiguous), and the use of the mid. = weigh (intrans.) is apparently without a parallel in Greek. It is therefore best to write ἀνθ' (= ἀντα) with Herodianos and accept the obvious *would stand up to face*.

235. Athetized by Ar. and Aph. on the ground that it quite spoils the rhetorical effect of the reproach; Agamemnon ought to say 'we are no match even for the weakest Trojan.' It has all the appearance of a gloss. ἦττον ἂν φῆσιν 'Ἀρίσταρχος ὀνειδιστικὸν εἶναι, εἴπερ οὕτως ἐγγέγραπτο "Εκτορος, ὧι δὴ κῦδος 'Ολύμπιος αὐτὸς ὀπάξει, i.e. Ar. objected to some critic, who had proposed this emendation, that it weakened the force of Ag.'s objurgation to admit that Hector's success was due to Zeus.

237. This throwing of the blame upon the ἀρῇ of Zeus is a favourite resource of Agamemnon; see T 91, etc. ἄσας, like all other forms of the verb except the isolated ἀάται T 91, 129, is best referred to \*ἀφάζω, aor. ἄσας having an augmented form with ἀά- and an un-augmented with ἄα-, and, like other verbs of this class, a by-form ἄσσαν κ 68, ἀάσσατο I 537, though mss. and edd. mostly write the σ single. Of course in a book like the present there can be no great objection to the late contracted ἄσας (cf. T 95, λ 61).

νῆϊ πολυκλήϊδι παρελθέμεν ἐνθάδε ἔρρων,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι βοῶν δημὸν καὶ μηρί' ἔκηα, 240  
 ἰέμενος Τροίην ἐντείχεον ἔξαλαπάξαι.  
 ἀλλά, Ζεῦ, τόδε πέρ μοι ἐπικρήνηον ἐέλδωρ·  
 αὐτοὺς δὴ περ ἔασον ὑπεκφυγέειν καὶ ἀλύξαι,  
 μηδ' οὕτω Τρώεσσιν ἔα δάμνασθαι Ἀχαιοὺς."  
 ὡς φάτο, τὸν δὲ πατὴρ ὀλοφύρατο δάκρυ χέοντα, 245  
 νεῦσε δέ οἱ λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι οὐδ' ἀπολέσθαι.  
 αὐτίκα δ' αἰετὸν ἦκε, τελειότατον πετεηνῶν,  
 νεβρόν ἔχοντ' ὀνύχεσσι, τέκος ἐλάφοιο ταχείης·  
 παρ δὲ Διὸς βωμῶι περικαλλεῖ κάββαλε νεβρόν,  
 ἔνθα πανομφαίωι Ζηνὶ ῥέζεσκον Ἀχαιοί. 250  
 οἱ δ' ὥς οὖν εἶδονθ' ὃ τ' ἄρ' ἐκ Διὸς ἦλυθεν ὄρνις,  
 μᾶλλον ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι θόρον, μνήσαντο δὲ χάρμης.  
 ἔνθ' οὐ τις πρότερος Δαναῶν πολλῶν περ ἑόντων  
 εὔξατο Τυδεΐδαο πάρος σχέμεν ὠκέας ἵππους

240. ἔκαιοι Q Ambr.: ἔκχοι A (*supr.* α) H (*e corr.*) P: ἔκχοι U. 241. οἰόμενος R (ἰέμενος R<sup>m</sup>). 243. δέ G. || In G Mor. Bar. the line stands after 244. 244 *om.* Ambr. 245. δέ: δ' ὁ GJ Vr. a. || ὀλοφύρετο A (*supr.* α) CHJPRS Vr. b<sup>2</sup> A. 246. ἀπολείσσαι Ar. 247. πετεεινῶν GL<sup>1</sup>QRT: πετεηνῶν J. 249. κάμβαλε CGQST: ἐν ἄλλωι θήκατο A. 250. πανομφαίω P. 251. εἶδον (R: ἤσασθαι U, γρ. Lips.: ἰδονθ' Ambr. || εἶδοντο διοστερας [αἰγιοχοιο Pap. ε. After 252 Pap. ε has two lines beginning *Zeus de pathe wtrune φ[.....* (φόνοιο δ' ἀμέγαρτον ὄφελλεν? φάλαγας is obviously inadmissible) and *εἰσαν δε τρωες τυτεον θα[ναων ταχυπῶλων?]*. 254. τυδεΐδαο C: τυδεΐδει U. || ἔχέμεν D<sup>2</sup>JQR.

239. The derivation and original sense of ἔρρειν are obscure. In Homer, as in Attic Greek, the verb is always used where the sense of going *in* misfortune, *under a curse*, and the like, is appropriate, if not necessary. Cf. I 364, Σ 421. The sense 'on my ill-omened journey hither' is obviously suitable here.

243. αὐτούς, i.e. even if we fail of our purpose let us at least save our lives.

246. ἀπολείσσαι mss., ἀπολείσθαι Ar., which is adopted by Naber; ὀλέσθαι von Christ. Similarly Cobet conj. ὀλείσθαι for ὀλέσθαι in ι 496. But the aor. is quite in place (cf. I 230); *he vouchsafed safety and not destruction*, the idea of futurity being subordinated. See on Γ 28.

247. τελειότατον, ὅτι οὐ τὸν τῶι σώματι τέλειον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπιτελεστικώτατον (An. on Ω 315), *most sure of fulfilment*. The word, like τέλος itself, evidently had a technical religious sense; cf. Aisch. Ag.

973 Ζεὺ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει. On the other hand, in A 66, Ω 34 it is more naturally taken to mean *unblemished*; cf. A 315 τελέεσσαι ἐκατόμβας (and the τέλειον σύμβολον of *Hymn. Merc.* 526? but see Allen).

250. πανομφαίωι, i.e. to whom belong all omens by sounds or voices, such as Odysseus asks from Zeus in ι 100 φήμην τίς μοι φάσθω. The epithet only occurs here in H., and is certainly not very appropriate to the particular omen. For ὁμή cf. B 41.

254. εὔξατο κτλ., *could boast that he had driven his horses in front of Tydeides*. This is the only case in Homer of πάρος with the genitive. It takes up πρότερος in the preceding line. La R., however, prefers to connect Τυδεΐδαο with πρότερος, and πάρος with σχέμεν, *to drive right onwards*, a use for which there seems to be no analogy whatever. ἐξελάσαι, a final infin. after σχέμεν: in Attic it would require ὥστε. μαχέσασθαι, aor.,

τάφρου τ' ἐξελάσαι καὶ ἐναντίβιον μαχέσασθαι, 255  
 ἀλλὰ πολὺν πρῶτος Τρώων ἔλεν ἄνδρα κορυστήν,  
 Φραδμονίδην Ἀγέλαον. ὁ μὲν φύγαδ' ἔτραπεν ἵππους·  
 τῷ δὲ μεταστρεφθέντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρῳ πῆξεν  
 ὦμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσεν.  
 ἥριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ. 260  
 τὸν δὲ μετ' Ἀτρεΐδαι Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος,  
 τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' Αἴαντες θούριν ἐπικειμένοι ἀλκὴν,  
 τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' Ἴδομενεὺς καὶ ὀπάων Ἴδομενῆος  
 Μηριόνης, ἀτάλαντος Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ,  
 τοῖσι δ' ἐπ' Εὐρύπυλος Εὐαίμονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός. 265  
 Τεῦκρος δ' εἵνατος ἦλθε παλίντονα τόξα τιταίνων,  
 στή δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' Αἴαντος σάκεϊ Τελαμωνιάδαο.  
 ἐνθ' Αἴας μὲν ὑπεξέφερεν σάκος· αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἥρως  
 παπτήνας, ἐπεὶ ἄρ' τιν' οἴστεύσας ἐν ὀμίλῳ  
 βεβλήκοι, ὁ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσεν, 270

255. τάφρου G (om. τ'). || ἀντίβιον HU. 257. φραδμονίδην (S supr.) Vr.  
 c. || ἔτραπεν Δ supr. 258. μεταστραφέντι L Mor.: μεταστραφέντι JS: μετα-  
 στρεφέντι P. 260. ἀράβησε κτλ.: ἐν ἄλλῳ ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι A.  
 262. θούροι G. 264. ἀνδρεϊφόντῃ DGHT<sup>2</sup>. 267. στή δὲ παρ' Α (γρ. στή δ'  
 ἄρ' ὑπ'). || ὑπ': ἐπ' HR. 268. ὑπεξέφερεν: γρ. ὑπαίῳ ἔφερεν Schol. BT(?).  
 269. ἐπεὶ: ἐπὶ G. || ἄρ: ἄν R<sup>2</sup> Harl. a. 270. βεβλήκοι Ar. CHS: βεβλήκει  
 Ω. || ὄλεσεν H: ὤλεσεν R.

to take up the fight. πρῶτος: Tydeides, by a rather awkward change of subject.

261. After τὸν δὲ μετ' we must supply a verb, ἔσχον ἵππους, ἦλθον or the like, from 254. It is strange that Odysseus is not named here. Of all the heroes repeated from the preceding book the greater Aias is the only one who does anything at all.

266-334. It has been mentioned in the Introd. that the repeated lines in this ἀριστεία of Teukros are few. They are: 278=Δ 255; 280 cf. H 46; 282 cf. II 39; 286 cf. A 212; 288=Δ 33; 298 cf. O 315; 309 cf. O 458; (313-7=121-5); 320=Ψ 509; 321=E 302; 331-4=N 420-3 (see note on 331).

266. παλίντονα probably alludes to the form of the 'Scythian' bow, with a double curve, bent back in the middle to form a handle. Or it may mean simply elastic, springing back when bent.

267. This mode of fighting is characteristically oriental. In the Assyrian sculptures, especially in sieges, we often find a warrior with a large shield and spear accompanied by an archer who

crouches down and shoots from under the shield. The same practice is also found, though rarely, on the old Greek vases, and is recorded in the verb ὑπασπίζειν, to be shield-bearer, and its derivatives in Pindar, Herod., Euripides, etc.

270. The perf. opt. βεβλήκοι with the thematic form is very rare. Cf. Δ 35 βεβρώθους, (Φ 609 πεφεύγοι?), *Hygini. Ar.* 165 ἰλήκοι. But the iterative opt. on the whole seems best among all the other iterative forms; cf. ἐπεὶ ζεύξειεν in Ω 14, with similar surroundings, and ω 254 ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο φάγοι τε. The indic., however, is defensible, especially in connexion with the aor. ὄλεσεν, which shews that a single case is taken for the sake of illustration, the repetition being for the moment lost sight of. The Epic style always tends thus to drop the general in favour of the particular. It is needless to follow Bekker in writing ὄλεσεν, with very faint ms. support. The clause ὁ μὲν . . ὄλεσεν is interposed in such a way as to leave ἥρως as a *nom. pendens* till it is taken up again by ὁ in 271.



αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτις ἰὼν, παῖς ὥς ὑπὸ μητέρα, δύσκειν  
εἰς Λῆανθ'· ὁ δέ μιν σάκεϊ κρύπτασκε φαεινῶι.

ἔνθα τίνα πρῶτον Τρώων ἔλε Τεῦκρος ἀμύμων;  
'Ορσίλοχον μὲν πρῶτα καὶ 'Ορμενον ἦδ' 'Οφέλεστην  
Δαίτορά τε Χρομίον τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Λυκοφόντην 275  
καὶ Πολυαιμονίδην 'Αμοπάονα καὶ Μελάνιππον.

[πάντας ἐπασσυντέρους πέλασε χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ.]  
τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν γήθησεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν 'Αγαμέμνων  
τόξου ἄπο κρατεροῦ Τρώων ὀλέκοντα φάλαγγας·

στῇ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἰὼν καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε· 280

“Τεῦκρε, φίλη κεφαλὴ, Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,  
βάλλ' οὕτως, αἶ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηαι  
πατρὶ τε σῶι Τελαμῶνι, ὃ σ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἑόντα,  
καὶ σε νόθον περ ἑόντα κομίσσατο ὧι ἐνὶ οἴκῳ·  
τὸν καὶ τηλόθ' ἑόντα εὐκλείης ἐπίβησον. 285

σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐξερέω ὥς καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται·  
αἶ κέν μοι δώῃ Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ 'Αθήνη  
'Ιλίου ἐξαλαπάξαι εὐκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,  
πρώτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμὲ πρεσβήϊον ἐν χερὶ θήσω,

271. αὖτις C. 274. ἦδὲ φολέστην H. 275. δαίτονα P. || πολυφόντην T  
(cf. Δ 395). 276. ἄμ' ὀπάονα H<sup>2</sup>PQ and *ap.* Herod. and Eust. || μελάνιππον :  
πολύειδον T. 277 *habent* HJS : *om.* Ω. || πολυβοτείρῃ J. 282. φόος GR  
(*supr.* ω). || γένοιο Q (*supr.* καί). 283. ὃς C' ACT : ὅς C' U : ὅς Ω. 284 *ἀθ.*  
Ar. Aph. : *om.* Zen. 286. ἐγὼν H. || ὥς : ὃ GJR. || ἐστι H *p. ras.* 287. τ'  
*om.* GS. 288. Ἰλιον Mor. || ἐξαλαπάσαι : ἐκπέρσαι GJ Mosc. 1. 289. χερσὶ  
P : χερὶ DQRU. || εἰώ D : οἴω Vr. b<sup>m</sup>.

272. κρύπτασκε is evidently a false  
form for κρύψασκε or κρύπτεσκε. Cf. note  
on O 23 *ρίπτασκον*.

277 is interpolated from M 194, Π 418.

279. ἄπο, as Ω 605 *πέφνεν ἀπ' ἀργυ-*  
*ρέοιο βιοῖο*.

281. φίλη κεφαλὴ : cf. Ψ 94, Σ 82,  
114, O 39, and the allusion in Plato,  
*Phaedr.* 264 A *Φαίδρε φίλη κεφαλὴ*.

282. φόως, which generally means  
*safety, succour*, here, by a slight *zeugma*,  
includes the idea of *glory* to the father.

284. Athetized by Ar. and Aph., and  
entirely rejected by Zen., on the ground  
that the mention of Teukros' origin is  
out of place, and is of a nature rather to  
displease than to encourage. *κομίσσατο*,  
*took up*, is a slight *hysteron proteron* with  
*ἔτρεφε*. According to the common tradi-  
tion, Teukros was the son of Telamon  
by Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, who  
had been captured by Herakles when

he took Troy, and given to Telamon;  
whence the name Teukros. But in O  
439 *Aias* speaks to Teukros as a whole  
brother (*ἴσα φίλοισι τοκεῦσιν ἐτίομεν*), and  
Teukros is repeatedly called the *κασίγνη-*  
*τος* of Aias (see M 371 *κασ. καὶ ὄπατρος*),  
a word which is commonly used of  
brothers uterine (see Δ 257, Ω 47). Ar.  
therefore thought that the legend of  
Hesione was not known to Homer and  
that Teukros was regarded as a legitimate  
son. But Polydoros is the *κασίγνητος* of  
Hector (T 419), though by a different  
mother (Φ 91). The mother of Aias was  
Eüriboia.

285. ἐπίβησον : cf. B 234, ψ 13, 52,  
χ 424. So also Pind. *I.* i. 39 *ἀρχαίαι*  
*ἐπέβασε πτόμος συγγενὴς εὐαμερίας*, Soph.  
*O. C.* 189 *εὐσεβίας ἐπιβαίνοντες*. The  
metaphor seems to be that of 'entering  
into the pale' of.

289. πρεσβήϊον : here only in the

ἢ τρίποδ' ἡὲ δύνω ἵππους αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν 290  
 ἡὲ γυναιχ', ἢ κέν τοι ὁμὸν λέχος εἰσαναβαῖνοι."  
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσεφώνεε Τεῦκρος ἀμύμων·  
 "Ἀτρεΐδῃ κῦδιστε, τί με σπεύδοντα καὶ αὐτὸν  
 ὀτρύνεις; οὐ μὲν τοι, ὅση δύνამίς γε πάρεσσι,  
 παύομαι, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὗ προτὶ Ἴλιον ὠσάμεθ' αὐτούς, 295  
 ἐκ τοῦ δὴ τόξοισι δεδεγμένος ἄνδρας ἐναίρω.  
 ὀκτῶ δὲ προέηκα τανυγλώχινας οἷστους,  
 πάντες δ' ἐν χροῖ πῆχθεν ἀρηϊθῶων αἰζήων·  
 τοῦτον δ' οὐ δύναμαι βαλέειν κύνα λυσσητῆρα."  
 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἄλλον οἷστον ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ἱάλλεν 300  
 "Εκτορος ἀντικρύ, βαλέειν δέ ἐ' ἔτεο θυμός.  
 καὶ τοῦ μὲν ῥ' ἀφάμαρθ', ὁ δ' ἀμύμονα Γοργυθίωνα,  
 υἷδ' ἐν Πριάμοιο, κατὰ στήθος βάλεν ἰῶι·  
 τὸν ῥ' ἐξ Αἰσύμῃθεν ὀπυιομένη τέκε μήτηρ  
 καλὴ Καστιάνειρα, δέμας ἐῖκυῖα θεῇσι. 305  
 μήκων δ' ὥς ἐτέρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἢ τ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ,

290. ἦ: καὶ J. || ἵππῳ Zen. Aph. T. 291. γυναιχ': Ἰόπη Zen. (so Schol. T: a corruption of ἵππῳ from the preceding line?). 292. προσέφη GJ. 294. τοι: μοι APST: τι J. 295. παύεσθαι Q: παύσομαι Vr. b<sup>2</sup> and ap. Eust. || ποτὶ S. || ὠσάμεθ' J. 296. ἐκ τοῦ: αἰεὶ S<sup>m</sup> Cant. || δεδεγμένος Herod. || ἀναιρῶ Mor. 299. λυσσητῆρα ἢ λωβητῆρα Eust. 300. ἀπὰ νευρῆσφιν G. 302. ἀφάμαρτεν GJQR: ἀφάμαρτο T (o in ras.). 304. αἰσύμνησεν Ar. Aph. Zen. || ὀπυιομένη DGQRU. 305. οἰκυῖα G. || εἰσοῖσι Cant. Par. g (T<sup>1</sup>? ἦι is by man. 1 in ras.). 306. κάρην G.

sense of 'prize to the first man' (see note on Δ 59 *πρῆστυάτην*); compare Ψ 785 *λοισθήϊον*, and the later *πρωτεῖον*, *δευτερεῖον*, etc.

291. *εἰσαναβαῖνοι*: for the opt. after the future cf. H 342.

297. *τανυγλώχινας*, with long bars, here only. For *γλωχίν* see Ω 274, and cf. *τριγλώχιν* E 393, Δ 507, *χαλκογλώχιν* X 225, and note on Δ 151.

299. Hector is several times compared to a mad dog: I 239, 305, N 53. So *λύσσα* is used of Achilles F 542.

304. *ἐξ Αἰσύμνησεν* (or *Αἰσύμνηθεν*, as Zen., Aph., and Ar. wrote) of course goes with *ὀπυιομένη*, taken as a wife from Δ. The town is not elsewhere named, so we cannot say which form is right. Steph. Byz. identifies it with Oisyme, a Greek colony on the Thracian coast opposite Thasos.

305. Athenaios (xiv. 632 F) quotes as an instance of a *στίχος μείουρος* (i.e. having a short syllable in place of a long

one in either of the last two feet), *καλὴ Κασσιέπεια θεοῖς δέμας ἐοικυῖα*. This is commonly cited as a corruption of the present line; but there is nothing whatever to shew it. For all we know the line may come from some lost 'Homeric' poem.

306. ἦ τ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ, sc. *ἐστίν*. This is the simple explanation; though Lehrs considers it weak, and prefers to supply *κάρη βάλλει* from the preceding clause, comparing II 406, where *ἔλκει* has to be supplied after *ὥς ὅτε τις φῶς*. This famous simile is imitated by Virgil, *Aen.* ix. 436 *lassore papavera collo Demisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur*. Van Leeuwen remarks that the simile is not very appropriate, as, though the poppy-bud is turned down, the flower and fruit stand upright in spite of moisture. Virgil by omitting the *καρπῶι* has avoided this difficulty. *νοτῖν* as a subst. = *shower* occurs only here, until Aristotle. Cf. δ 785 *ἐν νοτίῳ* = *ἐν ὑγρῶι*.

καρπῶι βριθομένη νοτίησί τε εἰαρινῆσιν·  
ὥς ἐτέρωσ' ἤμυσε κάρη πῆληκι βαρυνθέν.

Τεύκρος δ' ἄλλον οὔστ' ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ἵαλλεν  
Εκτορος ἀντικρὺ, βαλέειν δέ ἐ ἔτο θυμός. 310  
ἀλλ' ὃ γε καὶ τόθ' ἄμαρτε· παρέσφηλεν γὰρ Ἀπόλλων·  
ἀλλ' Ἀρχεπτόλεμον, θρασὺν Ἐκτορος ἡνιοχῆα,  
ἰέμενον πόλεμόνδε βάλε στήθος παρὰ μαζόν·  
ἥριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων, ὑπερώησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι  
ὠκύποδες· τοῦ δ' αὖθι λύθη ψυχὴ τε μένος τε. 315  
Εκτορα δ' αἰνὸν ἄχος πύκασε φρένας ἡνιόχοιο·  
τὸν μὲν ἔπειτ' εἶασε καὶ ἀχνύμενός περ ἑταίρου,  
Κεβριόνην δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀδελφεὸν ἐγγὺς ἔοντα  
ἵππων ἡνὶ ἐλεῖν· ὃ δ' ἄρ' οὐκ ἀπίθησεν ἀκούσας.  
αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ δίφροιο χαμαὶ θόρε παμφανόωντος 320  
σμερδαλέα ἰάχων· ὃ δὲ χερμάδιον λάβε χειρὶ,  
βῆ δ' ἰθὺς Τεύκρου, βαλέειν δέ ἐ θυμὸς ἀνώγει.  
ῆ τοι ὃ μὲν φαρέτρης ἐξείλετο πικρὸν οὔστ' ὄντον,  
θῆκε δ' ἐπὶ νευρῇ· τὸν δ' αὖ κορυθαίολος Ἐκτωρ  
αὐερόντα παρ' ὦμον, ὅθι κληῖς ἀποέργει 325  
αὐχένα τε στήθος τε, μάλιστα δὲ καίριόν ἐστι,  
τῇ ῥ' ἐπὶ οἱ μεμαῶτα βάλεν λίθωι ὀκριόνετι,  
ῥῆξε δέ οἱ νευρὴν· νάρκησε δὲ χεῖρ ἐπὶ καρπῶι,

307. εἰαρινοῖσιν JP. 309. νευρῆσφιν G. 311. καὶ τόθ' and τοῦ μὲν  
Ar. διχῶς. 313. νισσόμενον (γρ. ἰέμενον) DR. 315 om. U<sup>t</sup>. || δ': ε' U<sup>m</sup>.  
319. ἐλεῖν: ἔχειν R (and P<sup>1</sup>?). 322. βῆ: σῆ J. || τευκροῖο DQRT. || βαλεῖν  
T. || ἄνωγεν JRU: ἀνώγεν D. 325. αὐερόντα A (with hyphen): αὐ  
ἐρύοντα Ω; see A 459. || ἀποέργει Ar. Ω: ἀποείργει others (see Schol. T).  
327. ὀκρυόεντι GJR (*supr.* ι) S. 328. χεῖρ Ptol. Ask. Ω: χεῖρ' GHPQT<sup>2</sup>U<sup>1</sup>, and  
τινές Did.

312. For Archeptolemos see 128, and  
for 313-7 see 121-5.

318. ἀδελφεόν, sc. of Hector, as  
Kebriones was a natural son of Priam,  
Π 738.

321. ὃ δέ, as often, introduces a fresh  
act of the subject of the preceding clause;  
e.g. 302 above.

323. φαρέτρης: the shortening of the  
second syllable is Attic, not Homeric.  
Schulze conj. φάρτρης on the analogy of  
φάρτρον. ἐξείλετο: in sense a pluperfect.

325. αὐερόντα: see A 459. The word  
recurs in a similar sense M 261. παρ'  
ὦμον naturally goes with it in the sense  
'drawing the bow back to the shoulder,'

but the following clause shews that  
it has to be taken also with βάλεν.  
ἀποέργει: cf. X 324 ἡ κληῖδες ἀπ' ὦμων  
αὐχέν' ἔχουσι, λαυκανίην, ἵνα τε ψυχῆς  
ὠκιστος ὄλεθρος. The expression is hardly  
so exact here, as the collar-bone cannot be  
said to hold asunder neck and breast in  
the same way as it holds apart neck and  
shoulder; still the meaning is clear.

326. For καίριον see Δ 185. The  
phrase seems out of place when the  
wound which follows is not fatal.

328. νευρῆν, according to the use of  
the word in Homer, must mean *bow-*  
*string* (cf. O 469), but the breaking of  
this seems such a subordinate matter

στῇ δὲ γυνὴς ἐριπών, τόξον δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός.  
 Αἴας δ' οὐκ ἀμέλῃσε κασιγνήτοιο πεσόντος, 330  
 ἀλλὰ θεῶν περίβη καὶ οἱ σάκος ἀμφεκάλυψε.  
 τὸν μὲν ἔπειθ' ὑποδύντε δύω ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι,  
 Μηκιστεὺς Ἐχίοιο πᾶις καὶ διὸς Ἀλάστωρ,  
 νῆας ἔπι γλαφυρὰς φερέτην βαρέα στενάχοντα.  
 ἄψ δ' αὖτις Τρώεσσιν Ὀλύμπιος ἐν μένος ὥρσεν· 335  
 οἱ δ' ἰθὺς τάφροιο βαθείης ὥσαν Ἀχαιοὺς,  
 Ἐκτωρ δ' ἐν πρώτοισι κίε σθένει βλεμεαίνων.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τε κύων συνὸς ἀγρίου ἢ λέοντος  
 ἄπτηται κατόπισθε, ποσὶν ταχέεσσι πεποιθὼς, 340  
 ἰσχία τε γλουτούς τε, ἐλίσσόμενόν τε δοκεύει,  
 ὥς Ἐκτωρ ὥπαζε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς,  
 αἰὲν ἀποκτείνων τὸν ὀπίστατον· οἱ δὲ φέβοντο.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ διὰ τε σκόλοπας καὶ τάφρον ἔβησαν  
 φεύγοντες, πολλοὶ δὲ δάμεν Τρώων ὑπὸ χερσίν,  
 οἱ μὲν δὴ παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐρητύοντο μένοντες, 345  
 ἀλλήλοισί τε κεκλόμενοι καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσι  
 χεῖρας ἀνίσχοντες μεγάλ' εὐχετόωντο ἕκαστος·

335. ἄψ: αὐ U. || δ' om. R. || αὖτις C. || ἐμμένος (or ἔμμενος) DJR.  
 337. δ' ἐν: δὲ Ar. 338. ἀγρίου ὄνου Par. a (γρ. κυδὸς ἀγρίου). 339.  
 πεποιθὼς: διώκων A (γρ. πεποιθὼς) T. 340. ἐλίσσόμενος (C<sup>1</sup>?) GR Par. h j,  
 Vr. c A. || τε: δὲ P Harl. a. 344. δάμον G.

that we might rather have expected *νεῦρον*, the sinew of the arm. However, the breaking of the string puts an end to Teukros's prowess in O; so here it helps to bring the episode to a fitting close.

332. *ὑποδύντε*, getting under him to bear him off, as P 717. 331-4=N 420-3. It will be seen from the note there that the passage is original here; for in N the word *στενάχοντα* (334) is copied, though obviously inapplicable to the corpse of Hypsenor. This is a strong ground for regarding this *ἀριστεία* of Teukros as older than the rest of the book.

335-80. The repeated lines in this section are: 342=A 178; 343=O 1; 344-5 cf. O 2-3; 345-7=O 367-9; 351=T 341; 352 cf. B 157; (354=34); 356 cf. E 175; 372=O 77; 376 cf. E 737; 379 cf. N 831; 380=N 832.

337. *βλεμεαίνων*: a word of unknown significance recurring only in the same phrase (M 42, etc.) and corruptly in *Batr.*

274. Hesych. gives *ἀβλεμῆς*: ἀτολμος, ἀτερπής, παρεμμένος, οἱ δέ, κακός, and *ἀβλεμῆς*: ἀσθενές. Cf. Schol. T on M 42, *ἀβλεμῆς*: ἀργητός. The scholia explain by *γαυριῶν*, *ἐπαυρόμενος*, and the like.

340. *ισχία*: accus. of the part affected, as though *δάκνῃ* or the like preceded; for *ἄπτομαι* does not take a direct accusative in Homer. *δοκεύει*: this change from subjunctive to indicative is very rare after the simple *τε*, though common after *δέ τε*: hence Thiersch is perhaps right in reading *δοκεύῃ*. In such a matter the tradition is of little importance. The verb means 'watches for him as he keeps turning round.'

341. *ὥπαζε*, pressed hard upon, cf. *γῆρας ὥπαζει*, and see E 334. The use of the cognate *ἐφέπειν* (A 177) may also be compared.

345. The wall is not mentioned here, and seems to be included in the phrase *σκόλοπας καὶ τάφρον*. See on 213.

347. For *εὐχετόωντο* the more regular construction after *τε καὶ* would be a



Ἔκτωρ δ' ἀμφιπεριστρώφα καλλίτριχας ἵππους  
Γοργόυς ὄμματ' ἔχων ἡὲ βροτολοιγοῦ Ἄρηος.

τοὺς δὲ ἰδοῦσ' ἐλέησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη,  
αἶψα δ' Ἀθηναίην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

“ὦ πόποι, αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς τέκος, οὐκέτι νῶϊ  
ὄλλυμένων Δαναῶν κεκαδησόμεθ' ὑστάτιόν περ;  
οἷ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὄλονται  
ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ῥίπῃ· ὁ δὲ μαίνεται οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτῶς  
Ἔκτωρ Πριαμίδης, καὶ δὴ κακὰ πολλὰ ἔοργε.”

τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·  
“καὶ λίην οὗτός γε μένος θυμὸν τ' ὀλέσειε,  
χερσὶν ὑπ' Ἀργείων φθίμενος ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ·  
ἀλλὰ πατήρ οὐμὸς φρεσὶ μαίνεται οὐκ ἀγαθήῃσι,  
σχέτλιος, αἰὲν ἀλιτρός, ἐμῶν μενέων ἀπερωεύς·  
οὐδέ τι τῶν μέμνηται ὅ οἱ μάλα πολλάκις υἱὸν  
τειρόμενον σώεσκον ὑπ' Εὐρυσθήος ἀέθλων.

348. ἀμφιπεριστρώφα GT (*supr.* ω). 349. γοργόνος Zen. || ὄμματ' : οἷματ'  
Ar. || ἡὲ Zen. Par. f (*p. ras.*): ἡδὲ Ω. 352. οὐδέ τι Bar. || νῶϊν QU. 353.  
δαναῶν: γρ. ἀργείων A. 354. ἀναπλήσαντες Lips. *in ras.* || ὄλονται JQ.  
355. ἀνεκτῶς Ar. Ω: ἀνεκτῆ P. 356. πολλὰ κακὰ GJP. 358. οὕτως H  
(*supr.* ο). || θυμὸν τ' : καὶ θυμὸν GR. 362. ὅ: οἷ H.

participle co-ordinate with κεκλόμενοι. Cf. Γ 80. Nikanor suggests that μεγάλ' may be a γραφικὸν ἀμάρτημα for μέγα δ' (Λ for Δ).

348. There is no mention of Hector having again mounted his chariot since 320. This is one of the points in which the poems often shew a certain want of clearness. The idea is that it was the practice of each warrior to be accompanied by his chariot close at hand, and to mount or descend from time to time, according to the convenience of the moment. Warriors burdened with the ponderous 'Mykenaeen' shield needed chariots chiefly to enable them to move from one point of the field to another, but preferred to fight on foot. Compare Caesar's description of the British tactics in *B. G.* iv. 33.

349. For ὄμματα Aristarchos read οἷματα, "τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ τὰ ὁρήματα," which is far less appropriate here than in the other passage where the word occurs, Φ 252. In fact to Homer Gorgon was probably nothing more than a face. See A 36, and cf. A 225 κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων. For ἡὲ, which was read by

Zen., mss. have ἡδέ, which can hardly be right. Platt (*J. P.* xviii. 131) would write ἡ δέ, on the ground that ἡμὲν . . ἡδέ are merely the disjunctive ἡ + μέν and δέ, and could therefore presumably be used as disjunctives. Of this, however, there is no other evidence.

353. κεκαδησόμεθα, from κήδομαι. It must not be confused with κεκάδοντο, *retired*, Δ 497, Λ 334. ὑστάτιόν περ, as we should say 'even at this eleventh hour.'

355. ῥίπῃ, *rush*, furious onset; elsewhere only of inanimate things (missiles, wind, fire).

358. ὀλέσειε, a proper opt., *I wish he might lose*. The ordinary phrase θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι is enlarged by μένος, apparently with a consciousness of its etymological connexion with μαίνεται in 355, which is again alluded to in the μαίνεται of 360. On the other hand, there can be no such allusion in 361 μενέων ἀπερωεύς.

360. οὐμός: rather ἀμός, the crasis being non-Homeric. (So Brandreth, and afterwards Nauck. See on Z 414\*)

363. Eurystheus is mentioned by name

ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν κλαίεσκε πρὸς οὐρανόν, αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ Ζεὺς  
 τῷ ἐπαλεξήσουσαν ἅπ' οὐρανόθεν προΐαλλον. 365  
 εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ τάδε ἦιδε' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμησιν,  
 εἵτε μιν εἰς Ἀἶδαο πυλάρταο προὔπεμψεν  
 ἐξ ἐρέβους ἄξοντα κύνα στυγεροῦ Ἀἶδαο,  
 οὐκ ἂν ὑπεξέφυγε Στυγὸς ὕδατος αἰπὰ ρέεθρα.  
 νῦν δ' ἐμὲ μὲν στυγέει, Θέτιδος δ' ἐξήνυσσε βουλάς, 370  
 ἦ οἱ γούνατ' ἔκυσσε καὶ ἔλλαβε χειρὶ γενείου,  
 λισσομένη τιμῆσαι Ἀχιλλῆα πτολίπορθον.  
 ἔσται μὰν ὅτ' ἂν αὐτε φίλῃν γλανκώπιδά εἵπηι.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν νῶϊν ἐπέντυε μώνυχας ἵππους,  
 ὄφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ καταδύσα Διὸς δόμον αἰγιόχοιο 375  
 τεύχεσιν ἐς πόλεμον θωρήξομαι, ὄφρα ἴδωμαι  
 εἰ νῶϊ Πριάμοιο πάϊς κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ  
 γηθήσει προφανέντε ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας,

366. ἦιδε' A (*supr.* α over ε). 371-2 *ἀθ.* Ar.: *om.* Zen. 373. ἔσεται  
 ἥμαρ ὅταν GJ (γρ. ἔσται μὰν): ἔσεται ἥμαρ ὅτ' Mor. Bar. || ὅτ' ἄν: ὅτε Cant.  
 374. Νῦν *om.* C: οὖν GJ. || ἐπέντυε Vr. c. 376. ὄφρ' ἄν R. || ἴδωμεν Vr.  
 b, Mosc. 1 *e corr.*, γρ. A: ἴδω GJ. 377. εἰ JPQRT Harl. a (La R. gives ἦ and  
 mentions no variant, but probably all mss. read εἰ. Heyne says nothing of ἦ). ||  
 νῶϊν Zen. DHJQTU Harl. b d, Par. a f j k. 378. γηθήσει Q. || προφανέντε  
 Ar. A King's Mosc. 1 (*e corr.*) 3: προφανεία D<sup>1</sup>J<sup>1</sup> (? altered to -εία) R<sup>1</sup>T<sup>1</sup>  
 Harl. a<sup>1</sup>, Par. b<sup>2</sup> c<sup>2</sup> g<sup>2</sup> j<sup>2</sup>: προφανείας Zen. CD<sup>2</sup>J<sup>2</sup>PQR<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup> Cant. Mor. Harl. a<sup>2</sup>,  
 Par. j<sup>1</sup>: προφανείσιν Par. c<sup>1</sup> g<sup>1</sup>: προφανεία Vr. A, and γρ. A: προφανείσιν S:  
 προφανείαν U Vr. c, Par. k<sup>1</sup>: προφανῆσαι H: προφανῆσαι γρ. C *man. rec.*:  
 προφανῆσαις G (*p. ras.*): προφανείσαι Par. b<sup>1</sup> k<sup>2</sup>: προφανείστε Par. e (ca *in*  
*ras.*): προφανεία\*\* Par. f (*in in ras.*). || ἀνὰ κτλ.: ἴδων ἐς δοῦπον ἀκόντων  
 Zen. || πολέμοιο J.

again in O 639, T 133; cf. also the late passage λ 621. There is no reason to suppose that the *ἄεθλα*, which are left indeterminate here, are the famous twelve; this number probably came from Eastern sources in post-Homeric times.

367. For the journey of Herakles to Hades to bring up Kerberos (who is not named in H.), see λ 623, E 397. He is first mentioned by name, as *πεντηκοντακέφαλος*, in Hesiod *Theog.* 311. *πυλάρταο*, 'warder of the gate' of the prison-house of the dead. On *εἰς* with the gen. see an interesting discussion by Meister *Gr. Dial.* ii. 298-301. He objects to the usual explanation by the ellipse of *δῶμα* that it does not account for δ 581 *εἰς Αἰγύπτιοιο διπτερός ποταμοῖο στήσα νέας*, or β 55 *ἐς ἡμετέρου*, ρ 534, *Ἥμν. Merc.* 370, and suggests that the gen. is that of the point aimed at (*H. G.*

§ 151). With this *εἰς* could originally be used just as well as *ἐπὶ*. In the case of *εἰς*, however, the use with the acc. prevailed when the primitive adverbial sense grew into the purely prepositional, so that a survival like *εἰς Ἀἶδαο* was felt as *εἰς Ἀἶδαο δῶμα*, and hence gave rise to other phrases such as *εἰν Ἀἶδαο προὔπεμψεν*, sc. Eurystheus.

369. *αἰπὰ*, *headlong*, perhaps in allusion to the cataract formed by the terrestrial Styx in Arkadia, which by its wild surroundings and dizzy precipice typified the river of hell. See the graphic description in Frazer *Paus.* iv. 250.

371-2 were athetized by Zen. and Ar. as superfluous here. See A 512.

373. *ἔσται ὅτ' ἄν*, *the day shall come when he will again call me his darling*. See Δ 164, Z 448.

378. The array of variants on this line (nowhere equalled in the *Iliad*) is

ἦ τις καὶ Τρώων κορέει κύνας ἡδ' οἰωνοὺς  
 δημῶι καὶ σάρκεσσι, πεσὼν ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν." 380  
 ὧς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη.  
 ἦ μὲν ἐποιοχόμενη χρυσάμπυκας ἔντυεν ἵππους  
 Ἥρη πρέσβα θεά, θυγάτηρ μέγαλοιο Κρόνιοιο.  
 αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίη, κούρη Διὸς αἰγίοχοιο,  
 πέπλον μὲν κατέχευεν ἑανὸν πατρός ἐπ' οὔδει, 385  
 ποικίλον, ὃν ῥ' αὐτὴ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμε χερσίν,  
 ἡ δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνδύσα Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο  
 τεύχεσιν ἐς πόλεμον θωρήσσετο δακρυόεντα.  
 ἐς δ' ὄχρεα φλόγεια ποσὶ βήσετο, λάζετο δ' ἔγχος  
 βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν, τῶι δάμνησι στίχας ἀνδρῶν 390  
 ἡρώων, τοῖσιν τε κοτέσσεται ὀβριμοπάτρη.  
 Ἥρη δὲ μάστιγι θοῶς ἐπεμαίετ' ἄρ' ἵππους.  
 αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον ὦραι,  
 τῆς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας οὐρανός Οὐλυμπός τε,  
 ἡμὲν ἀνακλίνει πυκινὸν νέφος ἡδ' ἐπιθεῖναι. 395  
 τῇ ῥα δι' αὐτῶν κεντρηνεκέας ἔχον ἵππους.  
 Ζεὺς δὲ πατήρ Ἰδηθεν ἐπεὶ ἴδε, χάσαςτ' ἄρ' αἰνῶς,

379. ἦ: ὅς LU (P *supr.*). || κορές(c)ει GJQRT Harl. a. 381. θεὰ γλαυκῶπις  
 ἀθήνη H. 382. ἦντυεν Vr. c. 383 om. D<sup>t</sup>T<sup>t</sup> (added by Rhosos in margin). ||  
 ἦρα H. 385-7 ἀθ. Ar. Aph., om. Zen. 388. ἐωρήσατο T. 389. βῆσσατο  
 P. || λάζυτο Ptol. Oroand. 390-1 ἀθ. Ar. 391. τε: κε R (*supr.* T). || ὀβ-  
 ριμοπάτρη CG Vr. b. 392. τοῖς Mor. || ἐπιμαίετ' U. 394. ταῖς G. 397.  
 χάσαςτ' J Lips.

less formidable than it looks. The favourite *προφανείσας* is naturally out of court, the short -as being unknown in Epic, though regular in Doric. Several mss. seem to aim at *νῶϊν* . . . *προφανείσιν*, but this is evidently a conjecture. Thus we are reduced to the choice between *προφανέντε* and *προφανείσα*. Both are possible, but the former is preferable as being more likely to be changed, on account of the hiatus and perhaps the masc. form. The masc. dual used as feminine is of course common enough in Attic, and is supported here by *πληγέντε* in 455; cf. Hes. *Opp.* 199 *πρόλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους αἰδῶ καὶ νέμεσις* (for Attic see Soph. *O. C.* 1676 with Jebb's note in Appendix). There remains the undoubtedly harsh constr. of the acc. after *γηθεῖν*: we have I 77 *τίς ἂν τάδε γηθήσειε*; but N 352 *ἤχθετο γάρ ῥα Τρωσὶν δαυναμένους* is perhaps more to the point. There are several cases of similar constr.

in Trag.: Soph. *Aj.* 136 *σὲ μὲν εὖ πράσσοντ' ἐπιχαίρω*, *Phil.* 1314, *O. T.* 936, Eur. *Hipp.* 1339 *τοὺς γὰρ εὐσεβεῖς θεοὶ θνήσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσι*. See *H. G.* § 245. Zen.'s *ἰδὼν ἐς δοῦπον ἀκόντων* would (with *προφανέντε*) make things smoother, but this again has all the look of a conjecture. For *πολλέοιο γεφύρας* see Δ 371.

381-3 = E 719-21; 384-8 = E 733-7; 389-96 = E 745-52; where see notes. 385-7 were athetized here by Ar. and Aph., and omitted by Zen., as being out of place, because all these preparations lead to nothing, and Zeus is wearing his own panoply, see 43. So also were 390-1, as inappropriately repeated from the fifth book.

397-488. The repeated verses are 398 = A 185; 401 = A 212; (402-8 cf. 416-22); 409 = Ω 77; 410 = O 79; 425 = A 210 etc.; 426-7 cf. B 156-7; 434 cf. δ 40; 435 = δ 42; 445-6 = A 332-3; 454

Ἴριν δ' ὥτρυνε χρυσόπτερον ἀγγελεύσαν·  
 “βάσκ' ἴθι, Ἴρι ταχεία, πάλιν τρέπε μηδ' ἔα ἄντην  
 ἔρχεσθ'. οὐ γὰρ καλὰ συνοισόμεθα πτόλεμόνδε. 400  
 ὦδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται·  
 γυνιώσω μὲν σφῶϊν ὑφ' ἄρμασιν ὠκέας ἵππους,  
 αὐτὰς δ' ἐκ δίφρου βαλέω κατὰ θ' ἄρματα ἄξω·  
 οὐδὲ κεν ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτοὺς  
 ἔλκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον ἃ κεν μάρπτησι κεραυνός. 405  
 ὄφρ' εἰδῆμι γλαυκῶπις ὅτ' ἂν ὦι πατρὶ μάχηται.  
 “Ἥρῃ δ' οὐ τι τόσον νεμεσίζομαι οὐδὲ χολοῦμαι·  
 αἰεὶ γὰρ μοι ἔωθεν ἐνικλᾶν ὅττι κεν εἴπω.”  
 ὥς ἔφατ', ὦρτο δὲ Ἴρις ἀελλόπος ἀγγελεύουσα,  
 [βῆ δὲ κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἐς μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον]. 410

399. τράπε Q. || ἄντα P. 400. πόλεμόν δε DGJQRU. 401. τὸ δὲ: ὡς A (γρ. τὸ δὲ) S. 403. δίφροιο QT. || ὅ: δ' P Vr. b. 405. ἀπαλθέσονται Ar. in one ed.: ἀπαλθέσσεσθαι S: ἀπαλθέσσεσκον U. || αἶ κεν J (γρ. ἃ κεν). || μάρπησι JQ. 406-19 om. J. 406. ὄφρα ἴθι Tryph. *Rhet.* viii. 757. 407. οὐ τόσσον U. 408. κεν εἴπω Ar. LQ, γρ. P: νοήσω Ω. 409. ἔφατ': φάτο L. || ἀελ(λ)όπους GPT. 410 om. A<sup>c</sup>C<sup>1</sup>Q Par. b<sup>1</sup> e<sup>1</sup>. || δὲ κατ': δ' ἐξ Ar. || ἐς: ἐπὶ Ar.

cf. A 212; 456 cf. E 360; 457-62 = Δ 20-5; (463-5 cf. 32-4); 484 cf. A 511.

398. This is the only mention in Homer of a winged deity; the conception seems to have been introduced from the East in post-Homeric times. When Hermes wishes to fly he puts on the magic sandals—other gods drive their chariots. The epithet recurs only in A 185, *Hymn. Cer.* 314 (also of Iris).

400. οὐ καλὰ συνοισόμεθα, *it will not be well for us to fight*; cf. Z 326 οὐ μὲν καλὰ χόλον τόνδ' ἐνθεο θυμῶι.

402. Observe σφῶϊν here in the third person, σφῶϊν in the second in 416; see A 8.

404. ἐς δεκάτους ἐνιαυτούς seems to be a confusion between ἐς δέκα ἐνιαυτοὺς and ἐς δέκατον ἐνιαυτόν. Compare Aisch. *Serf.* 125, where πύλαις ἐβδόμαις seems to stand for ἐπτά πύλαις. The κεν with fut. indic. indicates that this sentence is a consequence of the former, *then* or *so* shall they not, etc.

405. ἔλκεα is no doubt here the accusative, *shall they be healed of the wounds*. If we take ἔλκεα as the subject, the use of the dual to mean 'the wounds of the two' is very harsh. Ar., however, seems to have understood it in this way, as he read in one of his editions ἀπαλθήσονται,

which Did. prefers. So also Hippokrates, who uses so many Epic expressions, says ἐπὴν τὸ ἔλκος ἀλθαίνηται. But the use of the accusative is quite Greek and simple, and is the same as that in the next phrase, ἃ κεν μάρπτησι, with which compare E 795 ἔλκος τό μιν βάλε Πάνδαρος ἰῶν. The sense is 'the wounds which the thunderbolt shall make by fastening upon them.' There is no other similar use of μάρπτω in Homer. For ἀλθεσθαι = *be healed* see E 417.

406. εἰδῆμι ὅτ' ἂν μάχηται, *that she may know when she is fighting*, i.e. in our idiom 'that she may know what it is to fight' with her father. For this pregnant use of εἰδέναι, *to find the meaning of a thing*, cf. A 185, H 226. ὄφρα ἴθι Bentley, which comes to much the same.

407. Compare Z 335. ἐνικλᾶν, literally *to break off*, i.e. thwart, like διακέρσαι in l. 8.

410. For δὲ κατ' Aristarchos read ὅ' ἐξ, and for ἐς ἐπὶ, on the ground that the prepositions κατὰ and ἐς are only appropriate when used of a journey from Olympus to the lower earth, not of a passage from one mountain-top to another, ἀπ' ἴσου ἐπ' ἴσον. But the



πρώτησιν δὲ πύλῃσι πολυπτύχου Οὐλύμπιοι  
 ἀντομένη κατέρυκε, Διὸς δέ σφ' ἔννεπε μῦθον·  
 “πῆι μέματον; τί σφῶϊν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μαίνεται ἦτορ;  
 οὐκ ἔαίη Κρονίδης ἐπαμυνέμεν Ἀργείοισιν.

ὦδε γὰρ ἠπέιλησε Κρόνου πάϊς, ἦι τελέει περ, 415  
 γυνίσει μὲν σφῶϊν ὑφ' ἄρμασιν ὠκέας ἵππους,  
 αὐτὰς δ' ἐκ δίφρου βαλέειν κατὰ θ' ἄρματα ἄξειν·  
 οὐδὲ κεν ἐς δεκάτους περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτοὺς  
 ἔλκε' ἀπαλθήσεσθον ἃ κεν μάρπτησι κεραυνός,  
 ὄφρ' εἰδῆις, γλαυκῶπι, ὅτ' ἂν σῶι πατρὶ μάχηαι. 420

“Ἡρῃ δ' οὐ τι τόσον νεμεσίζεται οὐδὲ χολοῦται·  
 αἰεὶ γάρ οἱ ἔωθεν ἐνικλᾶν ὅττι κεν εἴπηι.  
 ἀλλὰ σύ γ' αἰνοτάτη, κύον ἀδδεές, εἰ ἐτέον γε  
 τολμήσεις Διὸς ἅντα πελώριον ἔγχος αἰΐραι.”

ἦ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις, 425  
 αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίην Ἡρῇ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·

“ὦ πόποι, αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς τέκος, οὐκέτ' ἐγὼ γε  
 νῶϊ ἐὼ Διὸς ἅντα βροτῶν ἔνεκα πτολεμίζειν.

411. ὀλύμπιοι *U*. 412. σφ': σφιν *T*. 413. σφῶϊ *G*. 415. ἦι (or ἦ)  
*Ar.*: εἰ *Ω*. || ὦδε γὰρ ἐξερέει· τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται *T* (in place of 415,  
 which γρ. in margin; the same words added after 415 by *GR*). 416. γυνίσει *P*  
*Par.* c.g.: γυνίσει *U* (u in ras.). 417. δίφροιο *PT*. 419. ἀπαλθήσεσθαι *S*:  
 ἀπαλθήσεσθον *U* (supr. κ over second θ). || μάρπησι *Q*: μάρψῃσι *R*. 420-4  
 ἄθ. *Ar.* 420. ὄφρ' ἂν εἰδῆς *R*. || γλαυκῶπις *Mor.* *Vr.* a, *Mosc.* 3. || σῶι: ὦ(i)  
*GJRQ*. || μάχηται *U*<sup>1</sup>. 422. κεν εἴπηι *Ar.* *LQ*: νοήσει *CGJRU Vr.* b: νοήσι  
*Ω*. 423. κύ γ' *Ar.* *Ω*: κύ *U*: κοί γ' *J* (γρ. κύ) *RS*: κοί *P Vr.* b. || ἀδδεές  
*Nikias Ar.*: ἀδεές *Ar.* *GQT*: ἀναιδεές *U*. || ἐτέον τε *U*. 424. τολμήσῃς  
 425. ἀπεβήκατο *Q*. 427. τέκος ἀτρυτώνη *U*. 428. νῶϊ *Ar.* *Ω*: νῶϊν  
*CHJQST* (διχῶς τοῦ *N* τὸ νῶϊ *Tm*): νῶϊ *T* *PU*: νῶ *D*. || πολεμίζειν *DJPQRU*.

whole line is interpolated here from O 79, as is shown by the mss. which omit it.

411. *πρώτησιν*, at the entrance to the gate, from which the goddesses are just issuing. The scholia remark on the speed of Iris, who, like Hera in O 80-3, is literally 'as quick as thought.'

415. The *εἰ* of mss. cannot be made to give a really satisfactory sense. A writes (twice over) Ἀρ. διὰ τοῦ η, ἣ τελέει περ, and again αἱ Ἀριστάρχον διὰ τοῦ η, ἦι τελέει περ. This probably means, as is commonly understood, that he wrote ἦι. But he may have meant *ἦ*, which was explained as = ὥς in the phrase ἦ θέμις ἐστίν, see Herod. in Schol. A on B 73. This is defensible as an instrumental, cf. *φή*, *λάβρη*, *πάντη*, *πῇ*, etc. (*Brugmann Gr.* ii. p. 629).

419. Observe the return to the *oratio*

*recta*; the construction of *κεν* with an infin. in *oratio obliqua* is found only once in Homer, see on I 684.

420-4 were athetized by Aristarchos, not without good reason, as they are quite unsuited to the character of Iris, who always appears as a mere messenger. Of course the case against 423-4 is much stronger than against the first three lines. The last couplet is quite in the spirit of the unmannerly rudeness of the gods in the Theomachy in Φ, and in sharp contrast with the courteous tone of Iris in O 200-4, where again she speaks on her own account.

423. *αἰνοτάτη*, sc. *ἑσσι*. This was the reading of *Ar.*, but the variant *σοί* (sc. *νεμεσίζεται*) for *σύ γ'* would make the constr. simpler.

428. *νῶϊ ἐὼ*, i.e. *νῶ' ἐάω*.

τῶν ἄλλος μὲν ἀποφθίσθω, ἄλλος δὲ βιώτω,  
ὅς κε τύχηι· κείνος δὲ τὰ ἂ φρονέων ἐνὶ θυμῷ 430  
Τρῳσὶ τε καὶ Δαναοῖσι δικάζέτω, ὥς ἐπιεικές.”

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσασα πάλιν τρέπε μώνυχας ἵππους.  
τῆσιν δ' ὦραι μὲν λῦσαν καλλίτριχας ἵππους,  
καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατέδησαν ἐπ' ἀμβροσίησι κάπησιν,  
ἄρματα δ' ἔκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανόωντα· 435  
αὐταὶ δὲ χρυσέοισιν ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι καθίζον  
μήγδ' ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι, φίλον τετιμημένοι ἦτορ.

Ζεὺς δὲ πατήρ Ἰδηθεν εὐτροχον ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους  
Οὐλυμπόνδε δίωκε, θεῶν δ' ἐξίκετο θώκους.  
τῷ δὲ καὶ ἵππους μὲν λῦσε κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος, 440  
ἄρματα δ' ἂμ βωμοῖσι τίθει, κατὰ λίτα πετάσσας·

429. ἀποφθείσω A, and *ap.* Eust. || βιώτω Mor. 432. πάλιν *om.* LP. |  
τρέπε: ἐπέτρεπε L: τράπε CGJQ. 433. τοῖσι U. 434. ἐφ' ἱππέησις T (= δ  
40). || ἐπ' : ὑπ' Q. || ἀβροσίησι L: ἀμβροσίησι D. 435. ἔκκλιναν Trypho *Rhet.*  
viii. 755. || προενώπια Mor. 441. ἂμ βωμοῖσι Ar.: ἀμβωμοῖσι Chrysippos  
Ω (ἀμβωμοῖσι H Vr. b): ἀμβώνεσσι Diogenes. || λίτα P (λίτα P<sup>m</sup>).

430. τὰ ἂ, contemptuously, 'those plans of his.' Cf. M 280. The combination of the possessive ὅς with the article is not common, occurring only eight times in the *Iliad* and six in the *Odyssey*. Here P. Knight reads *ἐφά*. Cf. notes on A 185, Z 490. *δικαζέτω*, let him decide for them, as A 542.

433. For the position of the Horai as servants of the gods cf. 393 above. It is clear that when Poseidon performs a similar office for Zeus in 440 we cannot conclude that it is in virtue of his functions in later Greek mythology as *ἵππιος*, for the Horai never possessed such an attribute, and as applied to Poseidon it seems to be post-Homeric, due probably to the fusion with him of a 'Pelasgian' horse-god. But Poseidon stands to his elder brother in the honourable position of *θεράπων* or squire for the moment; though it is strange that he should be upon Olympus without warning, see H 445.

434. The *ἀμβροσίαι κάπαι* reappear in Pind. O. xiii. 92 as the *φάναι Ζηνὸς ἀρχαῖαι* to which Pegasus is welcomed.

435. *ἐνώπια*: a much disputed word, recurring only in N 261, δ 42, χ 121, always with the same epithet, and always as a support against which something is leant. Various attempts have been made to identify it with some particular spot in

the Homeric house—either the side walls of the entrance, a short passage leading from the street into the courtyard, or the front wall of the *μέγαρον*, at the side of the main door-way, facing the person who entered the courtyard from the street. But the word is better taken quite generally, *inner walls* or rather *inner face of the walls*. This suits the form of the word (cf. note on O 653 *εἰσωντοί*), and its use in all places. Here and δ 42 it means the inner face of the wall of the *αὐλή*: in N and χ it is used of the walls of the *μέγαρον* itself. *παμφανόωντα*, because covered with polished stucco, like the walls at Tiryns, or perhaps with polished wood, cf. Ξ 169 *θύραι φαειναί*.

439. *δίωκε*, *drive*; cf. ν 162 *νηὸς ῥήμφα διωκόμενην*, *Hymn. ix. 4 ἄρμα διώκει*.

441. *βωμοῖσι*, *stands* on which the upper part of the chariot was placed when the wheels were taken off. That this was habitually done is clear from E 722. So the mule-car has a detachable top, *ὑπερτερὶς* (or *τελινθός*) in Ω 190, ζ 70. *βωμός* is used again to mean the *base* of a statue in η 100, but these two appear to be the only passages in classical Greek where the word is used of anything but an altar. The variants *ἀμβωμοῖσι*, *ἀμβώνεσσι* both seem to have been taken to mean 'on the steps'

αὐτὸς δὲ χρύσειον ἐπὶ θρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 ἔζετο, τῷ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὀλυμπος.  
 αἶ δ' οἶαι Διὸς ἀμφὶς Ἀθηναίῃ τε καὶ Ἥρῃ  
 ἦσθην, οὐδέ τί μιν προσεφώνεον οὐδ' ἐρέοντο.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἔγνω ἦσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ φώνησέν τε·  
 “τίφθ' οὕτω τετίησθον, Ἀθηναίῃ τε καὶ Ἥρῃ;  
 οὐ μέν θην κάμετόν γε μάχῃ ἐνὶ κυδιανείρῃ  
 ὀλλύσαι Τρῶας, τοῖσιν κότον αἰνὸν ἔθεσθε.  
 πάντως, οἶον ἐμόν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρες ἄαπτοι,  
 οὐκ ἄν με τρέψειαν ὅσοι θεοὶ εἰς' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ.  
 σφῶϊν δὲ πρὶν περ τρόμος ἔλλαβε φαίδιμα γυνῖα,  
 πρὶν πόλεμόν τ' ἰδέειν πολέμοιό τε μέρμερα ἔργα.  
 ὦδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, τὸ δέ κεν τετελεσμένον ᾗεν·  
 οὐκ ἄν ἐφ' ὑμετέρων ὀχέων, πληγέντε κεραυνῶι,  
 ἄψ' ἐς Ὀλυμπον ἵκεσθον, ἵν' ἀθανάτων ἔδος ἐστίν.”  
 ὧς ἔφαθ'· αἶ δ' ἐπέμνξαν Ἀθηναίῃ τε καὶ Ἥρῃ,  
 πλησίαι αἶ γ' ἦσθην, κακὰ δὲ Τρώεσσι μεδέσθην.  
 ἦ τοι Ἀθηναίῃ ἀκέων ἦν οὐδέ τι εἶπε,

443. πολεμίζετ' [GJLTU. 445. ἦσθον Q. 448. ΜΕΝ ΘΗΝ: ΜΕΝΤΟΝ τινὲς Ἀργολικῶς καὶ Κρητικῶς αρ. Cram. An. Par. iii. 42 and Eust. || ΘΗΝ: ΔΗ G, and αρ. Eust. || καμέτην Zen. [S?]. || μάχην ἀνὰ κυδιάνειραν Eust. 449. ΤΟΪΣΙΝ: ΤΟΪΟΝ Ar. 451. με τρέψειαν: μεταστρέψειαν J: με τρίψειαν U. 452. σφῶϊ GR. || δέ: μὲν Q. 454 om. U. || γάρ: δὲ H. || τὸ δέ κεν AS: καὶ κεν PQT (κέ κεν): τὸ δὲ καὶ Ω. || ἦεν AS: ἔπλεν J (surpr. ἡ ἔσται): ἔπλεν T (cf. M 11): ἔσται Ω: ἐν ἄλλῳ καὶ κεν τετελεσμένον ἔπλεν A. 456. ἐς om. G. || ἵκεσθε S (-αι) Cant. 458 om. C<sup>1</sup>U Lips. || αἶ γ': δ' αἶ γ' Q. 459. ἦτοι ἀκέουσ' ἦν ἀθηναῖαι H.

(ἀνάβαθρα) of the palace. For the custom of covering up a chariot with a cloth when not in use cf. B 777, E 194. It is impossible to say whether λίτα, which is found besides only in the dative λίτῃ, is a masculine singular or neuter plural.

444. ἀμφί, apart from; as § 352, π 267. Ar., however, less appropriately, took it to mean on either side of Zeus, as sitting in the two places of honour. This leaves οἶαι without any particular force, and 458 evidently means that they were sulking apart from all the rest.

448. For κάμετον Zenodotos here read the Attic καμέτην. On these dual forms see H. G. § 5. It is to be presumed that he also read ἵκεσθε for ἵκεσθον in 456, where Elmsley conj. ἵκησθον.

449. The reading of Ar., τοῖον for τοῖσιν, as Didymos remarks, ἔχει τινα ἔμφασιν, though we should rather have expected οἶον.

451. Naber's ἐμέ for με is a decided improvement.

452. σφῶϊν: an unusual instance of the dative where we should have expected the accusative. The dat. of personal pronouns used as a possessive is generally confined to the enclitic forms.

455. οὐκ ἄν, i.e. 'otherwise.' The γάρ in the preceding clause, in which this one is anticipated by the word ὦδε, expresses this, without the need of supplying any further ellipse beyond that which is implied in this very common use of γάρ. For the use of πληγέντε of females see 378 above.

σκυζομένη Διὶ πατρί, χόλος δέ μιν ἄγριος ἦρει· 460  
 "Ηρῆ δ' οὐκ ἔχαδε στήθος χόλον, ἀλλὰ προσηύδα·  
 "αἰνότατε Κρονίδη, ποῖον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες;  
 εὖ νυ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ὃ τοι σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδόν·  
 ἀλλ' ἔμπης Δαναῶν ὀλοφυρόμεθ' αἰχμητῶν,  
 οἳ κεν δὴ κακὸν οἶτον ἀναπλήσαντες ὄλωνται. 465  
 [ἀλλ' ἢ τοι πολέμου μὲν ἀφεξόμεθ', εἰ σὺ κελεύεις,  
 βουλὴν δ' Ἀργείοις ὑποθυσόμεθ', ἢ τις ὀνήσει,  
 ὥς μὴ πάντες ὄλωνται ὀδυσασμένοιο τεοῖο.]"  
 τὴν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς·  
 "ῥοῦς δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπερμενέα Κροινῶνα 470  
 ὄψαι, αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα, βοῶπις πότνια "Ηρῆ,  
 ὀλλύντ' Ἀργείων πουλὺν στρατὸν αἰχμητῶν·  
 οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμου ἀποπαύσεται ὄβριμος Ἐκτωρ,  
 πρὶν ὄρθαι παρὰ ναῦφι ποδώκεα Πηλεΐωνα,  
 ἡματι τῷ ὅτ' ἂν οἳ μὲν ἐπὶ πρύμνησι μάχωνται, 475  
 στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ, περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θανόντος.  
 ὥς γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι. σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀλεγίζω  
 χωομένης, οὐδ' εἴ κε τὰ νείατα πείραθ' ἴκηαι  
 γαίης καὶ πόντιο, ἔν' Ἰάπετός τε Κρόνος τε

461. οὐ κέχαδε P, and *ap.* Eust. (cf. Δ 24). 462. ἔειπας JP (*supr.* ε) RT.  
 463. ὃ τοι: ὅτι LQV: ἢ τοι P (ὅ τοι P<sup>10</sup>). || ἀλαπαδνόν A[H]: ἐπιεκτόν Ω,  
 and γρ. A. 465. ὄλλονται U. || G Bar. add ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς ῥιπῆι· ὁ δὲ μαίνεται  
 οὐκέτ' (οὐκ G) ἀνεκτῶς (=355). 466-8 *habent* D<sup>m</sup>G<sup>m</sup>HJQT<sup>m</sup> (Rhosos) Harl. a:  
*om.* Ω. 466. εἰ: ὥς QV<sup>m</sup> Harl. a. 470. ῥοῦς: ἄς Zen. || δῆ: μέν δῆ G.  
 471. αἶ ῥοῦς, ἦν J (ἐν ἄλλωι A). || βοῶπι A (T.W.A.) CST Lips. Vr. b. 472.  
 πολὺν: ἀκόμειος πολλὺν P. 473. πολέμοιο T. || ὄβριμος CDG: φαίδιμος P.  
 47406. || αἶ AT Vr. A: ὄρραι P: ὠραι Ω. || παρὰ: κατὰ R. 475-6 ἄθ. Ar.  
 475. ἐπὶ: παρὰ D. || πρύμνοισι S. 476. ἐν *om.* Q. || θανόντος: πεσόντος CS  
 (and γρ. A).

470. For ῥοῦς Zen. read ἄς, which was rejected by Ar. as not Homeric; it has, however, all the appearance of a genuine word of the old Achaean or proto-Epic dialect, representing ἄFas: cf. Aeol. ἄFos or αῦws. Hesych. says it is Boiotian for ἐς αὔριον. It can hardly have been invented by Zen., and it is with hesitation that I have not inserted it into the text, so as to get rid of the contracted ῥοῦς for ῥόος. But the second α has no exact analogy in Greek, though it appears to correspond to the Skt. *ush-a*, 'early.' Brandreth reads ῥόθεν καί.

471. For the phrase ὄψαι, αἶ κ' ἐθέ-  
 λῃσθα cf. Δ 353, etc.

475-6 were athetized by Aristarchos, on the grounds that ἡματι τῷ ought not to be used of an event which is to happen on the next day; that Achilles comes to the battle over Patroklos not ἐπὶ πρύμνησι, but at the trench outside the ships; that στείνος means a *narrow place*, not a *strait* in the metaphorical sense (on this see O 426); and finally, that the exact definition of the time is superfluous. None of these grounds except the first seems to be of weight. ἡματι τῷ is used of the future only here and in X 359.

479. Iapetos is named only here in Homer, while Kronos appears only as father of Zeus and Hera except in three



ἥμενοι οὐτ' ἀνγῆις Ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο 480  
 τέρποντ' οὐτ' ἀνέμοισι, βαθὺς δέ τε Τάρταρος ἀμφίς·  
 οὐδ' ἦν ἔνθ' ἀφίκηαι ἀλωμένη, οὐ σευ ἐγὼ γε  
 σκυζομένης ἀλέγω, ἐπεὶ οὐ σέο κύντερον ἄλλο."

ὥς φάτο, τὸν δ' οὐ τι προσέφη λευκώλενος Ἡρη.  
 ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' Ὀκεανῶι λαμπρὸν φάος ἡελίοιο 485  
 ἔλκον νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζειδωρον ἄρουραν.  
 Τρωσὶν μὲν ῥ' ἀέκουσιν ἔδν φάος, αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοῖς  
 ἀσπασίη τρίλλιστος ἐπήλυθε νύξ ἐρεβεννή.

Τρώων αὐτ' ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο φαίδιμος Ἔκτωρ,  
 νόσφι νεῶν ἀγαγών, ποταμῶι ἐπι δινῆεντι, 490  
 ἐν καθαρῶι, ὅθι δὴ νεκύων διεφαίνετο χῶρος.

480. αὐταῖς P. 481. βαθεύς: πολὺς CG. || ἀμφίς: ἐστίν U. 482. σευ: 483. κύντερον (so K 503 κύντατον), a curious form, recurring three times in *Od.*; cf. βασιλεύματος, etc., *H. G.* § 122. For the application cf. 527, A 159.  
 τευ P (οὐτ' εὐ L). 487. ἀχαιῶν U. 488. τρίλλιστος (?) Par. b<sup>1</sup>: τριφίλιτος Schol. Theokr. xv. 86. 489. δ' αὐτ' ACDRSU. 490. ἐπι: ἐνὶ H Vr. c.

passages, Ξ 203, 274, O 225. According to the later legend both were members of the Titan dynasty. This is not distinctly brought out anywhere in Homer, though it is implied in a comparison of this passage and Ξ 279 with Ξ 204. See also note on E 898. The whole question of these dynasties before Zeus, as they are presented in Homer, is too vague to admit of a certain solution; when we come to Hesiod we find that Greek belief has passed into quite another stage, that of harmonizing the incoherent and inconsistent legends, handed down probably from sources differing by wide distances both of race and place. For Tartaros see line 13. The meaning of Zeus may be either 'You may banish yourself for ever, and I should not be sorry to lose you,' or 'You may try and raise a revolt in Tartaros, and I should not be afraid of your efforts.' The word ἀλωμένη points rather to the former.

480. Ὑπερίων is a common name of the sun in *Od.*, but recurs only in T 398 in *Il.* It is patronymic in form, but there is no legend to explain this; it may be simply 'son of high heaven,' cf. οὐρανίωτες, and see *H. G.* p. 112, note. H. knows nothing of the legend (in Hes. and *Hymn.* xxxi.) which makes Helios son of Hyperion; this is evidently only a deduction from the form Ὑπεριονίδης (μ 176), a patronymic with double termination (see on B 566). The line

of Xenophanes, ἡελίος θ' ὑπεριέμενος γαῖαν τ' ἐπιθάλλων, is an early etymology.

483. κύντερον (so K 503 κύντατον), a curious form, recurring three times in *Od.*; cf. βασιλεύματος, etc., *H. G.* § 122. For the application cf. 527, A 159.

485. The narrative is now taken up from 349.

486. ἔλκον: a bold but vivid metaphor, darkness being regarded as a mantle or cloth which is dragged over the earth by the departing sun.

488. τρίλλιστος: the only other case in Homer of this intensification. 489. τρι- in composition is τρισμάκαρες ε. c. § 154. Cf. in later Greek τριδουλος, τριφίλιτος Theokr. xv. 86, and numerous compounds with τρις-. We have πολύλλιστος in the same sense, ε 445.

489-565. The repeated lines are 491 = K 199; 493-5 = Z 318-20; 496 cf. B 109; 497 = Γ 456; 499 = M 115; 502 = I 65; (505-7 cf. 545-7); 516 = T 318; 530-1 = Σ 303-4; 539 cf. ε 136; 540-1 = N 827-8; 542 = Σ 310; 543 = δ 39; [548 cf. A 315]; [552 = Δ 47]; 557-8 = II 299-300.

491. ἐν κεντρῶι, in a vacant space, as Ψ 61. Cf. ε 476 ἐν περιφαινόμενῳ. The whole line recurs in K 199. Ar. concluded that there had been no burying of the dead, and that therefore the passage in H (421 ff.) describing it was not genuine, or rather had been already forgotten ὅτι οὐκέτι γέγονε νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσις.

ἐξ ἵππων δ' ἀποβάντες ἐπὶ χθόνα μῦθον ἄκουον,  
 τόν ῥ' Ἑκτωρ ἀγόρευε διίφιλος· ἐν δ' ἄρα χειρὶ  
 ἔγχος ἔχ' ἐνδεκάπηχυν· πάροιθε δὲ λάμπετο δουρὸς  
 αἰχμὴ χαλκείη, περὶ δὲ χρύσεος θέε πόρκης· 495  
 τῷ ὃ γ' ἐρεισάμενος ἔπεα Τρώεσσι μετηύδα·  
 “κέκλυτέ μεν, Τρῶες καὶ Δάρδανοι ἡδ' ἐπίκουροι·  
 νῦν ἐφάμην νῆάς τ' ὀλέσας καὶ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς  
 ἄψ' ἀπονοστήσειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν·  
 ἀλλὰ πρὶν κénéφας ἦλθε, τὸ νῦν ἐσάωσε μάλιστα 500  
 Ἀργείους καὶ νῆας ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης.  
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι νῦν μὲν πειθώμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ  
 δόρπά τ' ἐφοπλισόμεσθα· ἀτὰρ καλλίτριχας ἵππους  
 λύσαθ' ὑπὲξ ὀχέων, παρὰ δέ σφισι βάλλετ' ἐδωδήν·  
 ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἄξεσθε βόας καὶ ἵφια μῆλα 505  
 καρπαλίμως, οἶνον δὲ μελίφρονα οἰνίζεσθε  
 σῖτόν τ' ἐκ μεγάρων, ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ λέγεσθε,  
 ὥς κεν παννύχιοι μέσφ' ἡοῦς ἡριγενεῖης  
 καίωμεν πυρὰ πολλά, σέλας δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκηι·  
 μή πως καὶ διὰ νύκτα κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ 510  
 φεύγειν ὀρμήσονται ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης·

493-6 *om.* Zen. 493. ΤΟΝ ῥ': ΤΟΝ Δ' J: ΤΟΝ G. 496. ὃ Γ': ὃ Δ' U. ||  
 ΤΡΩΕΣΣΙ ΜΕΤΗΥΔΑ ACΓ: ΠΤΕΡΟΕΣΤΑ ΠΡΟΣΧΥΔΑ ΗΠΤΥ: ΠΤΕΡΟΕΣΤ' ΑΓΟΡΕΥΕ D I Q R S  
 Vr. b Λ, and γρ. Α. 499. ποτὶ GJS. 500. ΝΕΦΑΣ J. 501. ἐπὶ κτλ.: ἐπεὶ  
 διὸς ἐτράπετο φρήν Zen. 502. Νῦν μὲν: μὲν νῦν U: νῦν *om.* J. 503.  
 ἐφοπλίζεσσαν Zen.: ἐφοπλιζόμεσα GJU: ἐφοπλιζόμεσ' T: ἐφοπλιζόμεσ' PQ:  
 ἐφοπλιζόμεσα Vr. b: ἐφοπλιζόμεσ' Vr. c. || αὐτὰρ GHJPQR. 504. λύσασθ'  
 JRT. || ὑπὲξ: ἐξ PR. 505. πόλεως GJ. || ἄξεσθε (Ar.?) PU: ἄσατε G:  
 ἄσασθε Ω. 507. σῖτον δ' DJQT: σῖτον U (*om.* T). 508. μέσφ': μέχρ' U.  
 509. εἰς *om.* P: ἐς J. || ἵκει Lips.: ἵκοι J: ἵκει C (*supr.* οι). 511. ὀρμήσονται  
 J (*supr.* ων) S Mor.: ὀρμήσωναι H.

501. For ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης Zen. read ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἐτράπετο φρήν, as in K 45. The objection of Ar., οὐ κατὰ Διὸς προαίρεσιν νῦξ ἐγένετο, does not seem valid; Hector may well assume that Zeus has done for the sake of the Greeks what we are told that Hera did in Σ 239-42. For 502 cf. H 282.

503. For ἐφοπλιζόμεσα Zen. read ἐφοπλίζεσσαν· συγχεῖ δὲ τὸ δυνάμειν, as An. remarks (see on A 567). It is, however, possible that this may represent an old variant ἐφοπλίζεσθε, altered for the sake of avoiding the hiatus.

505. ἄξεσθε: the usual form of the aorist is that with the thematic vowel,

not the *a*-stem. See H. G. § 41, Γ 103, etc. But in 545 ms. tradition seems to be unanimous in favour of ἄξαντο.

506. οἰνίζεσθε: see H 472.

508. μέσφ': only here in H. except as a variant in τ 223 = ω 310 μέσφ' ὅτε for ἐξ οὐ. The word was often used by the Alexandrine poets, Ap. Rhod., Kallimachos, etc.; they write the full form μέσφα, but it may have been μέσφι, with the ordinary termination -φι. The word is called Aeolic by the grammarians; the nearest well-attested analogies are Thess. μέσποδι (Collitz 345. 13), Ark. μέστ' ἄν (1222. 30); Pamphylian μέσφα (1267. 28) is a mere guess.

μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε νεῶν ἐπιβαίειν ἔκηλοι,  
 ἀλλ' ὥς τις τούτων γε βέλος καὶ οἴκοθι πέσσει,  
 βλήμενος ἢ ἰῶι ἢ ἔγχρῃ ὀξυόεντι  
 νηὸς ἐπιθρώσκων, ἵνα τις στυγέησι καὶ ἄλλος 515  
 Τρῳσὶν ἐφ' ἵπποδάμοισι φέρειν πολύδακρυν Ἄρηα.  
 κήρυκες δ' ἀνὰ ἄστρῳ διίφιλοι ἀγγελλόντων  
 παῖδας πρωθήβους πολιοκροτάφους τε γέροντας  
 λέξασθαι περὶ ἄστρῳ θεοδμήτων ἐπὶ πύργων·  
 θηλύτεραι δὲ γυναικες ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐκάστω 520  
 πῦρ μέγα καιόντων· φυλακὴ δέ τις ἔμπεδος ἔστω,  
 μὴ λόχος εἰσέλθῃσι πόλιν λαῶν ἀπεόντων.  
 ᾧδ' ἔστω, Τρῶες μεγαλήτορες, ὡς ἀγορεύω·  
 μῦθος δ', ὃς μὲν νῦν ὑγίης, εἰρημένος ἔστω,

512. ἀσπουδεὶ CDJ PQSTU Ambr. 513. ὥς: ὅς QT<sup>1</sup>. || ΤΟΥΤΩΝ: ΚΕΙΝΩΝ  
 Ar. (acc. to Parmeniskos *ap. Did.*). || οἴκοθεν U. || πέσσοι Ar. (see Ludw.) A *supr.*  
 515. ΝΗΩΝ HJ U. || ἀποερώσκων C (γρ. ἐπιερώσκων) JPS (ἀπὸ ο.) U, and γρ. Δ.  
 517. ἀγγελέοντων J. 518. πρωθήβους HR (*supr.* ac): προθήβας J Par. e h:  
 πρωθήβας Ω. 519. περὶ: προτὶ Δ (γρ. περὶ). 520. ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν C.  
 522. εἰσέλεθι P. || ἀπιόντων U. 524-5 ἄθ. Ar. 524. μῦθος G *c corr.* || ὅς:  
 ὥς P. || ΜΕΝ Νῦν: Νῦν ΜΕΝ Vr. b (γρ. ΜΕΝ Νῦν).

512. ἐπιβαίειν: Bentley ἐπιβῶσιν, to conform to the preceding μὴ ὀρμήσωνται and the following πέσσει of MSS. It is, however, possible to take the opt. as expressing a prayer or urgent wish, a rhetorical figure which gives both force and variety between the two subjunctives, an alternation of exhortation and prayer. There is no need to read πέσσοι with Ar.; ὥς expresses a purpose, see that many a one brood over the weapon that wounded him. For πέσσειν cf. Ω 617, 639 κήδεα πέσσειν, and B 237 γέρα πεσσέμεν. Ar. took βέλος to mean wound, comparing Ξ 439 βέλος δ' ἐτι θυμὸν ἐδάμνα, where this sense is clearly not necessary. So Α 269 ᾧδίνουσιν ἔχρη βέλος δὲξυ γυναῖκα, where the metaphor is rather more violent, but βέλος clearly does not mean wound.

518. πρωθήβους must surely be right, though πρωθήβας has almost unanimous support; evidently it must be the boys who join the old men in watching the walls, while the 'young girls' stay at home to help their mothers.

519. Λέξασθαι: root λεχ-, to *divouac*. θεοδμήτων πύργων: cf. Η 452.

520. θηλύτεραι γυναῖκες: a phrase which occurs several times in the *Odyssey*, but not again in the *Iliad*.

There is no trace of the word meaning anything else than *female*, and the redundancy of the epithet seems to be a genuine instance of Epic *naïveté*. The comparative form merely indicates opposition to the male sex; see H. G. § 122. Schol. A may be compared for a different and curious explanation.

524. It has been almost universally recognized that the concluding portion of this speech of Hector cannot have been composed as it stands. Ar. athetized 524-5, and 528 (this was omitted altogether by Zen.), and held that 535-7 and 538-41 were a double recension, repeating the same thought twice over (the recurrence of αὔριον, 535 and 538, being particularly displeasing). 540, which is found in the parallel passage, N 827, he seems not to have read here at all. Of the two recensions he preferred the second, as being more boastful, and therefore more in accordance with the character of Hector, while Zen. omitted the former (535-7) altogether. Against individual lines many objections can be raised. The use of ὑγίης is unique in Homer (see note on Δ 235); while the phrase φυλάεμεν ἡμέας αὐτούς is doubtful Greek. Again, in 541 ἡμέρη ἥδε must mean, not 'this

τὸν δ' ἡοῦς Τρώεσσι μεθ' ἵπποδάμοις ἀγορεύσω. 525  
 ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος Δί' τ' ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσιν  
 ἐξελάαν ἐνθένδε κύνας κηρессиφορήτους,  
 οὓς κῆρες φορέουσι μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν.  
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι ἐπὶ νυκτὶ φυλάξομεν ἡμέας αὐτούς,  
 πρῶτ' δ' ὑπνοῖοι σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες 530  
 νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρήσιν ἐγείρομεν ὄξυν Ἄρῃα.  
 εἴσομαι, εἴ κέ μ' ὁ Ὑδείδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης  
 παρ νηῶν πρὸς τεῖχος ἀπώσεται, ἢ κεν ἐγὼ τὸν  
 χαλκῶι διηώσας ἑναρα βροτόεντα φέρωμαι.  
 αὔριον ἦν ἀρετὴν διαείσεται, εἴ κ' ἐμὸν ἔγχεος 535  
 μεῖνῃ ἐπερχόμενον· ἀλλ' ἐν πρῶτοισιν, οἶω,

525. ἀγορεύω G. 526. ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος Zen. PU Par. c g: εὐχομαι δ' ἐλπόμενος JQ: εὐχομαι ἐλπόμενος Ar. Ω. 527. ἐνεάδε GQ (*supr.* εν). || κῆρесси φορήτους (*sic*) P. 528 ἀθ. Ar., *om.* Zen. 529. γρ. ἐπινύκτα A. 530. ὑπνοῖοι Cant.: ὑπ' ἡοῖοι D Harl. a: ὑπ' ἡοῖο T: ὑπ' ἡοῖοι A<sup>t</sup> (ὑπνοῖοι A<sup>m</sup>, T.W.A.): ἐπ' ἡοῖοι P: ἐπ' ἡοῖο U (and γρ. Harl. a): ὑπ' ἡοῖο GHJLQR Vr. b c A: ὑπ' ἡοῖο C (?). 532. εἴ: αἴ CDJRT. || μ' ὁ: με L. 533. νηὸν Q. || ἦ: εἴ HQU: αἴ G. 534. φέρωμαι: ἐν ἄλλωι φερόμην A. 535-41. v. *infra* on 524. 535. αἴ DGJRS (and A *supr.*).

present day,' as it should, but 'the day of which I am speaking,' *to-morrow*. 527 is not consonant with Hector's intention, which is not to drive the Greeks away, but to prevent their escape. All these difficulties can be evaded if with Hentze we regard 524-9 and 538-41 as constituting the intruding version. This may have existed independently (though evidently of late origin) with the exception of 529, which must have been added to make the fusion possible. ὅς μεν νῦν ὑγιής, *that which is profitable for the moment, for to-day*; while τὸν δ' ἡοῦς apparently means 'that concerning the *tomorrow* I will now announce.' This is a purely Attic use of the article, but it makes better sense than to join ἡοῦς with the verb, 'another announcement I will make to-morrow.'

526. ἔλπομαι εὐχόμενος: so Zen.; Ar. εὐχομαι ἐλπόμενος, which violates the digamma of *ἔλπομαι*. This, however, is not of much importance in a doubtful passage; and, as Hoffmann proposed, we might read εὐχομ' ἐφελπόμενος. Still it is better to adhere to that tradition which on the face of it is the more archaic.

527. κηρессиφορήτους, or as some read κῆρесси φορητούς (cf. ἀρηΐφατος, δαϊκτάμενος, and note on A 74; the accents

in P bear witness to the doubt), on the analogy of B 302, 834, should mean 'hurried away *from life* by fate,' and might well be used proleptically, 'doomed to death.' The following line, which was not read by Zen., gives a much less effective sense, and has all the appearance of a gloss. But the mere development of the idea of the compound is not in itself un-Homeric; compare I 124 ἀθλοφόρους, οἳ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο. Other more or less similar instances will be found in E 63, 403, A 475, M 295, N 482, O 526, II 143, P 5, a 299, β 65, γ 197.

529. ἡμέας αὐτούς, *our position* (Monro), but the phrase is a curious one. For ἐπὶ νυκτὶ cf. N 234, etc.

530. ὑπνοῖος, *at break of day*, recurs δ 656, ρ 25, and in the repetitions of this line, Σ 277, 303.

535. For this line see H. G. § 294. διαείσεται has two objects, both ἀρετὴν and the object clause εἴ κε κτλ. *He shall learn* (the value of) *his courage, whether he will be able to abide my spear*. Compare N 277 λόχον, ἐνθα μάλιστ' ἀρετὴ διαίδεται ἀνδρῶν. There the compound has its full force, δια- implying distinction between different men; here it is otiose.



κείσεται οὔτηθείς, πολέες δ' ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐταῖροι,  
 ἡελίου ἀνιόντος ἐς αὔριον. αἱ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὥς  
 εἶην ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήραος ἥματα πάντα,  
 τιοίμην δ' ὥς τίετ' Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἀπόλλων, 540  
 ὥς νῦν ἡμέρη ἦδε κακὸν φέρει Ἀργείοισιν."

ὥς Ἐκτωρ ἀγόρευ', ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῳῆς κελάδησαν.  
 οἱ δ' ἵππους μὲν λῦσαν ὑπὸ ζυγοῦ ἰδρώοντας,  
 δῆσαν δ' ἱμάντεσσι παρ' ἄρμασιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος·  
 ἐκ πόλιος δ' ἄξαντο βόας καὶ ἵφια μῆλα 545  
 καρπαλίμως, οἶνον δὲ μελίφρονα οἰνίζοντο  
 σίτον τ' ἐκ μεγάρων, ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα πολλὰ λέγοντο· 547  
 κνίσην δ' ἐκ πεδίου ἄνεμοι φέρον οὐρανὸν εἴσω. 549  
 οἱ δὲ μέγα φρονέοντες ἐπὶ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας 553

538. εἰ Ar. AH. 539. ἀγήραος Ar. AGHPQRU. 541. ἡμέρα QR. || κακά G.  
 542. ὥς δ' L. 543. ὑπὸ: ἀπὸ PQ. || ζυγῶν P: ζυγὸν H. 545. πόλεως J.  
 547 om. U. || σίτον δ' JPQT. || εὐρήσεις δὲ καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ ἕτερα παραπλήσια τοῖς  
 εἰρημένα. φησὶ γὰρ τοὺς Τρῳᾶς ἔπαυλιν ποιουμένους ἔρδειν ἀθανάτοισι τεληέσσας  
 ἐκατόμβας, τὴν δὲ κνίσαν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου τοὺς ἀνέμους φέρειν οὐρανὸν εἴσω ἡδεῖαν· τῆς  
 δ' οὐ τι θεοὺς μάκαρας δατέεσθαι οὐδ' ἐθέλειν· μάλα γάρ σφιν ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἱρή καὶ  
 Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο [Plato] *Alcib. II* 149 D. Hence Barnes inserted  
 in the text

ἔρδον δ' ἀθανάτοισι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας· 548

and—

ἡδεῖαν· τᾷς δ' οὐ τι θεοὶ μάκαρες δατέοντο, 550  
 οὐδ' ἐθέλον· μάλα γάρ σφιν ἀπήχθετο Ἴλιος ἱρή  
 καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς ἐνμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο. 552

553. ἐπὶ: ἀνὰ Schol. T on I 88. || γεφύρη(i) CJPSTU, and γρ. AR: γεφύρης  
 Par. h: γεφύρηι ἢ γεφύραις Eust.

538. αἱ γὰρ . . ὥς νῦν: for this form of wish, where a thing is vividly depicted as certain by opposing it to an imaginary event which is obviously impossible, or *vice versa*, see Σ 464, X 346, ι 523, ρ 251, φ 402, and particularly N 825. The use of ἡμέρη ἦδε, which is inappropriate here, betrays that these lines are a reminiscence of the latter passage. For αὔριον Nauck conj. οὐρανόν.

545. ἄξαντο: see on 505.

548 and 550-2 have no claim whatever to be in the text. For all we know the passage quoted in the *Alcib. II* may come from some other 'Homeric' or Cyclic poem than the *Iliad*; if it ever stood in this place it is no more than one of the many unauthorized additions of which we have evidence from quotations as well as in the recently discovered early papyri. 548 is an adaptation of A 315, B 306, suggested probably by the resemblance of 549 to A 317; a hasty bivouac on the plain is no time for a

solemn sacrifice; and though κνίση is commonly used of the savour of the burnt offering, this is not always the case; see Φ 363, μ 369. So 551 is adapted from Ω 27; the hatred to Troy there attributed to Hera, Athene, and Poseidon is at variance with the whole spirit of the *Iliad* if ascribed to the gods at large; the destruction of Troy, in spite of the piety of its inhabitants, is always represented as distasteful to Zeus himself and to many other Olympians. δατέοντο with gen., apparently meaning *taste*, has no analogy in Homeric or later Greek, except in a few mss. of Herod. ii. 37, 66, where πατέονται is rightly read by the rest; the verb always takes the acc. and means *cut up, divide, apportion*. The fact that this spurious quotation is found in a spurious Platonic dialogue only emphasizes the fact that to the real Plato Homer is our Homer, neither more nor less.

553. The expression ἐπὶ πτολέμοιο

εἶατο παννύχιοι, πυρὰ δέ σφισι καίετο πολλά.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρο φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ σελήνην 555  
 φαίνεται ἄριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ.  
 ἔκ τ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι  
 καὶ νάπαι· οὐρανόθεν δ' ἄρ' ὑπερράγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ,  
 πάντα δὲ εἶδεται ἄστρο, γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα ποιμήν·  
 τόσσα μεσηγνὺ νῶν ἡδὲ Ξάνθοιο ῥοάων 560  
 Τρώων καίωντων πυρὰ φαίνεται Ἰλιόθι πρό.  
 χίλι' ἄρ' ἐν πεδίῳ πυρὰ καίετο, παρ δὲ ἐκάστωι  
 εἶατο πεντήκοντα σέλαι πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.  
 ἵπποι δὲ κρὶ λευκὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι καὶ ὀλύρας,  
 ἐσταότες παρ' ὄχρεσφιν, εὐθρονον Ἥῳ μίμνον. 565

554. πυρὰ: παρὰ GHJU. || πολλά: πυρὰ GHJ. 555. τινὲς φάει νῆν (=ΝΕΗΝ!) Eust. 557. ἐκ δ' R. || ἔφανον CHJQT<sup>2</sup>: ἔφαναν PR. || ἄκραι PR Cant. 557-8 ἀθ. Ar. Aph., om. Zen. L (homoeoteleuton). 559 om. Q. || δέ Ar. GR: δέ τ' Ω. 560. τόσσα: γρ. καὶ τοῖα καὶ ὥς τὰ Α: τινὲς ὥς τὰ An. 561. φαίετο P. 562. χίλι': μύρι' Zen. || (παρ: ἐν Zen.? see Ludw.). 563. σέλας HRU (and ap. Schol. BL). 564. δέ: δ' αὖ P. 565. ἐσταώτες J.

γεφύρας (or γεφύρη) for *battle-field* is strange, as the phrase is elsewhere always used when a battle is actually going on, whereas here it must mean the place where battles were accustomed to be fought. The preposition ἐπὶ also is unique in this connexion; elsewhere it is always ἀνά, which Bekker and von Christ read here, from the schol. on I 88.

555. The obvious difficulty that stars are not visible 'about the bright moon' led to the extraordinary reading *φάει νῆν* recorded by Eust. It was taken to mean 'about the moon *new in light*,' i.e. the new moon; a worthy pendant to the theory that *διαστήτην* in A 6 meant 'about a woman.'

557-8 were athetized by Ar. and Aph., and omitted by Zen., as being wrongly introduced from Π 299-300. There can be little doubt that this judgment is right, fine though the lines are in themselves; the repetition of *αἰθήρ* is awkward, and the strong phrase *ὑπερράγη* is far more appropriate in the later passage, where the clouds are represented as being actually 'burst open' by a gust of wind, than here where the air is still. So also the aorist *ἔφανεν* implies a sudden glimpse through clouds. Here too the peaks and points are less in place than where the mountain to which they belong has been already mentioned. But

patent though the plagiarism from Π is, there is no reason to doubt that the lines have stood here from the first. They are not interpolated by a later hand, for if we cut them out the repetition of *ἄστρο* (555, 559) becomes painfully prominent. *ὑπερράγη*, from *ὑπο*- (not *ὑπερ*-) *ρήγνυμι*. The sense seems to be 'the *αἰθήρ* (or serene sky above the clouds) is burst open from heaven.' The *οὐρανός* is the firmament in which the stars are; the rent takes place in the veil of clouds under the *αἰθήρ*, so as to shew right through the *αἰθήρ* up to the skies and stars beyond. Thus, instead of 'from the heaven,' it seems to us more natural to say 'to the heaven'; but the difference is merely one of the point of view in imagination. The literal sense of *ὑπό* in *ὑπερράγη* is, in fact, *upwards*, i.e. on the sky side (see *H. G.* § 201).

559. Note the thoroughly Greek touch by which the human element, the delight of the shepherd, is brought in to vivify the landscape. So also Δ 279.

560. For *τόσσα* there was a variant *ὥς τὰ*, because some critics thought that the comparison ought to be not with the *number* of the stars, when the comparatively small number of a thousand immediately follows, but with their brightness.

561. Ἰλιόθι πρό: see on Γ 3.

# I

## INTRODUCTION

THE position of the ninth book in the economy of the *Iliad* is a point of cardinal importance in the Homeric question. The book stands apart from the main story, into which it has been intruded at a comparatively late period. The chief arguments for this belief have been stated by Grote in a masterly manner; and though some of them have been weakened by later criticisms (reference may be made particularly to Bergk, Hentze, Monro, and Lang), yet their general force is unshaken. The principal of them is the entire inconsistency of the offered reparation with the words of Achilles in Π 49–100. The whole tone of that speech excludes the idea that the restoration of Briseis had already been offered. This inconsistency is glaring in the case of phrases like Π 72 εἰ μοι κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων ἥπια εἶδείη, 85–6 ὡς ἂν . . . οἱ περικαλλέα κούρην ἄψ ἀπονάσσωσιν, ποτὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα πόρωσιν, and hardly less with such words as Π 60–1 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἔασομεν, οὐδ' ἄρα πῶς ἦν ἀσπερχές κεχολῶσθαι ἐνὶ φρεσίν. Compare again Λ 609–10 νῦν οἶω περὶ γούνατ' ἐμὰ στήσεσθαι Ἀχαιοὺς λισσομένους, which are meaningless in the mouth of a man to whom humble supplication on behalf of the Achaeans has been made only a few hours before.

The conclusion as to the later origin of the book is also borne out by its language and contents, though much less decisively than is the case with K, Ψ, and Ω. For the language, Mr. Monro has pointed out the following instances in which I agrees with K, Ψ, and Ω, and the *Odyssey*, rather than the rest of the *Iliad* (see *H. G. index, Iliad, characteristics of particular books*): the perf. in -κα from verbs in -έω (τεθαρσῆκασι); ἐπί with acc. of *extension over*; ἐνὶ for μετά=among, with persons, and with abstract words (this is very characteristic of the present book, see 143, 285, 319, 378, 491); ἐκ= in consequence of; the use of the article in 342; ἂν with the first person of the opt., 417; ὥς τε with infin., 42; δεῖ for χρή, 337; ἂν with the infin., 684. The geography, too, is later than that of the *Iliad*, as is shewn by the mention of Egypt (382, though the line is probably interpolated), and Pytho with its temple of Apollo (405), and perhaps the extended use of the word Ἑλλάς (447, 478). The mention of εὐφημῆσαι (171) as the accompaniment of a religious rite is apparently an approximation to the later custom, and does not recur in Homer. The legend of the choice of Achilles between two destinies (410) is apparently inconsistent with the first book.

Further, we must take into consideration the fact that the fate of the ninth book is bound up with that of the eighth. Now it is precisely that part of Θ which describes the defeat of the Greeks and prepares the way for Ι which we have found to be largely a cento from other parts of the poems, and destitute of claims to be an original work. The introduction to Ι itself shews something of the same character. Still more does it resemble the opening of Β. Not only does Agamemnon speak in the same words as there—though here they are far more in harmony with the situation—but we have here something of the same difficulty about ἀγορή and βουλή. The general assembly is called only, it would seem, for the glory of Nestor; it is followed by the council which should naturally precede it, and the only practical measure proposed is the placing of sentinels, which is needed as an introduction to the Doloneia, but has nothing to do with this book. It seems likely that the opening scene took place originally in the council of the chiefs, and was only later expanded by the addition of 65–105 into two, assembly and council (see notes).

When once we are in Achilles' tent, however, the weakness of the connecting narrative is soon forgotten. Alike in the vivid description of the scene, in interplay of character and in glowing rhetoric, the book is unsurpassed in Homer, perhaps in literature.

Even Phoinix has become an integral part of the scene; and yet all the evidence goes to shew that he is an intruder. The abruptness of his introduction and the dual number used of the envoys alike point to this. But the episode has been amalgamated with extraordinary skill, though not without leaving clear traces of the joints.

The conclusion is that the book has grown by a process of accretion, beginning with an embassy of Aias and Odysseus only, then including Phoinix, and finally incorporating the story of Meleagros, apparently part of another epic, and in some ways unsuited to its context. In this form it may have formed part of an *Iliad* resembling but not identical with ours—more probably it was an independent composition assuming only the Greek defeat consequent on the Μήνις as a general background. At what point Θ was prefixed it is impossible to guess; the two books may possibly have been composed together, or Θ may be later work added as the desire to recite the *Iliad* as a continuous story gradually grew. But the expansion of the opening in order to pave the way for Κ seems clearly to belong to the final literary redaction. It is a matter of gratitude that the editor regarded the contradictions with Λ and ΙΙ, introduced by the incorporation, as of small importance—as indeed, from the artistic point of view, they are, though their scientific interest is high.



# ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Ι

πρεβεία πρὸς Ἀχιλλέα. λιταί.

ὥς οἱ μὲν Τρῶες φυλακὰς ἔχον· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὺς  
θεσπεσίη ἔχε φύζα, φόβου κρυόντος ἑταίρη,  
πένθει δ' ἀτλήτῳ βεβολήατο πάντες ἄριστοι.  
ὥς δ' ἄνεμοι δύο πόντον ὀρίνετον ἰχθυόεντα,  
Βορέης καὶ Ζέφυρος, τῷ τε Θρήκηθεν ἄητον,  
ἐλθόντ' ἐξαπίνης· ἄμυδις δέ τε κύμα κελαινὸν  
κορθύεται, πολλὸν δὲ παρέξ ἄλα φῦκος ἔχευεν·  
ὥς ἐδαΐζετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν.

5

3. βεβλήατο Zen. : βεβουλήατο S. 4. ἀνέμῳ Aph. 5. βορέας G :  
βορρᾶς Rhet. Gr. iii. 211. 4. || τε: γε Q: τ' ἐκ Cram. Epim. 47. 3. || ἐρήκαθεν U.  
7. ἔχευε(ν) AT Ambr. Par. a e f (supr. αν) g: ἔχευαν Ω: διχῶς Ar.

2. φύζα, *Panic, the hand-maid of Rout*.  
φύζα (φυγ-ja) and φόβος both originally  
meant *flight*, and in H. the latter is almost  
(acc. to Ar. entirely) confined to this  
sense; while the former has partly, as  
here, developed the idea of *terror* (ἡ μετὰ  
δειλίας φυγή) which in φόβος ultimately  
became dominant. Cf. Φ 6 πεφυζότες.  
κρυόεις, lit. *numbing, freezing*; see Z  
344.

3. βεβολήατο and βεβολημένος (l. 9  
and κ 247) are, according to Ar., the  
forms always used of *mental* wounds,  
βεβλημένος being confined to the physical  
sense. Zen., however, read βεβλ. in all  
cases, and it is doubtful if the distinc-  
tion has any real foundation. Cf. note  
on II 660.

5. The poet evidently speaks as an  
inhabitant of Asia Minor or one of the  
islands near. This is not proved merely  
by his making the N. and W. winds  
blow from Thrace (see Monro in J. P. xiii.  
238), but by his saying that they drive

the sea-weed up along the shore. The  
idea seems to be that of a sudden  
'chopping' squall, which the poet  
regards as two winds blowing at the  
same time, and compares with the con-  
flicting doubts which agitate the Achaeans.  
Βορέης: spondee as in Ψ 195 only; there  
are over twenty passages with the regular  
scansion. Curtius, G. Meyer, and others  
think that the ε was pronounced as a  
semi-vocalic j, Βορῆης: cf. στερεός from  
στερεός, through \*στερ-γός. Or we may  
regard the first syll. as lengthened by  
the first arsis (see App. D), and -ής as  
one syllable by synizesis. Most edd.  
read Βορρῆς, on the analogy of the purely  
Attic Βορρᾶς, which is, in fact, given by  
one group of Allen's mss. (C. R. xiii.  
p. 111) and in a quotation. But which-  
ever alternative we adopt, the scansion  
is evidence of late origin.

6. κελαινόν, proleptic, 'so as to be-  
come dark.'

7. κορεύεται, rises into crests, cf.

Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἄχεϊ μεγάλῳι βεβωλημένος ἦτορ  
 φοίτα κηρύκεσσι λιγυφθόγοισι κελεύων 10  
 κλήδην εἰς ἀγορὴν κικλήσκειν ἄνδρα ἕκαστον,  
 μηδὲ βοᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ πρώτοισι πονεῖτο.  
 ἴζον δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ τετιηότες· ἂν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
 ἴστατο δάκρυ χέων ὥς τε κρήνη μελάνυδρος,  
 ἣ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης δνοφερὸν χέει ὕδωρ· 15  
 ὥς ὁ βαρὺ στενάχων ἔπε' Ἀργείοισι μετηύδα·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες,  
 Ζεὺς με μέγας Κρονίδης ἄτῃ ἐνέδησε βαρείῃ  
 σχέτλιος, ὃς πρὶν μὲν μοι ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν  
 Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσαντ' εὐτείχεον ἀπονέεσθαι, 20  
 νῦν δὲ κακὴν ἀπάτην βουλευσατο, καὶ με κελεύει  
 δυσκλέα Ἀργος ἰκέσθαι, ἐπεὶ πολλὴν ὤλεσα λαόν.  
 οὔτῳ που Διὶ μέλλει ὑπερμενεῖ φίλον εἶναι,  
 ὃς δὴ πολλῶν πολλῶν κατέλυσε κάρηνα  
 ἦδ' ἔτι καὶ λύσει· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον. 25

9. βεβωλημένος GS. 13. τετιηότες G : τετικότες J. 14. ὥς τε : ἦυτε  
 Q : ὥς ὅτε G. || ὥς κτλ. : μετὰ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἔειπεν Zen., omitting 15-16.  
 15. πέτρας G. 16. τινὲς ὥς ὅτε θακρυχέων An. || προσυῦδα Q. 18. μέγας  
 Ar. S Par. j : μέγα Zen. Ω (cf. B 111) : μεγάλα R (om. με). || ἐνέδυσε PR Mor. Bar.  
 19. πρὶν : τότε Ar. 21. ἀπάτην : ἄτην C<sup>1</sup> Ambr. || κελεύσατο P (supr. βου).  
 23-5 ἀθ. Ar. Aph. 23-31 om. Zen., reading

ἦτοι ὁ γ' ὥς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο θυμὸν ἀχεύων.  
 τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος προσέφη κρατερὸς διωμῆδης.

Δ 424 κορύσσεται, Δ 426 κορυφούται. κορθύνειν is used in a similar sense in Hes. Theog. 853. Cf. κόρυς a heap, Theokr. x. 46. πάρει ἄλα, casts out along the shore. The use of this compound with the acc. is curious, but well attested; cf. K 391 etc. παρέκ νόον, ὑπέξ and διέξ take only the gen., as we should expect. See H. G. § 227.

11. κλήδην : cf. X 415 ἐξονομακλήδην, giving a special invitation to each, and not proclaiming the assembly by shouting—lest the enemy should hear in the stillness of the night. The word, however, obviously suggests the summoning of a council only, not of the assembly; we shall find further evidence as we proceed to show that this was the original conception.

12. πονεῖτο, sc. κικλήσκειν, he took his share of the work in the summoning.

14. The simile is clearly that of the small but incessant trickling of a spring

which opens on the face of a precipice, and streaks it with dark lines (of lichen, etc.), where the water, itself looking black, flows down—a very common phenomenon in limestone countries. μελάνυδρος is commonly explained of the dark colour of deep water. But a deep well just at the top of a precipice can hardly have been a familiar phenomenon. The simile, which Zen. omitted, is probably borrowed from II 3-4.

15. αἰγίλιπος : a word of unknown der. The old explanation was 'so steep as to be deserted even by the goats.' It recurs only in N 63, II 4.

17=B 79. The form of address is suitable only for a council, not for an assembly of the whole army (cf. B 110). It looks as though ἀγορὴν and ἀγορῇ in 11 and 13 had been substituted for βουλὴν and βουλή.

18-25=B 111-18, 26-8=B 139-41, 29=I<sup>1</sup> 95, 31=H 399, etc.

ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες·  
φεύγωμεν σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν·  
οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Τροίην αἰρήσομεν εὐρυάγυιαν."

ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.  
δὴν δ' ἄνεωι ἦσαν τετιηότες υἱες Ἀχαιῶν.

30

ὁψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
"Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σοὶ πρῶτα μαχήσομαι ἀφραδέοντι,  
ἢ θέμις ἐστίν, ἄναξ, ἀγορή· σὺ δὲ μή τι χολωθῆις.

ἀλκὴν μὲν μοι πρῶτον ὀνειδίσας ἐν Δαναοῖσι,  
φᾶς ἔμεν ἀπτόλεμον καὶ ἀνάλκίδα· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα

35

ἴσας' Ἀργείων ἡμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες·  
σοὶ δὲ διάνδιχα δῶκε Κρόνου πάϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω·  
σκήπτρῳ μὲν τοι δῶκε τετιμῆσθαι περὶ πάντων,

ἀλκὴν δ' οὐ τοι δῶκεν, ὃ τε κράτος ἐστὶ μέγιστον.

δαιμόνι, οὕτω που μάλα ἔλπεαι υἱας Ἀχαιῶν

40

26. ΕΓΩΝ JQR. 30. ΤΕΤΗΚΟΤΕΣ G. 32. ΜΑΧΕΣΟΜΑΙ Q: ΜΑΧΕΟΜΑΙ R.  
33. ΧΟΛΩΘΗΣ L: ΧΟΛΩΘΕΙΣ U. 34. ΑΛΚΗΝ: ΑΚΜΗΝ L. || ΜΟΙ: ΤΟΙ J. || ΠΡΩΤΟΣ  
Q Lips.<sup>1</sup> Harl. a, Vr c, Mosc. 3 (πρῶτος ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς καὶ μόνος Schol. T: οὐ πρῶτον  
ἀλλὰ πρῶτος Schol. B). 36. ΗΜΕΝ ΚΤΛ.: ΗΓΗΤΟΡΕΣ ἠδὲ ΜΕΘΟΝΤΕΣ Zen. 37.  
ΔΙΑΝΔΙΧ' ἔδωκε DJPRU. || ΑΓΚΥΛΟΜΗΤΑΟ U. 38. ΣΚΗΠΤΡΩΙ *supr.* (Ρ)ΟΝ AS. ||  
ΠΕΡΙ: ΠΑΡΑ Cant. 39. ΟΥ ΤΟΙ: ΟΥΤΙ JQS Lips.<sup>1</sup> Vr. b c: ΟΥΤΙ ΠΩ P. || Ο ΤΕ:  
ὅΤΙ GHJQU.

30. ἄνεωι (so best mss. and Schol. A, not *ἀνεω*) may always be a nom. plur. masc. except ψ 93, where it is used of one woman. Probably that passage induced Ar., perhaps rightly, to write *ἀνεω* and regard the word as an adv. like *ἄκην*. It is commonly taken to be for *ἀν-ᾱF-οι*, root *aF* of *αῖω*, *αῖτή*. But the 'Attic declension' is doubtful in H., and almost all forms can be easily removed from the text (van L. *Ench.* § 62). The word recurs also in B 323, Γ 84, I 695, β 240, η 144, κ 71. Brandreth reads *ἄναοι*. ΤΕΤΗΝΟΤΕΣ is explanatory, 'silent for grief.'

31. Observe the characteristic modesty of Diomedes. He will not speak till he is sure that no one else wishes to do so; H 399, I 696, K 219.

32. *σοὶ πρῶτα* implies that he regards all the others as guilty in a less degree of the same cowardice. ΜΑΧΗΣΟΜΑΙ, of verbal strife, as B 377, Z 329.

33. ΘΕΜΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ, the ἀγορή being a place where freedom of speech was what we should call 'privileged.' But one would think that the βουλή rather than the ἀγορή was the place where a general

might rebuke his commander-in-chief. The order of words is unnatural, and the short form of the subj. ΧΟΛΩΘΗΣ (for -ήης) suspicious. The line was apparently added when the council was turned into an assembly.

34 alludes to Δ 370 ff. ΑΛΚΗΝ has the emphatic place in rhetorical antithesis with ἀλκὴν in 39; 'it was my *valour* thou didst make light of . . and it is *valour* that Zeus denies thee.' But as so often the thought grows as it is being uttered, and a fresh antithesis to ἀλκὴν is given by σκήπτρῳ μὲν in 38. ΠΡΩΤΟΝ, you began by blaming my valour, so now you cannot complain of my retort. The variant *πρῶτος* gives this sense yet more clearly, and is perhaps preferable.

37. ΔΙΑΝΔΙΧΑ, 'endows thee *only by halves*.' The word recurs only in the phrase *δι. μερμήριζεν, his mind was divided*, A 189 etc.

39. Ο ΤΕ, attracted to the gender of *κράτος*, *valour which is the greatest sovereignty*. Cf. *ἢ θέμις ἐστὶ*, etc.

40. See A 561 for *δαιμόνιε* ('verblender,' Ameis). ἔλπεαι means simply *suppose*, see K 355.

ἄπτολέμους τ' ἔμεναι καὶ ἀνάλκιδας ὥς ἀγορεύεις ;  
 εἰ δέ τοι αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐπέσσεται ὥς τε νέεσθαι,  
 ἔρχεο· πᾶρ τοι ὁδός, νῆες δέ τοι ἄγχι θαλάσσης  
 ἐστᾶσ', αἶ τοι ἔποντο Μυκῆνηθεν μῖλα πολλὰ.  
 ἀλλ' ἄλλοι μενέουσι κάρη κομόωντες Ἀχαιοί, 45  
 εἰς ὃ κέ περ Τροίην διαπέρσομεν. εἰ δέ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 φευγόντων σὺν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν·  
 νῶϊ δ', ἐγὼ Σθένελός τε, μαχησόμεθ', εἰς ὃ κε τέκμωρ  
 Ἰλίου εὕρωμεν· σὺν γὰρ θεῶι εἰλήλουθμεν."  
 ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπίαχον νῆες Ἀχαιῶν, 50  
 μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμιοιο.  
 τοῖσι δ' ἀνιστάμενος μετεφώνεεν ἱππότητα Νέστωρ·  
 "Ὑδεῖδῃ, πέρι μὲν πολέμῳ ἐνὶ καρτερός ἐσσι,  
 καὶ βουλῇ μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας ἔπλεν ἄριστος·  
 οὐ τίς τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσεται, ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί, 55  
 οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει· ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἵκεο μῦθον.

41. τ' om. J. 42. τοι : τι L (supr. ο) PT (supr. ο). 43. ἄγχι θαλάσσης :  
 τινὲς ἀμφιέλισαι Δη. 44. ἀθ. Ar., om. T<sup>c</sup> (added in margin by *man.* 1). ||  
 ἔπονται JP. 45. ἀλλ' ἄλλοι : ἀλλά μοι C : ἀλλ' ἄλλοι μὲν G. 46. δια-  
 πέρσομεν : εὐπυργον ἔλωμεν G. || αὐτοὶ : οὗτοι Q. 49. γὰρ : δὲ J.  
 52. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε γερήνιος Δ<sup>m</sup>. || μετεφώνησεν Par. b. 53. πτολέμω  
 P. || ἔνι : ἐν A : ἐν H. 54. μετὰ : παρὰ T : περὶ Q. || ἔπλες L. 55.  
 τοι : σοι G. || ὀνόσσεται P (supr. ο). || ἀχαιῶν L (supr. οι) : ἄριστοι R. 56.  
 αὐτὰρ J. || μῦθον T (supr. ων).

42. ὥς τε goes with ἐπέσσεται : we should expect the simple infin. See note on Z 361, and cf. ρ 21, the only case in H. of ὥς τε in the sense 'so that' with infin. Here Lehrs would read ἀπονέεσθαι (Ar. 157). But the idea of comparison given by ὥστε is not entirely lost ; 'if thy heart is set, as though for going.'

44. Rejected by Ar. as interpolated merely to supply a verb, which is not required, in the last clause of 43.

46. It is possible to take εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι as a protasis, supplying φεύγειν ἐθέλουσι or the like from 42. See note on A 136. But the analogy of 262 εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν μὲν ἄκουσον is in favour of joining εἰ δὲ with φευγόντων (εἰ being exclamative as in εἰ δ' ἄγε), thus making νῶϊ δὲ begin the apodosis ; but come, let them too fly . . yet will we, etc. See note on A 302.

47. Diomedes bitterly repeats Agamemnon's words, l. 27.

48. τέκμωρ : see note on H 30.

49. εἰλήλουμεν refers of course to all the Achaeans.

51. This is the invariable result of a speech by Diomedes ; H 404, l. 711.

54. μετὰ πάντας ὁμήλικας must mean among all of *thine own age*, or there is no sense in the passage ; compare the very similar π 419. See also note on B 143. The peculiarity of these three passages is that there is no verb of motion, such as regularly precedes μετὰ in this sense ; H. G. § 195. Nauck conj. κατὰ.

55. ὀνόσσεται, make light of. Cf. Ω 439.

56. πάλιν ἐρέει, exactly = *gainsay* ; see Δ 357, and cf. Soph. Tr. 353 ἐμπαλιν λέγει. So Herod. i. 207 ἔχω γνώμην . . τὰ ἐμπαλιν ἢ οὔτοι. τέλος, you have not proceeded to the full issue of your words, i.e. you overthrew Agamemnon's proposal, but did not offer anything practical in its place.



ἦ μὴν καὶ νέος ἐσσί, ἐμὸς δέ κε καὶ πάϊς εἷης  
 ὀπλότατος γενεῇφιν· ἀτὰρ πεπνυμένα βάξεις  
 Ἀργείων βασιλῆας, ἐπεὶ κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐγών, ὃς σείο γεραίτερος εὐχομαι εἶναι, 60  
 ἐξείπω καὶ πάντα διύξομαι· οὐδέ κέ τίς μοι  
 μῦθον ἀτιμήσει, οὐδὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων.  
 ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος  
 ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος.  
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι νῦν μὲν πειθόμεθα νυκτὶ μελαίνῃ 65  
 δόρπά τ' ἐφοπλισόμεσθα· φυλακτῆρες δὲ ἕκαστοι

57. ΜΗΝ : ΜΕΝ Ar. King's<sup>sm</sup>. || ΔΕ ΚΕ ΚΑΙ : ΔΕ ΚΕ DGQT : ΔΕ ΚΑΙ JP : γὰρ R. 58. ὀπλότερος CDGPRST (γρ. ὀπλότατος) U, and γρ. A. 59. ἔειπας GT. 60. σοῖο P. 61. ΜΟΙ *supr.* ε (με) J. 62. ἀτιμήσαι C *supr. man. rec.* 63. ἐπὶ κείνος JR. 64. ὀκρυόεντος S Lips.<sup>1</sup> 65. ΜΕΝ ΝΥΝ T. 66. ἐφοπλισόμεσθα GQU : ἐφοπλιώμεσθα J : ἐφοπλιώμεσθα T. || φυλακτῆρας Ar.

57. ἦ ΜΗΝ καί: cf. B 291, 'yet I must admit that you are young,' an apology for the slight depreciation contained in the preceding clause. (Monro explains it as "and yet you are but young," serving to heighten the qualified praise of the preceding sentence.' He regards the clause ἀτὰρ οὐ . . μύθων as subordinate and parenthetical; whereas it really bears the whole emphasis, being thrown into strong contrast with what follows in 60 sqq.). Εἷης κε, potential opt., as far as years go, you might be my son, my youngest born.

58. For Βάξαι with double acc., meaning 'to speak words to a person,' cf. ἔπος τέ μιν ἀντίον ἡῦδα: see also note on Z 480, and perhaps Π 207. But line 59 is generally rejected by modern critics, after Bekker, as weakly tautological, and arising from a double reading ἀτὰρ πεπνυμένα βάξεις and ἐπεὶ κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.

61. ἔξείπω is used as simply equivalent to a future. Cf. A 262, X 418. ἐξ implies *fully*, as opposed to οὐ τέλος ἔκω, cf. ἀποειπεῖν 309.

63-4. The couplet means *banished from tribe and law and home*; i.e. unworthy to share any of the relations which formed the base of primitive Indo-European society, the clan, household worship, typified by the fire on the hearth, and community of θέμιστες or traditional law administered by the kings. The lines are quoted in Ar. *Pax* 1097 and expanded by Cicero *Phil.* xiii. 1; but it must be admitted that they are not very

well in place here. They should naturally introduce the conclusive proposal which Nestor has promised—viz. the reparation to Achilles. This, however, is unaccountably postponed till 112. It would seem that in the original connexion, when the whole scene was in the council, 106 followed 64 with some such intervening words as 'therefore let us hasten to put an end to this civil discord; for we have had nothing but disaster *since*' (ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ κτλ.). The speech has been split and divided between two scenes; in order to give Nestor credit as usual for military wisdom, he has to propose the appointment of the sentinels who will be needed in the next book. ΕΚΕΙΝΟΣ is a rare form for κείνος, recurring only A 653 in *Iliad* (all other places permit the immediate restoration of κείνος even where mss. give ἐκεῖνος), but more frequent in *Od.*; see van L. *Ench.* p. 267, La R. H. T. p. 247; τῇ ἐκεῖνος οὐ χρῆται ὁ ποιητής, εἰ μὴ ἀναγκασθῇ ὑπὸ μέτρου· οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος Schol. a 177.

64. ὀκρυόεντος, the κρυόεντος of l. 2; but here, as in Z 344 (q.v.), we ought to read ἐπιδημίου κρυόεντος. ἐπιδημίου is, of course, the emphatic word.

65. See H 282.

66. ἕκαστοι, *severally*, each at his own post. Ar. read φυλακτῆρας, when λεσάσων will = *let each* (chief) *choose* (λεγ-). The text must mean *let them lie down*, βιουαε (λεχ-). τεῖχος ἐκτός implies that the moat is at some distance from the wall. See on Θ 213.

λεξάσθων παρὰ τάφρον ὀρυκτὴν τείχεος ἐκτός.  
 κούροισιν μὲν ταῦτ' ἐπιτέλλομαι· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα,  
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ, σὺ μὲν ἄρχε· σὺ γὰρ βασιλεύτατός ἐσσι.  
 δαίνυ δαίτα γέρουσιν· ἔοικέ τοι, οὐ τοι αἰεκές. 70  
 πλείαι τοι οἴνου κλισίαι, τὸν νῆες Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἡμάτιαι Θρήικηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα πόντον ἄγουσι·  
 πᾶσά τοι ἔσθ' ὑποδεξίῃ, πολέεσσι δ' ἀνάσσεις.  
 πολλῶν δ' ἀγρομένων τῶι πείσει ὅς κεν ἀρίστην  
 βουλὴν βουλεύσῃ· μάλα δὲ χρεῶ πάντας Ἀχαιοὺς 75  
 ἐσθλῆς καὶ πυκινῆς, ὅτι δῆϊοι ἐγγύθι νηῶν  
 καίουσιν πυρὰ πολλά· τίς ἂν τάδε γηθήσειε;  
 νῦξ δ' ἥδ' ἡὲ διαρραΐσει στρατὸν ἡὲ σαώσει·”

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύον ἥδ' ἐπίθοντο·  
 ἐκ δὲ φυλακτῆρες σὺν τεύχεσιν ἐσσεύοντο 80  
 ἀμφί τε Νεστορίδην Θρασυμήδεα ποιμένα λαῶν  
 ἥδ' ἀμφ' Ἀσκάλαφον καὶ Ἰάλμενον υἱας Ἀρηος,  
 ἀμφί τε Μηριόνην Ἀφαρῆά τε Διίπυρόν τε,  
 ἥδ' ἀμφὶ Κρείοντος υἱὸν Λυκομήδεα δῖον.

67 *om.* T<sup>c</sup> (added in margin by *man.* 1). || δεξάσθων J. || παρὰ : περί S Par.  
 K, γρ. Δ. || ἐκτός : ἐντός Mor. 68. μὲν : μὲν οὖν J. 69. ἄρχε GU.  
 70. οὐ τοι : οὐτι CGJP Mosc. 3. 73. ὑποδεξίῃ A (and *ap.* Herod.). || πολέεσσι  
 Δ' : πόλεσιν γὰρ Ar. 75. βουλεύσει S Mor. Vr. b : βουλεύσει L. || χρεῶν PR<sup>2</sup>  
 (*in ras.*). 76. ὅτε (S *supr.*) Harl. d (and *ap.* Did.). 78. Δ' *om.* JPRTU. ||  
 διαραΐσει Ar. || ἡδὲ σαώσει Q.

68. κούροι, the *young* men opposed to γέρονται, 70. See note on A 114.

69. *cὺ μὲν ἄρχε, take thou the lead* (the 'initiative' in modern phrase) *for thou art the most royal of us.* Cf. l. 392. A dinner was the usual means of consultation between the chiefs; e.g. in *Od.*, η 189, ν 8, etc.; and compare γερούσιον οἶνον, Δ 259, 343.

72. ἡμάτιαι, *daily.* Gladstone thinks that these remarks of Nestor's allude to Achilles's taunts of avarice against Agamemnon in A. For the wine-ships cf. H 467.

73. *It is for thee to offer all hospitality, seeing thou art lord of many men.* For the long *ι* in ὑποδεξίῃ cf. App. D. A with Herodian ("ὥς Ἀργεῖῃ") gives ὑποδεξίῃ, which is perhaps right, though there is probably no other instance of this suffix, unless in ἐξέλις, which is no doubt a genitive. See Schulze *Q. E.* p. 293, who derives both from adjectival forms in -έλιος, from ὑπόδεξις, ἐξίς.

74. I.e. 'in the multitude of counsellors there is safety.'

75. χρεῶ with acc. and gen., as K 43, Λ 606. We may supply γίνεται, as δ 634, or ἐστίν, as Φ 323; but the original construction of the acc. is shewn by ε 189 *ὅτε με χρεῶ τόσον ἔκοι.* See also Eurip. *Hec.* 976 *τίς χρεῖα σ' ἐμοῦ;* The form χρεῶ with synizesis for χρεῶν may be right in a late passage; it recurs twice each in I, K, Λ, once in Σ and once in Φ. Of course it is always possible to read *χρή* with P. Knight.

77. For the constr. of *τάδε* cf. on Θ 378; the absence of the participle makes some difference, and assimilates this to ε 215 *μή μοι τόδε χῶεο.* But here, of course, the pronoun does not, as in most of such cases, represent any internal object. See *H. G.* § 133.

84. Lykomedes, who is barely mentioned three or four times again in the *Iliad*, was a more prominent character in the 'Cycle'; see Paus. x. 25. 6.

- ἔπτ' ἔσαν ἡγεμόνες φυλάκων, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἐκάστωι 85  
 κούροι ἄμ' ἔστειχον δολίχ' ἔγχεα χερσὶν ἔχοντες·  
 καὶ δὲ μέσον τάφρου καὶ τείχεος ἴζον ἰόντες·  
 ἔνθα δὲ πῦρ κείαντο, τίθεντο δὲ δόρπα ἕκαστοι.  
 Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ γέροντας ἀολλέας ἦγεν Ἀχαιῶν 90  
 ἐς κλισίην, παρὰ δέ σφι τίθει μενοεικέα δαῖτα·  
 οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱαλλον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 τοῖς ὁ γέρων πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο μῆτιν  
 Νέστωρ, οὗ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή·  
 ὃ σφιν ἐν φρονέων ἀγορήσατο καὶ μετέειπεν· 95  
 “Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύνιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
 ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι, οὐνεκα πολλῶν  
 λαῶν ἐσσι ἄναξ καὶ τοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε  
 σκήπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βουλευήσῃθα.  
 τῷ σε χρὴ πέρι μὲν φάσθαι ἔπος ἠδ' ἐπακοῦσαι, 100

85. ἔσαν : ἔασαν P. 86. ἅμα στείχον Ar. 87. ἀχαιοὶ R (ἰόντες R<sup>m</sup>).  
 88. κή(ι)αντο GT (L *supr.*). || τίοντο T. || δόρπα Ar. PQ Par. c g j (*supr.* ON) :  
 δαῖτα Zen. : δόρπον Ω. || ἕκαστοι (Ar. ?) PQ Par. g : εἰλίαν Zen. : ἕκαστος Ω.  
 89. ἀολλέας : ἀριστεάς Ar. : ἀριστηάς Q Par. e : ἀοπλέας J. 93. πάμπρωτος Q.  
 95. ὃ : ὅς GJPQ. 97. εἵνεκα P. 98. ἐγγυάλιζε J. 99. ἠδὲ : ἠὲ S.  
 100. ἐπακοῦσαι : ἐσακοῦσαι Q : ἀκοῦσαι G : ἀκουσαι J : γρ. ὑποθέσθαι OU.

87. This is the most distinct reference to the space between moat and trench; see Θ 213.

88. ἕκαστοι, sc. each body; so 66.

94. καὶ πρόσθεν, of old, not with any particular reference.

97. μὲν . . . δέ, virtually as *I shall end with thee, so will I begin with thee*. In other words, Nestor begins his speech in the usual style of an appeal to a god, because a king is the representative of Zeus. So Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 11 *A te principium, tibi desinet*. He seems anxious to prove that he wishes to address Agamemnon in his official capacity, not as a private friend, so he begins in this formal way.

99. See A 238, B 206. Θέμιστες, dooms, a primitive form of our 'common law'; a recognized body of principles and customs which had grown up in practice, and on which the simple litigation of an early age could be settled. They were handed down traditionally in the governing families till they had attained a fixed

form, and hence were regarded as definite things which Zeus entrusted to kings to protect from harm. The *ius praetorium* at Rome consisted of a body of such θέμιστες reduced to writing. The σκῆπτρον indicates the right, probably, of political action, the 'executive' as opposed to the 'judicial' function. Hence the use of the sceptre to delegate the right of speaking in the ἀγορή. σφίσι, for the laoi. For βουλευήσῃθα after aor. see A 158.

100. περί, more than others shouldst thou speak thy thought and hearken, ye and fulfil even another man's advice (as well as thine own) whenever (or reading ὅ τ', whatever) any man's mind bids him speak for good (for εἰς ἀγαθόν cf. Δ 789, Ψ 305); for whatever any doth begin will hinge on thee; i.e. do not be prejudiced against any advice because it is given by other people—the credit of carrying it out will revert to you. Cf. λ 346 Ἀλκινόου δ' ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔχεται ἔργον τε ἔπος τε, and so ζ 197; *Hymn.* xxx. 6 σεῦ δ' ἔχεται δοῦναι βίον ἠδ' ἀφελέσθαι.

κρηῆναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλωι, ὅτ' ἂν τινα θυμὸς ἀνώγη  
εἰπεῖν εἰς ἀγαθόν· σέο δ' ἔξεταί ὅττι κεν ἄρχει.  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα.  
οὐ γάρ τις νόον ἄλλος ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοήσει,  
οἷον ἐγὼ νοέω, ἡμὲν πάλαι ἡδ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν, 105  
ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ ὅτε, διογενές, Βρισηΐδα κούρην  
χωομένου Ἀχιλῆος ἔβης κλισίῃθεν ἀπούρας  
οὐ τι καθ' ἡμέτερόν γε νόον. μάλα γάρ τοι ἐγὼ γε  
πόλλ' ἀπεμυθεόμην· σὺ δὲ σῶι μεγαλήτορι θυμῶι  
εἷξας ἄνδρα φέριστον, ὃν ἀθάνατοί περ ἔτισαν, 110  
ἡτίμησας· ἐλὼν γὰρ ἔχεις γέρας. ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
φραζώμεσθ' ὥς κέν μιν ἀρεσσάμενοι πεπύθωμεν  
δώροισιν τ' ἀγανοῖσιν ἔπεσσί τε μελιχίοισι.”  
τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
“ὦ γέρον, οὐ τι ψεύδος ἐμὰς ἄτας κατέλεξας. 115  
ἁσάμην, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀναίνομαι. ἀντί νυ πολλῶν  
λαῶν ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ὃν τε Ζεὺς κῆρι φιλήσῃ,  
ὥς νῦν τοῦτον ἔτισε, δάμασσε δὲ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν.  
ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἁσάμην φρεσὶ λευγαλέησι πιθήσας,

101. θυμὸν L. || ἀνώγει Vr. b: ἀνώγοι Cram. An. Par. iii. 235. 104.  
ἄλλον CHRU, γρ. A Harl. a. || ἀμύμονα Lips.<sup>1</sup> || νοήσῃ P: νοῆσαι T. 105.  
ἐγὼν ἐρέω Q. 106. ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΣ C (D *supr.*) T (*supr.* εὐς): ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΥ P: ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ  
G Vr. b: ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΥΣ Ω (γρ. C Eust. and Schol. AD). 109. ἀΠΟΜΥΘΕΟΜΗΝ P: γρ.  
ἐΠΕΜΥΘΕΟΜΗΝ Schol. A. 112. ἀρεσσόμενοι A *supr.* || ΠΕΠΙΘΩΜΕΝ Ar. (A *supr.*)  
D: ΠΕΠΙΘΟΙΜΕΝ Ω. 116. ΝΥ: ΓΕ G. 117. ΦΙΛΗΣΕΙ CGJ (L *supr.*) Q Vr. b<sup>1</sup>.  
118. ἔΤΙΣΕΝ ὅΛΕΣΣΕ A (γρ. ἔΤΙΣΕ ΔΑΜΑΣΣΕ). 119. ΛΕΥΓΑΛΕΟΙ GJQ Cant. || After  
this line Διοσκοουρίδης ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῆς added ἢ οἴκῳ μεσῶν ἢ μ' ἐβλαψαν  
θεοὶ αὐτοί (Athen. i. 11; Eust. places the line after T 137).

106. ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ ὅτε, *ever since the time when*. The best mss. and scholia read *διογενεὺς* (agreeing with Ἀχιλλῆος); this can hardly be right, but in any case the order of the words is very harsh. Brandreth's ὅτε χωόμενος Br. κ. διογενεὺς Ἀχ. is very attractive.

107. χωομένου, *in spite of his wrath*. Ἀχ. is genitive after κλισίῃθεν. ἔβης ἀπούρας, much as we should say 'you went and took'; though Agamemnon did not literally go himself, but only in the person of his representatives, the heralds. See A 323, 356, T 89.

109. ἀπεμυθεόμην, *dissuaded*, A 254 sqq. Al. ἐπεμυθεόμην. Neither compound recurs in H.

110. ἀθάνατοί περ, *the very immortals*. ἔτισαν, sc. by permitting the defeat of the Achaeans at his request. Observe

the strong contrast into which ἔτισαν and ἡτίμησας are brought by their position.

115. οὐ ψεύδος is in a sort of predicative apposition with ἄτας, or, if the phrase be considered more explanatory, the accus. is 'adverbial.' Cf. Δ 155 θάνατόν νύ τοι ὄρκι' ἔταμνον, η 297 ταῦτα . . ἀληθεῖν κατέλεξα. Thou *speakest of my infatuation* (so as to be) *not a falsehood*, i.e. thou truly relatest. So in mod. Greek τὸ λῆς (= λέγεις) ψεύματα, 'what you say is lies.' For Agamemnon's ἀτη see l. 18, and for ἁσάμην Θ 237, T 91. Erhardt's conj. κατέλεξας is ingenious but not needed.

116. ἀντί, *as good as*, worth, many hosts. See on Θ 163.

119. λευγαλέοι, *sorry, wretched*, a term of contempt (cf. β 61 λευγαλέοι τ')



ἄψ' ἐθέλω ἀρέσαι δόμεναί τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα. 120  
 ὑμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι περικλυτὰ δῶρ' ὀνομήνω,  
 ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,  
 αἴθωνας δὲ λέβητας εἴκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους  
 πηγούς ἀθλοφόρους, οἳ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο.  
 οὐ κεν ἀλήϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ ὧι τόσσα γένοιτο, 125  
 οὐδέ κεν ἀκτῆμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο,  
 ὅσά μοι ἠνείκαντο ἀέθλια μώνυχες ἵπποι.  
 δώσω δ' ἑπτὰ γυναικας ἀμύμονα ἔργ' εἰδυίας,  
 Λεσβίδας, ἃς, ὅτε Λέσβον ἐκτιμένην ἔλεν αὐτός,  
 ἐξελόμην, αἱ κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν. 130  
 τὰς μὲν οἱ δώσω, μετὰ δ' ἔσσεται ἦν τότ' ἀπηύρων,  
 κούρην Βρισηὸς· καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι

124. ἀελοφόρους QR. || ἄροντο : ἄγοντο L. 127. ὅς' ἐμοὶ L: ὅς' ἐμοὶ  
 P. || ἠνείκαντο GJP (ἠνείκαντο P<sup>m</sup>) Q Cant. : \*\*\*κάντο (ἠνείγ in ras.) R.  
 128. ἀμύμονας (Ar. ? see Ludw.) JPQRS Harl. a, King's Par. a c d f g j. || ἔργα H.  
 129. εὐκτιμένην G. 130. ἐξ ἐλόμην Zen. || πάσαν ἐπ' αἴαν D<sup>1</sup> (γρ. φύλα  
 γυναικῶν). 131. ἦν ποτ' Lips. || ἀπηύρων JU. 132. κούρη Ar. [C] P Ven.  
 B, Vr. b. || καὶ ἐπὶ : ἐπὶ δὲ Ar.

ἐσόμεθα καὶ οὐ δεδαηκότες ἀλκῆν); lit.  
 'lamentable,' λυγρός, *lug-ro*.

120. ἄψ, *retro* retracing my steps;  
 cf. πάλιν ἐρέει 56. ἀρέσαι, *to conciliate*,  
 satisfy him, as 112.

122. ἄπυρος was explained (1) not  
 meant for use, but only for ornament,  
 ἀναθηματικός as opposed to ἐμπυριβήτης,  
 Ψ 702; (2) new, not yet discoloured by  
 being put upon the fire. See Ψ 267 and  
 270, where the ἐτι (λευκὸν ἔτ' αὖτως) seems  
 decisive in favour of the second explana-  
 tion. For the value of the talent of  
 gold cf. Ψ 262-9, where two are worth  
 less than a λέβης, and note on Σ 507.

124. πηγούς, strong, lit. *compact*, so  
 ε 388 κύματι πηγῶι, and Γ 197 πηγασί-  
 μαλλος. ἀελοφόρους: see on H 453.

125. *Not without booty would that man  
 be, and not unpossessed of precious gold,  
 that owned as much as my strong-footed  
 horses won me in prizes.* I.e. the mere  
 prizes I have won in races would form a  
 large fortune for any man. Ridgeway  
 has shewn (*J.H.S.* vi. 328) that ἀλήϊος  
 comes from λῆϊς, and has nothing to do  
 with λῆϊον, which means 'crop' or *standing*  
 corn, not corn-land; several prizing in  
 land is confined in the *Iliad* to the τέμενος  
 βασιλῆϊον, while there are indications that  
 the 'common-field' system still prevailed  
 (see on M 421). ἀλήϊος and ἀκτῆμων,

like πολυκτῆμων πολυλήϊος in E 613, are  
 evidently to be explained from ληϊστοὶ  
 μὲν γάρ τε βόες . . κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδες in  
 I 406; they represent the two primitive  
 methods of acquiring wealth, plunder  
 and trade, which in Homeric times  
 flourished with equal rights. The  
 insertion of 126 between τόσσα and ὅσσα  
 is awkward; Bentley and P. Knight  
 rejected the line on this ground.  
 Brandreth adds that the final -οιο  
 is nowhere else found *in arsi* (?).

128. ἔργ' εἰδυίας: more correctly ἔργα  
 ἰδυίας, but there is nothing to shew that,  
 in a late book like this, the form with  
 F was ever written. Cf. on A 365.

129. αὐτός, Achilles, who was *himself*  
 their captor; Ag. will not name him  
 (τοῦτον 118, οἱ 131, μὲν 142).

130. ἐξελόμην, chose as my γέρας ἐξαι-  
 ρετόν. In this book the chief seems to  
 apportion the γέρας to himself, whereas  
 in A it is the gift of the army; see 330-3  
 compared with A 162, 299, and II 56:  
 The imperf. ἐνίκων refers back to the  
 time of the choice.

131. μετά, *with them*, i.e. in addition.  
 See T 245.

132. There is little to choose between  
 κούρην and κούρη: the latter is more  
 logical, but the acc. is very natural after  
 ἦν.

μή ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἥδ' ἐ μιγῆναι,  
 ἢ θέμις ἀνθρώπων πέλει, ἀνδρῶν ἥδ' ἐ γυναικῶν.  
 ταῦτα μὲν αὐτίκα πάντα παρέσσεται· εἰ δέ κεν αὖτε 135  
 ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο θεοὶ δώωσ' ἀλαπάξαι,  
 νῆα ἄλις χρυσοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ νηησάσθω  
 εἰσελθὼν ὅτε κεν δατεώμεθα ληΐδ' Ἀχαιοί,  
 Τρωϊάδας δὲ γυναικάς ἐείκοσιν αὐτὸς ἐλέσθω,  
 αἶ κε μετ' Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην κάλλισται ἔωσιν. 140  
 εἰ δέ κεν Ἀργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαιικόν, οὐθαρ ἀρούρης,  
 γαμβρός κέν μοι ἔη· τίσω δέ μιν ἴσον Ὀρέστηι,  
 ὅς μοι τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλίῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ.  
 τρεῖς δέ μοι εἰσὶ θύγατρες ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ ἐνπῆκτωι,  
 Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα. 145

136. δῶς Bar. || ἐσαλαπάξαι G Bar. Vr. b. 137. χαλκοῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ O Harl. a, Vr. c, Mosc. 3. 138. ἀχαιῶν H. 140. κε : τε JS. || ἐνιοι ὑποτάσσουσι τῇν γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐγὼ δώσω ξάνῳι μενελάῳι An. 141. ἀχαϊκὸν CGJPQRS. 142. ΚΕΝ : ΜΕΝ Cant. || ἔη(i) R Vr. b, Eust. : ἔει J : ἔοι Ω. 144. οὐατέρεσ CP Lips. || ἐνὶμεγάρῳ(i) CS.

133. τᾶς, *of her*: genitive after εὐνᾶς. So T 176. Brandreth (and van Herwerden) conj. ἧς, cf. A 763. But the reflexive pron. would be wrong here (App. A).

134. This line is divided by the comma after πέλει into two equal parts; a rhythm for which there is no complete parallel in *Iliad*, for in A 154 the elision perhaps helps to bridge the gap. Here the fact that ἀνθρώπων and ἀνδρῶν are in apposition may be an excuse, as the comma really divides conventionally an indivisible phrase. So λ 260 τὴν δὲ μέτ' Ἀντιόπην ἴδον, Ἀσωποῖο θύγατρα, and *ibid.* 266. But the other *Odyssean* instance, γ 34, does not admit of this alleviation. Cf. A 53, and notice the difference produced by the slight change in l. 276.

135. αὐτίκα, *at the moment*; αὖτε, *hereafter*. παρέσσεται, as A 213.

137. ἄλις, adverbial; it does not take a gen. after it in H.; see Φ 319. χρυσοῦ is gen. after νηησάσθω, which has the construction of verbs of 'filling with' anything, regarded as taking *from* a source.

138. εἰσελθὼν, *entering in*, i.e. taking his part among us, just as we speak colloquially of 'coming in for a share.' This seems better than the alternative 'entering into the conquered city.'

139. αὐτός, i.e. like the commander-in-chief, as opposed to the assignment by lot to the rest of the army.

141. εἴ κεν with opt. expressing the remoter possibility, 'if as a further step' (*H. G.* § 313); cf. A 60, etc. οὐσαρ ἀρούρης, *udder of the soil*, τὸ τρόφιμον τῆς γῆς (Sch. B), a bold metaphor recurring only in 283 and *Hymn. Cer.* 450 (and *Aristoph. fr.* 162 λιπαρὸν δάπεδον, οὐθαρ ἀγαθῆς χθονός). It is imitated by Virgil, *liber agri, ubere glebae*, *Aen.* i. 531, iii. 164 (*μαστός*=*hillock* in Pindar *P.* iv. 8 is of course essentially different).

142. ἔη for the vulg. ἔοι is indispensable here, where the tone of confident promise is required. It follows the prot. with opt. as A 386, etc. (so fut. indic. K 222?). Cf. 388 below.

143. τηλύγετος: Γ 175. This is the only mention of Orestes in *Il.*

145. Iphianassa seems here to be identical with Iphigeneia, whose death at Aulis is ignored in H. But according to the *Kypria* Agamemnon had four daughters, Iphigeneia and Iphianassa being distinct. This legend is followed by Soph. *El.* 157 οἱ Χρυσόθεμις ζῶει καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα (see Jebb ad loc.). Laodike was identified with Elektra by Stesichoros and his predecessor Xanthos (Jebb *Electra* p. xix.).

τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλῃσι φίλην ἀνάεδνον ἀγέσθω  
 πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσω  
 πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσ' οὐ πώ τις ἔη ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί.  
 ἔπτα δέ οἱ δώσω ἐν ναίόμενα πτολίεθρα,  
 Καρδαμύλην Ἐνόπην τε καὶ Ἴρην ποιήεσαν,  
 Φηράς τε Ζαθέας ἧδ' Ἀνθειαν βαθύλειμον,  
 καλήν τ' Αἴπειαν καὶ Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσαν.  
 πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλός, νέαται Πύλου ἡμαθέντος·  
 ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβούται,

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146. κ' om. G. 147. ἐπὶ μείλια Alexio QU: ἐπιμείλια Ar. Ω. 149. οἱ: τοι J. 150. καρδαμύλην Q: καρδαλύμην J. || ἐνόπτην R. || ἱέρην P. 153. νέαται Ar. Ω: ναίεται QRU: κέαται Apollon. H (e corr.) Harl. a: ναίεται J: γρ. νάεται A. 154. ἐν δ': ἐνε' G. || πολύρρηνες Ar. T: πολλύρρην\*\* L (supr. οι).

146. φίλην, *his own*; A 167. ἀνάεδνον: no doubt a wrong form for ἀν-έδνον (Bentley), prob. by confusion with \*ἄ-εδνος, from the simple *ἔδνα*. In N 366 there is some slight ms. authority for ἀνέδνον. — There is no doubt that the original and dominant meaning of the word *ἔδνα* or *ἔδνα* in H. is *bride-price*, a sum paid by the suitor to the parents of the bride; for, as Aristotle says of the primitive Greeks, *τὰς γυναῖκας ἐκδιδόντες παρ' ἀλλήλων* (Pol. ii. 5). (See A 243, N 366, 381, II 178, Σ 593, X 472, θ 318.) This custom, almost universal in an early state of society when women are no longer seized by force, gave way in time to the *dowry* given by her parents to the bride. There was an intermediate stage, well attested for the Germans by Tacitus (*Germ.* 18), in which the *ἔδνα* are given to the bride by the husband, and may be increased by gifts from her parents: *dotem non uxori marito, sed uxori maritus offert. Intersunt parentes et propinqui, ac munera probant . . . In hac munera uxor accipitur, atque in vicem ipsa armorum aliquid viro adfert*. It seems that this is the stage indicated in the present passage (cf. also § 159). Agamemnon may of course mean 'instead of selling my daughter to him I will pay him to take her'; but the use of *μείλια* looks as though it were a technical term implying presents regularly given by the bride's father, as by Altes when marrying Laothoe to Priam, X 51 — a practice inconsistent, of course, with purchase pure and simple. In modern language Agamemnon says, 'he need not

settle anything on my daughter (ἀνάεδνον), and I will give a greater dowry than was ever known.' In one or two late passages of the *Od.* (a 278, β 197) the final stage, in which the *ἔδνα* are a dowry given by her parents to the bride, has been reached. (See an excellent discussion of the whole question in Causer *Grundr.* 187–97, and for a narrower view Cobet *M. C.* 239 ff.) The word *μείλια* does not recur before Ap. Rhod. and Kallimachos, who use it in the general sense of *presents*. Ar. read *ἐπιμείλια* on the analogy of *ἐπιφέρνια*, but *ἐπέδωκε* in 148 is decisively in favour of taking *ἐπιδώσω* together, 'I will give in with her.'

150. None of these towns are mentioned in the Catalogue. Kardamyle (see Frazer *Paus.* iii. p. 401) still retains its name; for Pherai see on E 543. The others were identified by Strabo and Pausanias with various towns in Messenia, but with no pretence at more than guess work. How the district comes to be at Agamemnon's disposal we are not told; it should naturally belong either to Menelaos, or, as the mention of Pylos — here evidently the Messenian — would lead us to suppose, to Nestor.

153. νέαται, the lowest, i.e. extreme, outermost towns of Pylos. So A 712, and see note on E 539. Ar. strangely took the word as a verb = *ναίονται*, as though from a non-existent *νείμαι*, which involves the necessity of joining ἀλὸς Πύλου, 'the sea of Pylos,' which is not a Homeric phrase. Of course the same objection applies to the variant *κέαται*.

οἳ κέ ἐ δωτίνησι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσουσι 155  
καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ σκήπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.  
ταῦτά κέ οἱ τελέσαιμι μεταλήξαντι χόλοιο.  
δημηθήτω—'Αἶδης τοι ἀμείλιχος ἦδ' ἀδάμαστος·  
τύνεκα καὶ τε βροτοῖσι θεῶν ἔχθιστος ἀπάντων—  
καὶ μοι ὑποστήτω, ὅσσον βασιλεύτερός εἰμι 160  
ἦδ' ὅσσον γενεῇ προγενέστερος εὐχομαι εἶναι.”  
τὸν δ' ἡμέιβετ' ἔπειτα Γερῆνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ·  
“Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
δῶρα μὲν οὐκέτ' ὀνοστὰ διδοῖς Ἀχιλῆϊ ἀνακτι·  
ἀλλ' ἄγετε, κλητοὺς ὀτρύνομεν, οἳ κε τάχιστα 165  
ἔλθωσ' ἐς κλισίην Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.  
εἰ δ' ἄγε, τοὺς ἂν ἐγὼ ἐπιόψομαι, οἳ δὲ πιθέσθων.

155. ΚΕ : καὶ GJPR<sup>2</sup>. || τιμῇσονται Ar. Q : τίσουσι T. 156. τελέουσι Vr. b.  
157. ΚΕ : καὶ C<sup>1</sup>DGHJPRQT. μεταλήξαντι Ar. Ω : μεταλάξαντι H : μεταλ-  
λήσαντι AC. 158. ΔΗΜΗΘΗΤΩ Zen. Aph. 159. ΤΕ : ΓΕ G : ΤΙ  
Mor. || φησὶν ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος ὅτι ἐνιοὶ ὑποτάσσουσι τοῦτοι οὐνεκ' ἐπεὶ κε λάβησι  
πέλωρ (Λάβησις ἔλωρ Nauck) ἔχει, οὐδ' ἀνίσχιν, οὐκ εἶναι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον Did.  
165. κλειτοὺς C<sup>1</sup>GJPR<sup>2</sup>RS Vr. b c A, Mosc. 3 : κλυτοὺς P<sup>1</sup>. 167. τοῦσδ' ἂν J. ||  
ἐγὼ Ar. Ω : ἐγὼν CQR. || οἳ : τοῖ C (γρ. οἶδε) P.

155. ΔΩΤΙΝΑΙ, *free gifts* (perhaps not unlike the 'benevolences' of English history). ΚΕ goes with fut. indic. because the event spoken of is regarded as contingent upon Achilles' acceptance.

156. ΛΙΠΑΡΑΣ ΤΕΛΕΟΥΣΙ ΘΕΜΙΣΤΑΣ, *will fulfil his pleasant ordinances*. For this use of ΛΙΠΑΡΟΣ cf. γῆρας λιπαρὸν in *Od.*, a happy old age, λ 136, δ 210, etc. Perhaps λιπαρὰς should be taken predicatively, *will bring his ordinances to prosperous fulfilment*, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλευόμενοι εἰρηνικῶς βιώνονται, Schol. A. Others explain *will pay rich dues*, λιπαροὺς φόρους τελέουσιν: but it seems impossible to reconcile this with the very definite Homeric use of θέμιστας.

158. ΔΗΜΗΘΗΤΩ, *let him be overcome*. Hades I wcen yields neither to prayer nor violence (μῆνος θεῶν γὰρ θάνατος οὐ δῶρων ἐραῖ, Aisch. fr. Niobe), for which very cause he is most hateful to men of all gods. The τε in 159 is gnomic or generalizing.

160. See 69, A 279. ὙΠΟΣΤΗΤΩ, *submit himself*, a unique use. The verb elsewhere always means undertake, promise.

161. ΓΕΝΕΗΙ, *in age*; = γενεήφιν, 58.

164. ΟὐΚΕΤΙ, *no longer*, i.e. your presents have passed the point at which they could be lightly esteemed (Ameis). But Nestor is really looking back to a time when Agamemnon was offering, not insufficient presents, but nothing at all. The expression he uses is very courteous, but shews which way his thoughts are running. ΔΙΔΟΙΣ, rather *δίδω*s: cf. on E 880; but διδοῖ l. 519, δ 237, ρ 350, διδοῖσθα T 270.

167. ΕΠΙΟΨΟΜΑΙ (fut. or perhaps rather aor. subj., see on E 212), *whomsoever I choose, let them be persuaded to go*. The step by which ἐφορᾶν gets the meaning of selection is that of passing in review, inspecting, a number of things; see β 294 τῶν (νῆων) ἐπιόψομαι ἢ τις ἀρίστη, so we say 'to look out' a thing. ΤΟΥΣ ἄν=οὓς ἂν, with δέ in *apodosis*. This is, however, not the Homeric use of the relative ὁ (*H. G.* § 262). But if we take it as a demonstrative, *these men will I choose, and let them be persuaded*, the ἂν is quite otiose. Hence van Herwerden conj. μὲν for ἂν, Brandreth ἀρ. Notice also the hiatus in ἐπιόψομαι. Brandreth writes ἐπιόψομαι, referring the word to *Εὐψ*, *Εὐόσομαι*, *eos sane ego*



Φοῖνιξ μὲν πρῶτιστα δίφιλος ἡγησάσθω,  
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' Αἴας τε μέγας καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
κηρύκων δ' Ὀδῖος τε καὶ Εὐρυβάτης ἅμ' ἐπέσθω.  
φέρτε δὲ χερσὶν ὕδωρ, ἐνφημῆσαι τε κέλεσθε,  
ὄφρα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ ἀρησόμεθ', αἶ κ' ἐλεήσει."

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ὥς φάτο, τοῖσι δὲ πᾶσιν ἑαδότα μῦθον ἔειπεν.  
αὐτίκα κήρυκες μὲν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἔχεναν,  
κοῦροι δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο,  
νόμησαν δ' ἄρα πᾶσιν ἐπαρξάμενοι δεπάεσσιν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σπείσαν τε πῖον θ' ὅσον ἤθελε θυμός,  
ὥρμῶντ' ἐκ κλισίης Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο.  
τοῖσι δὲ πόλλ' ἐπέτελλε Γερῆμιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ,

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170. δ' Ὀδῖος τε: δὲ δῖος JR. || ἐπέσθω DU (and γρ. Schol. A). 171.  
τε: δὲ CDPR: γε G. || κέλευσε U. 172. κρονίῳ (D *supr.*) J. || ἀρεσσώμεσθ'  
J: ἀρεσσάμεσθ' H. || ἐλεήσει L (*supr.* οι). 173. εὐμὸν P (γρ. μῦθον). 174.  
ἐπὶ: ὑπο U. 177. σπείσαν τε πῖον Q: σπείσαντε πῖον PT: σπείσαν τ' ἐπὶόν  
Ω. 178. ὁρμῶντ' Q.

*addicam*. This, however, does not suit the Homeric ὁσομαι nor explain προτιόσσομαι with similar hiatus. *ἐγωγε ἐπύθομαι* van Herw.

168. It has been pointed out in the Introduction that Phoinix is evidently a late-comer into the story. He is introduced with surprising abruptness; no explanation is given of his presence in the council, where he never appears again; his proper place would seem, from the sequel, to be with Achilles. From 168 to 432 he is entirely ignored, except for a passing reference in 223—line where he seems to be treated by Odysseus with singularly scant courtesy. The consistent use of the dual in speaking of the envoys in 182-98 naturally puzzled the ancient critics. Two explanations were offered—one, that the dual was identical in sense with the plural, a theory which is well known to have been held by Zenodotus; the other, that of Aristarchos, that Phoinix was not one of the envoys, but was sent beforehand to prepare for their coming afterwards (*ἐπειτα* 169). The former is naturally untenable (see on A 567, E 487); the latter, even if we admit that the departure of Phoinix could be passed over in silence, is refuted by the surprise with which Achilles receives the envoys (193). The only acceptable alternative is to regard the whole speech of Phoinix

(432-622) as an episode taken from some different but doubtless similar context, and adapted to the original story, in which Aias and Odysseus were the only envoys, by some probably slight alterations of the text here, in 223 and 622. Here as elsewhere we have good reason to be grateful for the conservatism which has preserved us the original dual.

170. For Eurybates see A 320, B 184. Ar. remarked that of the two namesakes the herald of Odysseus must, for obvious diplomatic reasons, be the one meant here—unless, as is more likely, the poet looked on Eurybates as a merely typical name for a herald. Of Odios we hear no more.

171. *ἐνφημᾶσαι*, whether it means *keep silence* (*favete linguis*) or *speak words of good omen*, involves a ritual sense elsewhere unknown in H. *ἐπενφημῆσαι* in A 22, 376 is quite different (*assent*).

173. *ἑαδότα* recurs as an adj. *agrecable* in σ 422 (the same line). There is no other instance of the perf. of *ἀνδάνω* in H. Cf. however *FeFadhōta* = *placita* in a Lokrian inscr. (Collitz 1478. 39). Ap. Rhod. is naturally fond of using *εαδα*.

174-7 = φ 270-3; 174-6 = γ 338-40; 175-6 = A 470-1. Here as usual the drinking is separate from the eating, and has a distinctly religious character.

δενδύλλων ἐς ἕκαστον, Ὀδυσσῆϊ δὲ μάλιστα, 180  
πειρᾶν ὡς πεπιθοῖεν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.

τὼ δὲ βάτην παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,  
πολλὰ μάλ' εὐχομένῳ γαιήοχῳ ἐννοσιγαίῳ  
ῥηϊδίῳ πεπιθεῖν μεγάλας φρένας Αἰακίδαο.  
Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθην, 185  
τὸν δ' εὔρον φρένα τερπόμενον φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ,  
καλῇ δαιδαλέῃ, ἐπὶ δ' ἀργύρεον ζυγὸν ἦεν,  
τὴν ἄρετ' ἐξ ἐνάρων, πόλιν Ἡετίωνος ὀλέσσας·  
τῇ ὅ γε θυμὸν ἔτερπεν, αἶδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.  
Πάτροκλος δέ οἱ οἶος ἐναντίος ἦστο σιωπῇ, 190  
δέγμενος Αἰακίδην, ὅποτε λήξειεν αἶδων.

180. ὀδυσσα P. 181. πειρᾶν δ' Q. 183. εὐχομένῳ *supr.* οι Lips. Vr. A.  
184. αἰγίοχοιο D (*supr.* ακίδαο). 185. κλισίην J. || ἵκοντο CGT Harl. a (γρ.  
ἰκέσθην), and γρ. A. 187. ἀργύρεος *zugos* R Par. c e f g h k, Eust. 189.  
δ' ἄρα : δὲ Q. || κλέος Vr. b. 190. ἐναντίον ST. 191. δέγμενος : γρ. καὶ  
δεχόμενος διὰ τοῦ χ A. || ὀπότεν RS. || αἶδειν H.

180. **δενδύλλων**, *διανεύων τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς* Sch. A ; a word recurring only in Ap. Rhod. and (acc. to the schol.) in Soph. The line is probably part of the Phoenix interpolation, as **ἕκαστον** (note the *F* neglected) strictly implies at least three. But metrical necessity may excuse the use of it for *ἐκάτερον*.

181. **πειρᾶν** with **ἐπέτελλε**, *exegetic of πολλά*.

183. Poseidon is both chief patron of the Achaian cause, and lord of the element by which they are walking. **ἐννοσίγαιος**, probably for *ἐν-Φοσι-γαιος*, root *Foh* of *ὠθέω*, Skt. *vadh* to smite ; so *ἐν-(F)οσι-χθων* : either because Poseidon is the lord of earthquakes, or simply because the waves of the sea are for ever beating the land. **γαιήοχος**, perhaps originally *supp'ring the earth*, regarded as floating in the sea. But more probably it means simply *girdling the earth*, cf. Soph. *O. C.* 1072. In Aisch. *Supp.* 816, Soph. *O. T.* 160 it comes to mean *guardian of (a special) land*, and is used of Zeus and Artemis, like **πολιοῦχος**, **πολισσοῦχος**. It has been proposed to take it as meaning *rejoicing in chariots*. But in that case the *η* could not be explained, and the close connexion with *ἐννοσίγαιος* forbids ; for it is much more likely that a somewhat tautological expression should be used than that the stem *γαι* should be habitually used in

two adjacent words in two quite different senses. However, we must remember that with epithets of gods we are on especially doubtful ground, as we can never be sure that the Greeks attached any very definite meaning to hieratic words whose sense may even to them have been lost in antiquity.

184. **μεγάλας**, *proud* ; so *μεγαλήτορι*, 109.

186. This is the only case in the *Iliad* where we find music among men ; the concert in A 603 is heavenly. The exigencies of war may perhaps account for the fact that the *Iliad* knows nothing of the *δοῖδοι*, who are so prominent in *Od.* Cf. on B 595.

187. *The cross-bar thereon was of silver*. The **ζυγόν** was the bar, joining the two horns of the lyre, to which the strings were fastened by the pegs (*φ* 407 *κόλλοπες*). The form *ζυγός* was apparently preferred by the scholiasts, but is not strongly attested by the mss., though not uncommon in later Greek. Cf. N 706, II 470, and particularly Ω 269.

188. The 'city of Eetion' was Thebe, whence Briseis had come, A 366.

189. **κλέα**, i.e. *κλέε'(α)* (so P. Knight) ; *fames*, famous deeds, as 524, θ 73.

191. **δέγμενος** : see B 794. **Αἰακίδην** is taken proleptically from the rel. clause.

τὼ δὲ βάτην προτέρω, ἡγεῖτο δὲ διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς,  
στὰν δὲ πρόσθ' αὐτοῖο· ταφῶν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς  
αὐτῇ σὺν φόρμιγγι, λιπὼν ἔδος ἔνθα θάασσεν.

ὥς δ' αὐτως Πάτροκλος, ἐπεὶ ἶδε φῶτας, ἀέστη.

195

τὼ καὶ δεικνύμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·

“χαίρετον· ἦ φίλοι ἄνδρες ἰκάνετον, ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ,  
οἳ μοι σκυζομένωι περ Ἀχαιῶν φιλάτω ἐστόν.”

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας προτέρω ἄγε διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς,

εἶσεν δ' ἐν κλισμοῖσι τάπησί τε πορφυρέοισιν·

200

αἶψα δὲ Πάτροκλον προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς εὐντα·

“μείζονα δὴ κρητῆρα, Μενoitίου νιέ, καθίστα,

ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε, δέπας δ' ἔντυνον ἐκάστωι·

194. θάασκεν Vr. b<sup>2</sup>: θάηκεν S: θαάεσσαν Q: κάθητο G. 196. τὼ: γρ. τοὺς A. 197. ὦ φίλοι L: εἵ φίλοι Par. a. || ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ: ἡμέτερον δῶ Harl. a (γρ. ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ), γρ. Par. a: ἡμέτερον δὲ (δῶ?) (Ar.? acc. to) Parmeniskos *ap.* Did. || χρεῶν Q Par. e. 198. παρ' ἀχαιῶν P: παναχαιῶν RU. || φιλάτω AGJ (*supr.* φίλτατοι) QR, and *τινές* Did.: φέρτεροί Bekk. An. 1144: φίλτατοί Ω. 199. ἀχιλλεύς: ὀδυσεύς Q. 202. δῆ: δὲ P. 203. δὲ: τε S. || κέραιε Ar. Ω: κέραιρε CD<sup>2</sup>HJPPQRS Harl. a, and *τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων*, ὅλγα μέντοι καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ ἀκριβέστερα Eust. || ἔντυν' Q.

192. προτέρω, *forward*; an adverb, comp. of *πρόσω*, not a dual. It is particularly used of persons entering a house, cf. note on Σ 387.

194. The *σύν* is generally omitted in this constr. of *αὐτός* in the (comitative) dative; but cf. M 112, Ξ 498, ν 118; H. G. § 144.

196. δεικνύμενος: see note on Δ 4.

197. This disjointed sentence is very natural in Achilles's great surprise, and it is probably useless to attempt to produce from it one connected logical whole. Two thoughts spring to his lips; first, sincere pleasure at a visit from his friends—from whom perhaps he has been separated for a fortnight; and next, gratified pride at what he sees is the object of their visit—a confession of their sore need for him (ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ). This latter he checks, with his native courtesy, the instant he has uttered it, and returns directly to his first expression, which he puts in a still stronger form, with a half excuse (σκυζομένωι περ) for his unpatriotic satisfaction at the disasters of the army. *Welcome: surely ye are dear friends that are here—the need must be very sore—aye, ye are the dearest to me of all the Achaeans even in my anger.* It is

possible, however, to take ἦ τι μάλα χρεώ as meaning 'I had sore need of such a visit from my dearest friends.' The variant *ἡμέτερόνδε* (or *ἡμέτερον δῶ*) gives a smoother sense, but for that very reason is probably only an ancient conjecture.

202. καθίστα, *set up* in the room (hardly 'on the table'; the Homeric tables were probably too small to take the general mixing-bowl). Cf. Z 528 κρητῆρα στήσασθαι ἐν μεγάροισιν.

203. ζωρότερον: an old crux; the earliest commentary on it is that of Aristotle (*Poet.* xxv.) οὐ τὸ ἄκρατον ὡς οἰνόφλυξιν ἀλλὰ τὸ θάπτον. Apparently he took it to mean 'in more *lively* fashion.' But he has all Greek usage against him; *ζωρός* is used of *strong, unmixed* wine from Empedokles downwards (*ζωρά τε πρὶν κέκρητο* quoted by Aristotle *ibid.*; so Herod. vi. 84 *ἐπεὶ ζωρότερον βοῦλονται πιεῖν, ἐπισκύθισον*) λέγουσι, and numerous other cases in Lexx.; cf. also the discussions in Plut. *Qu. Conv.* v. 4, and Athen. x. 6, p. 423). The question is whether the word is connected with *ζα* (*ζῆν*), *lively*, or *ζες*, *fervent* (i.e. *ζο(σ)αρός*). Both etymologies are tenable (see G. Meyer *Gr.* § 36, Schulze *Q. E.* p. 25, cf. Hesych.

ἦ γὰρ φίλτατοι ἄνδρες ἐμῶι ὑπέασι μελάθρῳι."

ὥς φάτο, Πάτροκλος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθεθ' ἐταίρῳι. 205

αὐτὰρ ὃ γε κρεῖον μέγα κάββαλεν ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῇ,

ἐν δ' ἄρα νῶτον ἔθηκ' οἷος καὶ πίονος αἰγός,

ἐν δὲ συνὸς σιάλοιο ῥάχιν τεθαλυῖαν ἀλοιφῇ.

τῶι δ' ἔχεν Αὐτομέδων, τάμνεν δ' ἄρα διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς.

καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ μίστυλλε καὶ ἄμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειρε, 210

πῦρ δὲ Μενoitιάδης δαῖεν μέγα, ἰσόθεος φῶς.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη,

ἀνθρακίην στορέσας ὀβελούς ἐφύπερθε τάνυσσε,

πάσσε δ' ἁλὸς θείοιο, κρατευτῶν ἐπαείρας.

204. ἦ γὰρ Q: οἱ γὰρ Ω. || ὑπίαςι Mor.

HQSTU. 209. τέμνε(ν) JI. || ἄρα: ἅμα J.

212. ἐν τισι γρ. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πυρὸς ἄνεος ἀπέπτατο, παύσατο δὲ φλόξ A: ἐμοι δὲ γρ. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ πῦρ ἑμαρῆνατο παύσατο δὲ φλόξ T (cf. Ψ 228).

213. ἀνθρακίην H. || τάνυε P.

214. ἀπαείρας Ar.

ζοή· τὸ ἐπάνω τοῦ μέλιτος, evidently from ζῆς, with by-form ζῶη, also=*cream*). Martial certainly adopted the former, *misceri iussit amicis Largius Acacidis vividiusque merum* (viii. 6. 11). But the complete restriction to wine is strongly in favour of the latter; against Martial may be quoted Horace, *fervidiore mero*, *Epođ.* xi. 14. Athenaios (loc. cit.) seems to regard the two as identical; *τινὲς . . σημαίνειν φασιν . . θερμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ζωτικοῦ καὶ τῆς ζέσεως*. ἔντυνον: ἔντυνε Bentley.

204. I have adopted ἦ for οἱ from one MS. it gives better sense (cf. 197), but may, of course, be merely an itacistic blunder. οἱ is in any case awkward; it can only be taken as strongly deictic = οἶδε, and even then is forced. φίλτατοι ἄνδρες may have supplanted φιλάτω ἄνδρε (and so perhaps we should read φίλῳ ἄνδρε in 197), as the dual always tends to give way to the plur., and legitimate hiatus to be abolished. For μέλαθρον used of a hut in the camp cf. on Ω 448, 643.

206. κρεῖον, i.e. a meat-block for chopping and carving, as appears from 209. ἐν πυρὸς αὐγῇ: no doubt the only light in the hut, for it is now night.

208. σιάλοε in this connexion is acc. to Curt. (*Et.* p. 717) and Brugmann (*Gr.* i. p. 421) a diminutive of σῆς, for σF-ιαλο-*s*. The later meaning *fat* (Hippokr.) seems therefore to rest on a

misunderstanding. The words are joined as in ἱρηξ κίρκος, etc. τεθαλυῖαν ἁλ., 'rich with fat, lard.' Cf. θαλέθοντες ἀλοιφῇ 467, and the use of θαλεῖα, *rich*.

209. τῶι, held the meat *for him*. τάμνεin is to *carve* (into joints); μιστύλ-λειν, to *slice* into smaller pieces.

212. κατὰ . . ἐκάη, our own idiom, 'burnt down'; only the hot embers (ἀνθρακίῃ) are used for roasting, the meat being placed directly over them.

214. ἁλὸς is the 'quasi-partitive' gen. usual where anything taken from a larger mass is employed; so B 415 πρήσαι πυρὸς, E 6 λελουμένος Ὠκεανοῖο. *H. G.* § 151 c. θείοιο, perhaps because it was used on account of its purifying quality, to render sacrifices fit for the gods. No such usage is mentioned in Homer (salt is indeed only mentioned again in λ 123, ρ 455, ψ 270), but it is familiar to us from Jewish ritual and the Roman *mola salsa*. κρατευτῶν, 'dogs,' rests on each side of the fire on which to lay the ends of the spits. Pollux quotes the word also from Eupolis (in the same sense? *μολυβδίνους κρατευτάς*) and adds the form *κρατευτήριον*. It is also applied in inscriptions to the stone substructure of a temple. The der. is obscure. ἐπαείρας seems to imply that the meat was salted only after being put on the fire. This seems curious and leads van L. to adopt Ar.'s ἀπαείρας, taking it to mean that when the meat is partly done Patroklos



αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὤπτησε καὶ εἰν ἑλεοῖσιν ἔχευε, 215  
 Πάτροκλῳ μὲν σῖτον ἑλὼν ἐπένειμε τραπέζῃ  
 καλοῖς ἐν κανέοισιν, ἀτὰρ κρέα νείμεν Ἀχιλλεύς.  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἀντίον ἴζεν Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο  
 τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέραιο, θεοῖσι δὲ θῦσαι ἀνώγει  
 Πάτροκλον ὃν ἐταῖρον· ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς. 220  
 οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀνείαθ' ἐτοῖμα προκείμενα χεῖρας ἱάλλον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο,  
 νεῦσ' Αἴας Φοῖνικι· νόησε δὲ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 πλησάμενος δ' οἴνοιο δέπας δείδεκτ' Ἀχιλλῆα·  
 “χαῖρ', Ἀχιλεῦ· δαιτὸς μὲν εἴσης οὐκ ἐπιδευεῖς 225

215. ἑλεοῖσι Bar. Mor. || ἔχευε : ἔχευαν *Et. Mag.* : ἔθηκε(ν) JPQR Par. c<sup>1</sup> e f g k, and ἐν ἄλλωι A : Ar. διχῶς. 216. ἐπέτεινε P. 217. αὐτὰρ GJ. 218. ἀντίον PQ. 220. πάτροκλος J. 221 om. Dt. 222. ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο : *vide infra*. 224. ἀχίλαϊ H. || After this line add. καὶ μιν (τόνδε S) φωνήκας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα HJS. 225. ἐπιδευῆς A (γρ. εἶς) : Ἀρίσταρχος χωρὶς τοῦ σ (ἐπιδεύηι or ἐπιδεύει) Did.

removes it from the fire, salts it, and puts it on again. That is curious too. For the gen. with ἐπαείρας compare H 426 ἀμαξῶν ἐπάειραν.

215. ἑλεοῖσιν, *chargers* of wood to serve as dishes, see § 432.

219. τοίχου τοῦ ἐτέραιο, *by the opposite wall* of the hut, in order to watch his guest's wants. The phrase recurs in Ω 598, ψ 90. The local use of the gen. is exceedingly bold ; cf. however πεδίοιο, which is only partially similar, and one or two other instances in *H. G.* § 149 (2). The use of the article is rather suspicious.

220. θυηλάς : cf. Soph. *El.* 1423 where the word has the general sense of *sacrifice*, and so Aristoph. *Aves* 1520. Here it is generally explained, after Ar., to mean the ἀπαρχαί, the portion of meat given to the gods. Another interpretation is *incense*, but see note on Z 270.

222. This line can hardly be more than formal after the supper with Agamemnon. Hence ἀμεινον εἶχεν ἄν, φησὶν ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, <εἰ> ἐγέγραπτο “ἀψ' ἐπάσαντο,” ἢ ὅσον χαρίσασθαι τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ γεύσασθαι μόνον καὶ μὴ εἰς κόρον ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν λέγονται. ἀλλ' ὁμῶς ὑπὸ περιττῆς εὐλαβείας οὐδὲν μετέθηκεν, ἐν πολλαῖς οὕτως εὐρὼν φερομένην τὴν γραφὴν (Did.). This remarkable scholion would not in itself give us a high opinion of Ar.'s tact or caution ; but his critical reputation fortunately rests on safer grounds. •

223. Why Odysseus should unceremoniously begin when Aias has signed to Phoinix it would be hard to say, were it not evident that the name of Phoinix has been awkwardly dragged in to remind us of his existence. It is useless to guess what the original form of the line may have been—possibly something like νεῦσ' Αἴας Ὀδυσσῆϊ· ὁ δὲ φρεσὶν ἡμῖν νόησας πλησάμενος οἴνοιο κτλ. (so van L., nearly), thus saving the F of Φοῖνοιο. δείδεκτο : Δ 4.

225. ἐπιδευεῖς, sc. ἐσμέν : but, to say nothing of the contraction of -έες, the omission of both subject and verb is excessively harsh. Hence some would adopt Ar.'s reading ἐπιδεύει and explain it as = *thou lackest* (it should be ἐπιδεύεαι), others ἐπιδεύεις in the same sense (so Platt *J. P.* xix. 41 ; the active is defensible, see on Σ 100). This may be supported if 226–7 are omitted ; but there is no ground for this, and the mention of the huts of Agamemnon shews that Odysseus must be speaking of the envoys, not of Achilles. It is perhaps possible to read εἰμέν or ἡμεν for ἡμέν as the ancient critics did ; but the position of the word is unnatural and ἡδὲ καὶ calls for ἡμέν. There is something to be said for Fick's ἐπιδευῆς (also N 622), *there is no lack*, but no exactly parallel use can be adduced. T 180 ἵνα μὴ τι δίκης ἐπιδευῆς ἔχησθα is really different owing to the presence of the pronoun ; and in a phrase like οὐ τοι

ἡμὲν ἐνὶ κλισίῃ Ἀγαμέμνωνος Ἀτρεΐδαιο  
 ἥδ' ἐκὼν ἐνθάδε νῦν· πάρα γὰρ μενοεικέα πολλὰ  
 δαίνυσθ'· ἀλλ' οὐ δαιτὸς ἐπηράτου ἔργα μέμνην,  
 ἀλλὰ λίην μέγα πῆμα, διοτρεφές, εἰσορόωντες  
 δείδιμεν· ἐν δοίῃ δὲ σαωσέμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι 230  
 νῆας ἐνστέλμους, εἰ μὴ σύ γε δύσεαι ἀλκήν.  
 ἐγγὺς γὰρ νηῶν καὶ τείχεος αὐλιν ἔθεντο  
 Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι τηλεκλειτοὶ τ' ἐπίκουροι,  
 κειάμενοι πυρὰ πολλὰ κατὰ στρατόν, οὐδ' ἔτι φασὶ  
 σχήσεσθ', ἀλλ' ἐν νηυσὶ μελαίνησιν πεσέεσθαι. 235  
 Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων  
 ἀστράπτει· Ἐκτώρ δὲ μέγα σθένει βλμεαίνων  
 μαίνεται ἐκπάγλως, πίσυνος Δίῃ, οὐδέ τι τίει

226. ἡμὲν : εἰμὲν Eust. : ἡμεν τινές (An.). || ἐνὶ : ἐπὶ Q : ἐν R. 229.  
 διοτρεφές H. 230. ἀπολέσσαι L *supr.* 233. τηλεκλειτοὶ C<sup>1</sup>HPQI<sup>1</sup>T. 234.  
 κειάμενοι GL. 237. μέγας Q.

αἰκίς (I. 70), there is no disgrace, a vague subject is easily supplied from what precedes. Here it has to be evolved from the inner consciousness, 'the state of things in general is not lacking' (see *H. G.* §§ 162 (5), 378 \*d). Perhaps the simplest alternative of all is to read ἐπιδύει with Ar., but to take it as an impersonal verb, the Epic form of the Attic δεῖ, so that the phrase is simply δαιτὸς οὐδὲν δεῖ. So far as the scholia go this may have been Ar.'s own explanation.

227. ἡδὲ καί, *even as*. I.e. it is not for food we have come. πάρα = πάρεστι, there is abundance, to our heart's desire, to feast on (δαίνυσθαι, expegeg. infin.).

228. ἐπηράτου : Bentley's ἐπήρατα is doubtless right, cf. E 429 ἡμερδεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο.

229. For ἀλλὰ λίην Brandreth reads λίην δέ, as the ι is regularly long (see on Z 486). πῆμα : accus. after εἰσορ., δεῖδιμεν being added without an object.

230. ἐν δοίῃ, we are in doubt whether we shall save our ships, or whether they are lost. For the constr. compare K 173, O 502. σωσέμεν, a mixed aor., not a fut. The words mean the saving of the ships or their loss, νῆας being first object, then subject. Compare β 226 for a similar change. As Monro well remarks (*H. G.* § 231), the use of the infin. as an abstract noun, with no distinct reference to an agent, makes the

harshness more apparent than real; there is no need for Bekker's ingenious conj. σόας (rather σάας) ἔμεν, founded on A 117, O 246. δοίῃ, here only, from duo 'two' for δφο-ιή : cf. du-bius, Zweifel, etc.

231. δύσεαι ἀλκήν, don thy might; cf. H 164 etc. ἐπειμμένοι ἀλκήν.

232. αὐλιν, δίνουας, recurs in χ 470 αὐλιν ἐσίμεναι, go to roost, of birds. So *Hymn. Merc.* 71. Hence the later αὐλίζεσθαι, the regular military term for bivouac (Herod.).

235. And deem that we shall hold out no longer, but fall (back) upon our black ships; or that they will no longer be withheld, but will assault, etc. The phrase occurs several times, and generally with the same ambiguity. But B 175, A 311, M 126, are strongly in favour of the first interpretation; while here the absence of any mention of any subject (such as ἡμᾶς or Δαναούς) seems to require the second. So clearly also N 742; compare the use of πεσεῖν ἐν = assault in A 325, O 624, II 81, while the other sense, that of tumultuous rout, is found in Z 82. The form of στήσεσθαι will suit a passive or mid. sense equally well; the former is found in I 655, N 630, the latter in ἀνσχήσεσθαι, E 104, 285.

236. Cf. B 353 ἀστράπτων ἐπιδέξει' ἐναίσιμα σήματα φαίνων. 236 and 237 rime, an accident of which the Greeks do not seem to have been particularly conscious.

ἀνέρας οὐδὲ θεούς· κρατερὴ δέ ἐ λύσσα δέδυκεν.  
 ἀρᾶται δὲ τάχιστα φανήμεναι ἧῳ διαν· 240  
 στεύται γὰρ νηῶν ἀποκόψειν ἄκρα κόρυμβα  
 αὐτάς τ' ἐμπρήσειν μαλεροῦ πυρός, αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὺς  
 δηιώσειν παρὰ τῆσιν ὀρινομένους ὑπὸ καπνοῦ.  
 ταῦτ' αἰνῶς δαίδοικα κατὰ φρένα, μή οἱ ἀπειλὰς  
 ἐκτελέσωσι θεοί, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ αἴσιμον εἶη 245  
 φθίσθαι ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, ἐκὰς Ἀργεος ἵπποβότοιο.  
 ἀλλ' ἄνα, εἰ μέμονάς γε καὶ ὀψέ περ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
 τειρομένους ἐρύεσθαι ὑπὸ Τρώων ὀρυμαγδοῦ.  
 αὐτῷ τοι μετόπισθ' ἄχος ἔσσεται, οὐδέ τι μῆχος  
 ῥεχθέντος κακοῦ ἔστ' ἄκος εὔρεϊν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὶν 250  
 φράζευ ὅπως Δαναοῖσιν ἀλεξήσεις κακὸν ἡμαρ.  
 ὦ πέπον, ἦ μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ ἐπετέλλετο Πηλεὺς  
 ἡματι τῷ ὅτε σ' ἐκ Φθίης Ἀγαμέμνονι πέμπε·

241. ἀποκόψειν : κόψει P. || ἀκροκόρυμβα U. 242. αὐτὰς δ' Q. || ἐμ-  
 πρήσει T : ἐμπλήσει Ar. || μαλερῶ πυρὶ S *supr.* 243. ἀυζομένους Q King's  
 Par. a f h, and *ap.* Eust. || καπνῷ Q Eust. 245. δὲ δὴ αἴσιμον : δ' ἐναίσι-  
 μον Q. 246. φρεῖσαι DGTU : φρέσαι H. || φρέσαι ἐν τροίῃ P : φρεῖσαι  
 ἐν τ. J. || ἵπποβάτοιο H. 248. ὑπὸ : ὑπ' ἐκ Vr. b<sup>2</sup> || ὀρυμαδοῦ QGHJPR.  
 249. μᾶχαρ Schol. Pind. *Ol.* ii. 16. 250. κακοῦ ἔστ' : τε κακοῦ S : κακοῦ  
 οὔτ' Schol. Pind. *ibid.* 251. ἀλεξήσῃς AG (L *supr.*) QRSU : ἀλεξήσαις H.  
 252. πέπον : πόποι Vr. A.

241. στεύται, *has set himself*, see Σ 191. κόρυμβα, apparently the same as the ἀφλαστον (*aplustre*), O 717, the tall ornamental projection in which the stern of the ship (drawn up landwards) ran up. See the illustrations in Helbig *H. E.*<sup>2</sup> p. 77, and quotations in Torr *Ancient Ships* p. 68. The idea seems to be that Hector will carry these off as trophies, as was constantly done in later times. When the Argo runs through the Symplegades, ἀφλάστοιο παρέθρισαν ἄκρα κόρυμβα (Ap. Rhod. ii. 601), *extremis tamen increpuere corymbis* (Val. Flacc. iv. 691).

242. πυρός : see B 415. μαλεροῦ recurs in H. only T 316 = Φ 375. The der. is doubtful.

243. ὀρινομένους, *stirred up* like wasps when their nest is smoked.

244. ταῦτα refers to the following (μή οἱ . . . ἵπποβότοιο).

245. εἶη, the opt. of the remoter consequence, as frequently. But Bekk. writes εἶη, perhaps rightly; for this form see on H 340.

248. ἐρύεσθαι may here be taken to

mean either *draw away* or *save* (see on A 216). The latter would be the more natural, but ὑπὸ with gen. *from under* suggests that the author of the line had the former in mind. The analogy of H 36 suggests that in either case the verb is future. Heyne would read ῥέεσθαι.

249. *Nor is there any device* (μηχανή, *means*) *to find the remedy, whence once the harm is done.* It is indifferent whether we take ῥεχο. κακοῦ as gen. absolute or as governed by ἄκος. There is perhaps a play on words in ἄχος, ἄκος. Bekk. takes ἔστ' to be for ἔσται, which makes more prominent the especial reference to the irretrievable character of the disaster if once the Greek camp is stormed.

252. ὦ πέπον, *gentle sir* ('hypocoristic'); see note on B 235.

253. Odysseus went with Nestor to beg the assistance of Achilles; see A 765 sqq., where Nestor quotes a different charge of Peleus to his son, αἰὲν ἀρυστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἐμμεναι ἄλλων. The legend of the sojourn in Skyros is evidently not Homeric.

' τέκνον ἐμόν, κάρτος μὲν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη  
 δώσουσ', αἶ κ' ἐθέλωσι, σὺ δὲ μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν 255  
 ἴσχειν ἐν στήθεσσι· φιλοφροσύνη γὰρ ἀμείνων·  
 ληγόμεναι δ' ἔριδος κακομηχάνου, ὄφρα σε μᾶλλον  
 τίωσ' Ἀργείων ἡμὲν νέοι ἠδὲ γέροντες.  
 ὥς ἐπέτελλ' ὁ γέρων, σὺ δὲ λήθεται. ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
 παύε', ἕα δὲ χόλον θυμαλγέα· σοὶ δ' Ἀγαμέμνων 260  
 ἄξια δῶρα δίδωσι μεταλήξαντι χόλοιο.  
 εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν μεν ἄκουσον, ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι καταλέξω  
 ὅσσά τοι ἐν κλισίησιν ὑπέσχετο δῶρ' Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,  
 αἰθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους 265  
 πηγυὸς ἀθλοφόρους, οἱ ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο.  
 οὐ κεν ἀλήϊος εἴη ἀνὴρ ὧι τόσσα γένοιτο,  
 οὐδέ κεν ἀκτῆμων ἐριτίμοιο χρυσοῖο,  
 ὅσσ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἵπποι ἀέθλια ποσσὶν ἄροντο.  
 δώσει δ' ἐπτὰ γυναικας ἀμύμονα ἔργ' εἰδυίας, 270  
 Λεσβίδας, ἅς, ὅτε Λέσβον ἐνκτιμένην ἔλες αὐτός,  
 ἐξέλεθ', αἶ τότε κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν·  
 τὰς μὲν τοι δώσει, μετὰ δ' ἔσσεται ἦν τότ' ἀπηύρα,  
 κούρην Βρισηῖος· καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμείται  
 μή ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἠδὲ μιγῆναι, 275  
 ἢ θέμις ἐστίν, ἀναξ, ἢ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἢ τε γυναικῶν.  
 ταῦτα μὲν αὐτίκα πάντα παρέσσεται· εἰ δέ κεν αὖτε  
 ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμοιο θεοὶ δώωσ' ἀλαπάξαι,  
 νῆα ἄλλης χρυσοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ νήσασθαι

255. δώσωσ' JQ (*supr.* ου). || δὲ: δὲ cōn H. 256. ἴσχειν ἐν: ἴσχε ἐνὶ  
 Ven. B. || στήθεσφι P. 260. παύεο (A *supr.*) DGQRU: παῦε HJPT Lips.  
 (*supr.* ου). 261. μεταλήξαντι ACGH. 263. ὑπέσχετο C. 266. ἀεθλο-  
 φόρους R. 267-9 *om.* T<sup>2</sup>, *add.* Rhosos in margin (homoeoteleuton). 270.  
 ἀμύμονα [G] T Harl. d, Par. e h k: ἀμύμονας Ar. Ω. || ἔργα G. 271. ἔλεν P  
 (*supr.* c). 272. ἐξ ἔλεσ' Zen. 273. ἀπηύρε(ν) G<sup>2</sup>LST: ἀπηύρην P: ἀπηύρων  
 Mose. 3. 274. κούρη Ar. P. || καὶ ἐπὶ: ἐπὶ δὲ Ar. Q. 276. ἀνθρώπων  
 πέλει J. || ἦ τ' *om.* PT: καὶ G. 279. χρυσοῦ ἄλλις P. || νησάσθω J (*supr.* αι).

257. ληγόμεναι, not strictly *abstain*,  
 but *cease from* a quarrel when you have  
 been drawn into it (as you assuredly  
 will be at times). Heyne, followed by  
 Bekker and others, rejects 257-8 as an  
 interpolation *ex post facto*; for Peleus  
 could not foresee the circumstances of  
 the present quarrel. But as 256 gives  
 the advice to 'beware of entrance to a

quarrel,' so this couplet adds (unlike  
 Polonius) 'being in it—do not remain  
 inexorable.'

261. ἄξια, *equivalent* to the insult.

262. εἰ δὲ with imperative, *come now*,  
 see on l. 46.

264-99=122-57 *mutatis mutandis*.  
 Compare especially 276 with 134 for the  
 improvement in the rhythm.



εἰσελθών, ὅτε κεν δατεώμεθα ληϊδ' Ἀχαιοί, 280  
 Τρωϊάδας δὲ γυναικας ἐείκοσιν αὐτὸς ἐλέσθαι,  
 αἶ κε μετ' Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην κάλλισται ἔωσιν.  
 εἰ δέ κεν Ἀργος ἰκοίμεθ' Ἀχαικόν, οὐθαρ ἀρούρης,  
 γαμβρός κέν οἱ ἔησι· τίσει δέ σε ἴσον Ὀρέστηι,  
 ὅς οἱ τηλύγετος τρέφεται θαλίῃ ἐν πολλῇ. 285  
 τρεῖς δέ οἱ εἰσὶ θύγατρες ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ ἐνπῆκτωι,  
 Χρυσόθεμις καὶ Λαοδίκη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα·  
 τᾶων ἦν κ' ἐθέλησθα φίλῃν ἀνάεδνον ἄγεσθαι  
 πρὸς οἶκον Πηλῆος· ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσει  
 πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσο' οὐ πώ τις ἐῆι ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί. 290  
 ἐπτά δέ τοι δώσει ἐν ναϊόμενα πτολίεθρα,  
 Καρδαμύλῃν Ἐνόπῃν τε καὶ Ἴρῃν ποιήεσαν,  
 Φηράς τε Ζαθέας ἡδ' Ἀνθειαν βαθύλειμον,  
 καλὴν τ' Αἰπείαν καὶ Πήδασον ἀμπελόεσσαν.  
 πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλός, νέεται Πύλου ἡμαθόεντος· 295  
 ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται,  
 οἳ κέ σε δωτήνησι θεὸν ὥς τιμήσουσι  
 καὶ τοι ὑπὸ σκῆπτρῳ λιπαρὰς τελέουσι θέμιστας.  
 ταῦτά κέ τοι τελέσειε μεταλήξαντι χόλοιο.  
 εἰ δέ τοι Ἀτρεΐδης μὲν ἀπήχθετο κηρόθι μᾶλλον, 300  
 αὐτὸς καὶ τοῦ δῶρα, σὺ δ' ἄλλους περ Παναχαιοὺς  
 τειρομένους ἐλέαιρε κατὰ στρατόν, οἳ σε θεὸν ὥς  
 τίσουσ'· ἦ γάρ κέ σφι μάλα μέγα κῦδος ἄροιο.  
 νῦν γάρ χ' Ἐκτορ' ἔλοισ, ἐπεὶ ἂν μάλα τοι σχεδὸν ἔλθοι

280. εἰσελεῶν δ' J. 281. ἐλέεω J (*supr.* αι) Cant. Lips. Mose. 3. 282.  
 κε : τε J. 283. ἀχαϊκὸν GJPQRS. 284. ἔης RS : ἔοις Ω. || τίσοι H.  
 286. ευγάτερες CGHJPR Lips. Harl. a. || ἐνιμμεγάρῳ C. || μελάερω P. 289.  
 ὁ δ' : ἡδ' P. || ἐπὶ μείλια : ἐπιμείλια Ar. Ω. 291. τοι : οἱ HT. 292.  
 καρδαλίμην J : καρδαλύμην Q : καρμύλῃν R. || ἱερὴν PR Lips. 295. ναίεται  
 Bar. : ναίαται JQR : κέεται H (*e corr.* ?). 296. ἐν δ' : ἐνό' J. || ναίοις :  
 νέονται P. || πολύρηνες Ar. T : πολύρῃν\*\* L (*supr.* οι). 297. τιμήσωι ΔQ  
 (*supr.* ου) : τίσοις T : τιμήσονται Ar. 299. μεταλήξαντι Ar. Ω : μεταλλήξαντι  
 [ACHS]. 300. τοι : τι P (*supr.* οι). 303. κέ : καί GPQ Cant. 304.  
 ἔλεη CJP.

300. μᾶλλον, *more than* can be balanced by his apology. The μὲν in protasis is answered by the δέ in apod., but the latter is, as so often, appended not to the ἄλλους which it really contrasts with Agamemnon, but to the personal pronoun, though no change of person is really implied. Cf. ὁ δέ in A 191.

303. σφι, *in their eyes*, a sort of locative, lit. "among them." Cf. on Δ 95.

304. Brandreth and van L. (really in order to get rid of *ἄν*) urge that Odysseus ought to say 'Hector *has* come nigh thee' in bivouacking by the ships. Hence Brandreth reads ἐπεὶ ἄρ μάλα (van L. ἔλοισθα, ἐπεὶ μάλα or ἔλοισ ἐπεὶ ἡ μάλα) τοι σχεδὸν ἦλθε. This, however,

λύσσαν ἔχων ὀλοήν, ἐπεὶ οὐ τινά φησιν ὁμοῖον 305  
οἷ ἔμεναι Δαναῶν, οὓς ἐνθάδε νῆες ἔνεικαν.”  
τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
“διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεύ,  
χρὴ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποσιπῶναι,  
ἦι περ δὴ κρανέω τε καὶ ὥς τετελεσμένον ἔσται, 310  
ὥς μὴ μοι τρύζητε παρήμενοι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος.  
ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κείνος ὁμῶς Ἀἴδαο πύλῃσιν,  
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἵπηι.  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα·  
οὐτ' ἐμέ γ' Ἀτρεΐδῃν Ἀγαμέμνονα πεισέμεν οἷω 315  
οὐτ' ἄλλους Δαναούς, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρα τις χάρις ἦεν  
μάρνασθαι δήμοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσι νωλεμὲς αἰεὶ.  
ἴση μοῖρα μένουσι, καὶ εἰ μάλα τις πολεμίζει·  
ἐν δὲ ἧι τιμῇ ἡμὲν κακὸς ἦδὲ καὶ ἐσθλός·

305. ἔχοντ' HP. 306. οἷ ἔμεναι : ἔμμεναι T. 310. κρανέω : φρονέω  
Ar. GHJ (P *supr.*) Q (R *supr.*) Lips. Par. j k, and γρ. C<sup>2</sup>. || ὥσπερ δὴ κρανέω τε  
καὶ ὥς τελέεσσαι ὅτω Plato *Hipp. Min.* 365 A. || ἔσται : ἐστί D. 311. παρή-  
μενος A (γρ. παρήμενοι). 312. ἐκείνος G. 313. κεύθῃ GJ (P?) QS Vr. b  
A, Mose. 3. || εἵπηι : βάζει Eust. : βάζει Schol. Soph. *Phil.* 94. 314. ὥς καὶ  
τετελεσμένον ἔσται CGJPQRTU Vr. b, Harl. a, Lips. Plato *l. l.*, γρ. A Par. a.  
316. Δαναούς : ἀχινοὺς T. 317. θήοισιν ἐπ' Ar. CGJPQ : θήοισι μετ' Ω.  
318. πολεμίζει DJLRQU : πολεμίζει(i) A (*supr.* o) P.

does not really give so good a sense ;  
Odysseus urges that Hector has lost his  
head (λύσσαν ἔχων) at his unexpected  
success, and now it may be that he will  
meet Achilles. It is useless to attempt  
the reduction of so late a book to the  
oldest Epic norm.

309. ἀπηλεγέως : the old derivation  
from ἀλέγω seems right, *without respect  
of persons* (or regard for consequences).  
ἀποσιπῶν, *speaking outright*, cf. B 772 ἀπο-  
μνήσας. It generally means *renounces* or  
*forbids*.

311. That ye may not sit and coo  
me from this side and that. τρύζητε  
seems to be used properly of the 'cooing'  
of doves (τρυγῶν).

312. This line recurs ξ 156 in a sadly  
undignified context. 'The gates of  
death' mean the dreaded entrance into  
the world of shadows (see λ 491). The  
passage is clearly alluded to in Soph.  
*Phil.* 89.

313. ἕτερον is answered by ἄλλο, cf. ll.  
472-3. The line is of course not aimed  
at Odysseus, but is rather an excuse for

the freedom with which Achilles means  
to speak ; κείνος is opposed to the  
emphatic ἐγών (314).

316. Δαναούς, sc. ἐμὲ πεισέμεν (ἐμέ  
being the *object* in both clauses). The  
phrase is ambiguous, but this clearly  
gives the most appropriate sense. ἐπεὶ  
... ἄρα, etc., *since it seems there are to  
be no thanks for battling against the  
foemen ever without respite*. ἐπὶ with  
dat. = *against*, as E 124, 244, A 442, T 26.

318. A man hath the like share whether  
he stay behind or fight his hardest.  
μένοντι (= εἰ μένοι) alludes to Agamem-  
non (see l. 332). From 316 to 333 the  
leading thought is that Agamemnon has  
taken the spoils while leaving all the  
work to Achilles, like A 163-71.

319. ἴηι, *the same* ; see on E 603, Z  
422. The hiatus is indefensible, but it  
is strange that MSS. should shew it  
without variation. Either Heyne's μῆι  
or Brandreth's δέ τ' ἰῆι supplies an easy  
correction. The latter is preferable, cf.  
A 174. The same question recurs in Φ  
569.

κάτθαν' ὁμῶς ὅ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ ὅ τε πολλὰ ἑοργῶς. 320  
οὐδέ τί μοι περίκειται, ἐπεὶ πάθον ἄλγεα θυμῶι  
αἰὲν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος πολεμίζειν.  
ὥς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρησι  
μάστακ', ἐπεὶ κε λάβησι, κακῶς δέ τέ οἱ πέλει αὐτῇ,  
ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ πολλὰς μὲν ἀύπνους νύκτας ἴαυον, 325  
ἤματα δ' αἱματόεντα διέπρησσον πολεμίζων,  
ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενος ὁάρων ἔνεκα σφετεράων.  
δώδεκα δὴ σὺν νηυσὶ πόλεις ἀλάπαξ' ἀνθρώπων,

322. αἰὲν Q : αἰεὶ Ω. || πολεμίζειν Ar. Ω : πολεμίζων Par. c g, and ap. Did.  
324. δέ τέ : δ' ἄρα Ar. GJPQT : δέ Par. k. 327. ὁάρων Ar. Ω : ὅαρ\*ω R<sup>1</sup>  
(N add. R<sup>2</sup>) : γρ. ὁόρων A : γρ. ὠρέων (ὁαρέων?) T. 328. δὴ om. Lips. Par.  
c d g : δέ J Harl. a, Vr. c, Par. h : μὲν Max. Tyr. : γὰρ Plut. 541 D. || εὖν Vr.  
c, Par. h, Eust.

320. This line, with the Attic use of the article to express a class, has all the appearance of a late gnomic interpolation. It has a specious resemblance to the preceding lines, but is no more than a pointless generality here, terribly weakening the speech. Achilles has no thought for anything but the conduct of Agamemnon, with which this commonplace has nothing whatever to do. Hence most edd. bracket it, Bekker condemning the preceding couplet also. Bentley's *λάγχαν'* for *κάτθαν'* is ingenious but most improbable. Ω 45 is a very similar instance of gnomic interpolation.

321. *Nor doth there remain to me any profit because I suffered tribulation of soul, ever staking my life to fight.* *περίκειται*, lit. *nothing is laid up in excess* (of others).

322. *παραβαλλόμενος*, like *παρθέμενος*, β 237, γ 74, ι 255, *Hymn. Ap.* 455, of the stake set down by the combatants to strive for. The idea of risking remained always attached to the verb, see note on Δ 6.

324. Some here read *μάστακα*, understanding the word to mean *a morsel*, and so Theok. xiv. 39. This gives the simplest sense ; but in δ 287, ψ 76, the only other passages where the word recurs in H., it means *mouth* ; hence *Ap. Lex.* and others take it as a dat. *μάστακ(ι)* here, *in her bill*. So too Plut. *de Prof. in Virt.* 8 (ii. 80 A) *διὰ τοῦ στόματος* (cf. *de Am. Probit.* ii. 494) ; and this is perhaps best. An object to *προφέρησι* is easily supplied ; it is in fact represented by the clause *ἐπεὶ κε λάβησι*, which

virtually = *whatever* she catches. *κακῶς . . αὐτῇ* is the favourite touch added to a simile as a sort of parenthesis, and hence in a different constr. (indic. for subj.) ; *δέ τε* are the particles regularly used for this purpose, and are therefore to be preferred to the *δ' ἄρα* of Ar.

325. *ἴαυον* here evidently means *pass the night*, not *sleep*, and so τ 340-2. This seems to be a later development, see Schulze *Q. E.* 71 ff.

327. As the line stands it is obscure and ambiguous. We must take *ἀνδράσι* as meaning the Trojans, *fighting the enemy for their women*. *ὁάρων* must refer to Helen, but Achilles rhetorically generalises, saying 'this war is all about women,' while *σφετεράων* contemptuously ignores the fact that Helen belongs to the Greeks. The other alternative, to take *ἀνδράσι* as a dat. *commodi*, and refer it to the Atreidai, *fighting for the benefit of husbands for their wives*, is impossible in face of the constant use of the dat. with *μάρασθαι* etc. meaning 'to fight against.' Both of these interpretations ignore the use of *σφετεράων*, a reflexive, not an anaphoric pronoun, *their own*. There can be little question that the right reading is *μαρναμένοις*, *battling against men* (the Trojans) *who are fighting for their wives* ; 'the Trojans are fighting to keep their wives just as much as the Atreidai ; why should I be on one side rather than the other ?' *μαρναμένοις* has no MS. support, but is printed in the second and third Aldine editions. Probably it is a mere printer's blunder, as it was removed in all sub-

πεζὸς δ' ἔνδεκά φημι κατὰ Τροίην ἐρίβωλον.  
 τάων ἐκ πασέων κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ 330  
 ἐξελόμην, καὶ πάντα φέρων Ἀγαμέμνονι δόσκον  
 Ἀτρεΐδῃ· ὁ δ' ὀπισθε μένων παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῆισι  
 δεξάμενος διὰ παῦρα δασάσκετο, πολλὰ δ' ἔχεσκεν.  
 ἄλλα δ' ἀριστήεσσι δίδου γέρα καὶ βασιλεῦσι·  
 τοῖσι μὲν ἔμπεδα κείται, ἐμεῦ δ' ἀπὸ μούνου Ἀχαιῶν 335  
 εἴλετ'. ἔχει δ' ἄλοχον θυμαρέα, τῇ παριαύων  
 τερπέσθω. τί δὲ δεῖ πολεμιζέμεναι Τρώεσσιν  
 Ἀργείους; τί δὲ λαὸν ἀνήγαγεν ἐνθάδ' ἀγείρας  
 Ἀτρεΐδης; ἡ οὐχ Ἑλένης ἔνεκ' ἠνυκόμοιο;  
 ἡ μούνου φιλέουσ' ἀλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων 340  
 Ἀτρεΐδαι; ἐπεὶ ὅς τις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐχέφρων,  
 τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλέει καὶ κήδεται, ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν

330. πασάων J (*supr.* ε) Q. 335. μούνου J (*supr.* ου): μόνου GQRTU.  
 336. ἔχει δ': ἔχειν *ap.* Herod. || θυμαρέα Herod. Ω: θυμηρέα L *supr.* ||  
 παριαύων: περ ἰαύων GP: περιαύων JL. 337. δεῖ: δὴ H. 340. μόνου G.

sequent editions founded on the Aldine. Heyne was the first to point out its superiority.

329. **Φημί**: supply ἀλαπάξει (the parenthetical use is not Homeric but is found in *Hymn. Merc.* 549, Pind. *P.* iii. 75). Six cities are named as having been taken by Achilles: Thebe (A 366), Lyrnessos (B 691, T 296), Pedasos (T 92), Tenedos (A 625), Lesbos (I 129), Skyros (I 668). See note on A 125.

331. **ἐξελόμην** here seems to mean 'took from the cities,' not as usual 'chose as a γέρας ἑξαίρετόν,' the mention of which comes afterwards (334).

333. **διὰ** with δασάσκετο, the smaller part he divided, but the greater he kept.

334. For ἄλλα Bekk. conj. ἄσσα, ingeniously, and certainly to the advantage of logical clearness. But the text is defensible; **πολλὰ** is so much the uppermost idea in the speaker's mind that he naturally passes to his next theme, what is given to the rest, as though he had not just mentioned it; in fact he has introduced παῦρα in 333 merely as a foil to the πολλὰ, and not for its own sake. There does not seem to be any particular distinction between ἀριστῆες and βασιλῆες.

336. The punctuation of the text is that of Turnebus, Barnes, Clarke, Ernesti, P. Knight, and Brandreth, and has been recently supported by Causer.

The sense is unimpeachable: 'why should he take my share (Briseis)? He has a wife of his own, let him be content with her.' The usual punctuation places a comma after εἴλετ', and a colon after θυμαρέα: 'he has taken and is keeping my wife—well then, let him have his joy of her.' This assumes that Achilles can call Briseis an ἄλοχος. But that word is always used of a legitimate wife (cf. ξ 202 γνήσιοι ἐξ ἀλόχων; opposed to δοῦλη I 409; a term of honour in A 546), and Achilles is thus not only inconsistent with his own words in 395 ff., but, what is more serious, he is false to his own dignity in even pretending rhetorically that he has married a captive. See further on T 298. **θυμαρέα**: so ρ 199, ψ 232; the α seems to be a relic of the old Epic, and has been supplanted by the regular Ionic η in κ 362 θυμήρες κεράσσα.

337. **δεῖ** for **χρή**, only here in H. The contraction is late as well as the word. Bentley's τί δ' εἰ is very likely right.

339. **ἢ οὐκ**, ironical: 'was it not for Helen's sake,' i.e. were we not brought hither on account of a stolen wife by one that is himself a wife-stealer?

342. **τὴν αὐτοῦ**, sc. ἀλοχον. A very rare use of the article in H. Cf. ψ 348, 376, χ 221. **τὴν** has doubtless supplanted an earlier ἤν (App. A). **αὐτοῦ** would be



ἐκ θυμοῦ φίλεον, δουρικτητὴν περ εἴουσιν.  
 νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκ χειρῶν γέρας εἴλετο καὶ μ' ἀπάτησε,  
 μή μεν πειράτω ἐν εἰδότος· οὐδέ με πείσει. 345  
 ἀλλ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, σὺν σοί τε καὶ ἄλλοισιν βασιλεῦσι  
 φραζέσθω νήεσσιν ἀλεξέμεναι δῆϊον πῦρ.  
 ἦ μὲν δὴ μάλα πολλὰ πονήσατο νόσφιν ἐμεῖο,  
 καὶ δὴ τείχος ἔδειμε καὶ ἤλασε τάφρον ἐπ' αὐτῶι  
 εὐρείαν μεγάλην, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξεν. 350  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς δύναται σθένος Ἑκτορος ἀνδροφόνιο  
 ἴσχειν. ὄφρα δ' ἐγὼ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν πολέμιζον,  
 οὐκ ἐθέλεσκε μάχην ἀπὸ τείχεος ὀρνύμεν Ἑκτωρ,  
 ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐς Σκαιάς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκανεν·  
 ἐνθά ποτ' οἶον ἔμιμνε, μόγις δέ μεν ἔκφυγεν ὁρμήν. 355  
 νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐθέλω πολεμιζέμεν Ἑκτορι δίωι,  
 αὔριον ἱρὰ Διὶ ῥέξας καὶ πᾶσι θεοῖσι,  
 νηήσας ἐν νῆας, ἐπὴν ἄλαδε προερεύσσω,  
 ὄψεαι, αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἶ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήληι,  
 ἦρι μάλ' Ἑλλησποντον ἐπ' ἰχθυόεντα πλεούσας 360  
 νῆας ἐμάς, ἐν δ' ἄνδρας ἐρεσσέμεναι μεμαῶτας·

348. ἐμοῖο P<sup>1</sup> Cant. 349. ἤλασεν ἔκτοσι τάφρον Ar. || ἐπ' : ὑπ' P. 350.  
 ἐν : περί Ar. 351. ἱπποδάμιο D Harl. a (γρ. ἀνδροφόνιο). 354. ὅσον :  
 ὅτε S *supr.* || ἵκανεν : ἵκοιτο S. 356. πολεμίζειν CGST, γρ. A. 359. αἶ κ'  
 P Par. (b<sup>1</sup>?) c d g, Plato *Hipp. Min.* 370 b : ἦν Ω. || μεμήλει PQR(S *supr.*) Cant. :  
 μεμήλοι Vr. b.

αὐτοῦ in later Greek, and so Ptolemy of Askalon read here; but the compound reflexive pronouns are not known to H. δουρικτητὴν is evidently used to contrast Briseis with the ἄλοχοι of the Atreidai.

345. ἐν εἰδότος, I know him too well.

349. Ar.'s variant ἔκτοσι τάφρον better suits the view that the trench was some distance in front of the wall; see note on Θ 213. But it looks rather like a conjecture. For the σκόλοπες see M 55, where they are ὑπερθεν. Hence no doubt the variant περί. But ἐν is elsewhere used in this connexion, H 441 and even M 63.

354. φηγόν : see E 693. ὅσον, as much as (and no more than); cf. the use of τόσον Δ 130, Ψ 454.

355. οἶον is explained by the schol. ἄπαξ, once only. Homeric usage leads us rather to take it as *me alone, οἴδθεν*

οἶος, in single combat. We know nothing of any such meeting; the *Kypria* may have mentioned it.

358. νηήσας νῆας (an evident play on sound) : see 137. The nom. is left without any constr., ὄψεαι in 359 taking the place of the εἶμι which we should expect. This, and the late form ἐπὴν for ἐπεὶ κε, lead van L. to the ingenious conj. νῆα ἐμήν for νῆας ἐπὴν, with a full stop at the end of the line, 359 then beginning *asyndetically* as in Δ 353. It is curious that the next line shews an αἶ κε almost supplanted by ἦν in the ms. tradition. This suggests that it is enough to change ἐπὴν to ἐπεὶ χ' with Brandreth, and to leave the anacoluthon, which is not a very violent one, as the relative clause to a certain extent supplies the missing verb.

360. The Hellespont seems here to include the neighbouring portion of the Aegean.

εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοίην δώῃ κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος,  
 ἥματί κε τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἰκοίμην.  
 ἔστι δέ μοι μάλα πολλά, τὰ κάλλιπον ἐνθάδε ἔρρων·  
 ἄλλον δ' ἐνθένδε χρυσὸν καὶ χαλκὸν ἐρυθρόν 365  
 ἥδ' ἐ γυναικάς ἐυζώνους πολὺν τε σίδηρον  
 ἄξομαι, ἄσπ' ἔλαχόν γε· γέρας δέ μοι, ὅς περ ἔδωκεν,  
 αὖτις ἐφύβριζων ἔλετο κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 Ἀτρεΐδης. τῷ πάντ' ἀγορευέμεν, ὥς ἐπιτέλλω,  
 ἀμφαδόν, ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπισκύζονται Ἀχαιοί, 370  
 εἴ τινά που Δαναῶν ἔτι ἔλπεται ἔξαπατήσῃν,  
 αἰὲν ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένος. οὐδ' ἂν ἐμοί γε  
 τετλαίῃ κύνεός περ ἐὼν εἰς ὧπα ἰδέσθαι·  
 οὐδέ τί οἱ βουλὰς συμφράσσομαι, οὐδὲ μὲν ἔργον·  
 ἐκ γὰρ δὴ μ' ἀπάτησε καὶ ἤλιτεν· οὐδ' ἂν ἔτ' αὖτις 375

363. κε : κ' ἐν C. || φθίην δ' D. 365. χαλκὸν καὶ χρυσὸν C. 367.  
 ἄσπ' P : ἄσ U. || γρ. ἄσπα λέλο<γ>χ<α> A. || γε om. DU : τε G. || ὅς : ὥς  
 CD<sup>1</sup>PTU Harl. a : ὅ GJS Vv. b A. 368. αὖσις C. || γρ. ἐνυβρίζων A (Ar.  
 διχῶς) : ἐνυβρίζων J. 370. ἐπισκύζονται DGJPPQT Cant. 371. ἐπιέλπεται U.  
 372. οὐκ ἂν Q : οὐκ ἄρ' Par. j (?). 374. οὐδ' ἐτι AU. 375. αὖσις CL.

363. So in γ 180 the voyage from Tenedos to Argos takes four days. Paley quotes Theokr. xiii. 29, where three days are spent in going from Plithia to the Hellespont. The distance is little over 200 English miles in a straight line, and Lemnos and Peparethos lie conveniently for shelter at night; so that five miles an hour for fourteen hours a day would cover the distance. Even Homeric ships could probably manage this with a fair wind.

364. ἔρρων, μετὰ φθορᾶς παραγινόμενος Schol. A; see Θ 239.

365. ἄλλον, sc. other than what I have at home. The word ἐρυερόν might seem to shew that χαλκός (which elsewhere is either αἰθοῦς ἥρωψ or νῶρωψ) is copper, not bronze. But Homeric colour-words are too vague for any such conclusions. We know from Schliemann's discoveries (see Schuchh. p. 269) that the pure metal and the alloy were both familiar in the Mykenaeen age; but χαλκός, like *aes*, has to stand for both. The different alloys, which in the objects discovered pass by gradual steps into pure copper, were all considered as varieties of the same metal. All metals, in fact, had to be classed as gold, silver, tin, iron or χαλκός. (*Brass and bronze* have only been distinguished in English

since about 1735; see *New English Dict.*)

366. πολίος: the natural colour of iron is light grey, as is seen in the fracture.

367. The portion assigned him by lot, in common with the rest of the army, is bitterly contrasted by γε with the γέρας he received as commander. ὅς περ ἔδωκεν: see on 331.

369. Observe the bitter emphasis with which Achilles repeatedly forces the name Ἀτρεΐδης into the most emphatic place, ll. 332, 339, 341, in significant contrast with Agamemnon himself, who never utters Achilles's name from 115 to 161.

370. ἐπισκύζονται, *frown upon him*. The next line is somewhat loosely added: '(I wish them to look upon him with disfavour), in case he may be expecting to outwit some other Danaan.'

373. κύνεός περ ἐὼν: cf. A 225, Θ 483.

374. οὐδέ μὲν: οὐδ' ἐτι Bentley, οὐδέ τε Heyne. With the second clause we must supply some such verb as συμπρήξω by a slight zeugma.

375. ἤλιτεν, *sinned against me*; με belongs to both verbs, as ἀλταίνω regularly takes an accus. in H.; T 265, Ω 570, δ 378, ε 108, etc.

ἐξαπάφουτ' ἐπέεσσιν· ἄλλις δέ οἱ. ἀλλὰ ἔκμηλος  
 ἐρρέτω· ἐκ γάρ οἱ φρένας εἴλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς.  
 ἐχθρὰ δέ μοι τοῦ δῶρα, τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρδὸς αἴσῃ.  
 οὐδ' εἴ μοι δεκάκις τε καὶ εἰκοσάκις τόσα δόιη  
 ὅσσά τέ οἱ νῦν ἔστι, καὶ εἴ ποθεν ἄλλα γένοιτο, 380  
 οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας  
 Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κείμεναι,  
 αἶθ' ἐκατόμυυλοι εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἐκάστας  
 ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνέουσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν·

377. οἱ: εὐ (εὔ) ACJPS Harl. a, Lips.<sup>1</sup> Vr. b: ἔο Lips.<sup>2</sup> Vr. A: εἰ R: ε Mose. 3. 378. τινὲς ἔγκαρως Eust. 381. οὐδ' . . οὐδ' T Par. d h j k, Eust. Strabo ix. 414, γρ. A (twice; in one place ἐρχομενὸν for ὄρχομενὸν): οὐδ' . . ἡδ' P Q (γρ. Harl. a): εἰ δ' . . ἡδ' J: ἡδ' . . ἡδ' Ω. || ὅς' ἐς: ὅσα C. || ποτινίσσεται DTU Harl. a: ποτινίσσεται GP: ποτινίσσεται J. 382. ὅθι: γρ. ἡ A. || ἐν: ἐνὶ CJQR Cant. 383. ἐκατόνταυλοι P. || ἀν': ἐν P. || ἐκάστας Ar. AC Harl. d: ἐκάστην HRST: ἐκάστης Par. b: ἐκάστη(i) DGJPQU Lips. Mose. 3. 384. ἐξοιχνέουσι GP (i in ras. ?) Q.

376. ἄλλις δέ οἱ, i.e. let him be content with that he has already done. ἔκμηλος, let him go unhindered to his fate, or 'out of my way,' contemptuously, as we say 'about his business.'

377. οἱ: dat. as Z 234 Γλαῦκω φρένας ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς. The variant εὐ naturally arose here because ἐξ is separated from the verb.

378. καρὼς: a word of unknown origin, and apparently not found again in Greek. The most likely explan. is that which connects it with κέρω (cf. ἀκαρής), a *chip, shaving*. Heyne ad loc. collects the ancient interpretations, which are all worthless; e.g. that it is the gen. of κήρ and means 'I hate him like death' (as Γ 454; hence van L. conj. τίω δέ ἐκ κήρως ἐν αἴσῃ), or that it means a *Karion*—Kāres Καππάδοκες Κίλικες, τρία κάππα κάκιστα—which would need a long α: τίω δέ Fe Καρὼς ἐν αἴσῃ Bentley. Others read ἔγκαρως and explained φθεῖρος! For αἶχι, lit. *in the measure of*, cf. on A 418.

379. For the construction of this sentence compare χ 61 sqq. These are the only two passages where οὐδ' εἰ begins a sentence; elsewhere it always takes up a preceding negative clause. The apodosis begins with l. 386.

381. Orchomenos in Boiotia, B 511, was the city of the Minyai (λ 284), who were famed for their treasure and for the house in which, according to tradition, it was kept (see Pausan. ix. 38, with

Frazér's note, and Schuchh. p. 299). The form Ὀρχομενόν, which is possibly indicated as a variant in A, is that used locally (see on B 511). The mention so close together of Orchomenos and Thebes makes it very clear that the Thebes meant is that in Boiotia. 382-4 are a most prosy interpolation, entirely out of character with the rest of the speech. They are evidently due to some person with a dull chronological mind who reflected that during the war with Troy the Greek Thebes was lying waste after the war of the Epigonoι (cf. B 505). He forgot, however, that Egypt is elsewhere unknown to the *Iliad*, and borrowed a line from δ 127 where it is quite in place. (383-4 have been condemned by almost all critics since Heyne; Dr. Verrall was, I believe, the first to point out that 382 must go with them.)

382. The synizesis of -las is excused perhaps by the fact that the word could not otherwise be used. Cf. B 537 Ἰστίαν.

383. ἐκάστας: supply πύλας from ἐκατόμυυλοι. The majority of mss. give the singular; Ar. supported the plur. on the ground that H. always uses the plural of a single gate—this in connexion with his view that there was only one gate to the Greek camp, see on M 120, 340. ἀνά distributive, 200 to each. In a late interpolation we need not trouble about the neglected F of ἐκάστας.

οὐδ' εἴ μοι τόσα δοίῃ ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε, 385  
οὐδέ κεν ὥς ἔτι θυμὸν ἐμὸν πείσει Ἀγαμέμνων,  
πρίν γ' ἀπὸ πᾶσαν ἐμοὶ δόμεναι θυμαλγέα λῶβην.  
κούρην δ' οὐ γαμέω Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο,  
οὐδ' εἰ χρυσεῖνι Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλος ἐρίζοι, 390  
ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίῃ γλαυκῶπιδι ἰσοφαρίζοι,  
οὐδέ μιν ὥς γαμέω· ὁ δ' Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλον ἐλέσθω,  
ὅς τις οἷ τ' ἐπέοικε καὶ ὃς βασιλεύτερός ἐστιν.  
ἦν γὰρ δὴ με σώωσι θεοὶ καὶ οἵκαδ' ἴκωμαι,  
Πηλεὺς θὴν μοι ἔπειτα γυναικὰ γε μάσσεται αὐτός.  
πολλαὶ Ἀχαιίδες εἰσὶν ἀν' Ἑλλάδα τε Φθίην τε, 395  
κοῦραι ἀριστήων, οἳ τε πτολίεθρα ῥύονται·  
τάων ἦν κ' ἐθέλωμι φίλῃν ποιήσομ' ἄκοιτιν.  
ἔνθα δέ μοι μάλα πολλὸν ἐπέσσυτο θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ  
γῆμαντα μνηστὴν ἄλοχον, εἰκυῖαν ἄκοιτιν,

385. **ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε**: ψεύδονται ὄνειροι Schol. Theok. ix. 16. 386.  
**πέσει** S. 391. **ἐλέσω**: ἐρέσω G. 393. **σῶμαι** Apio, Schol. T on II 252.  
394. **ΘΗΝ**: Θά S. || **γε μάσσεται** Ar.: γαμέσεται Ω. 395. **πολλὰ δ'** DJRU  
Mosc. 3. || **ἀχαιῖδες** J: ἀχαιῖδες C: ἀχαιῖδες GQ. 397 *om.* T<sup>2</sup>, *add.* Rhosos  
in marg. || **κ'**: τ' J. || **ἐθέλωμι** Ar. (ἐθέλωμαι MS.): ἐθέλωμι Ω. 399.  
**γῆμαντα** J Mor. Harl. b d, Par. b g j k, A<sup>m</sup> (T.W.A.), and ἄλλοι (Did.): **γῆμαντι**  
Ar. Ω.

386. The Homeric use of **κεν** with fut. indic. being conceded, **πέσει**, or otherwise the practically identical **πέσει**, with its positive affirmation, seems better suited to Achilles' mood than the opt. **πέσει**(ε). Moreover the elision of -ειε is very rare; compare note on T 101. On the other hand, **οὐδέ κεν ὥς λήξαιμι** in the obviously imitated passage χ 63 is too strong evidence for the opt. to be overlooked.

387. **ἀποδόμεναι λῶβην**, a condensed expression for 'pays me the price of the insult' (in humiliation, not presents).

388. See 146. **γαμέω**, future. It is indifferent whether we put a colon or a comma after Ἀτρεΐδαο: in the former case we have an effective echo of the introductory **οὐδ' εἰ** of 379.

392. **βασιλεύτερος**, bitterly ironical. Cf. Agamemnon's own words in 160.

393. **σῶμαι**: see on 424. **εἰ γὰρ δὴ με σώωσι** Brandreth, **αἶ γὰρ κεν σώωσι** van L.

394. Whether Ar.'s **γε μάσσεται** for **γαμέσεται** is founded on MS. authority, or is a 'palmary conjecture,' we are not

in a position to say. Its rightness is shewn by the rhythm, for it removes the forbidden trochaic caesura in the fourth foot. **γε** gives the emphasis of contempt, 'as for a wife,' a tone which is already present in the ironical **ΘΗΝ**. **μάσσεται** is fut. of **μαίωμαι** (later **μάωμαι**), *will seek*, cf. Δ 190 **ἐπιμάσσειται**. The simple verb recurs in ν 367, ξ 356 in rather different senses. **γαμέεσθαι** in the sense 'get a wife (for a son)' would be unique; the mid. of course means 'to give (one's self or a daughter) in marriage.'

395. **Ἑλλάδα**, in the restricted sense, a district near Phthia, see on 447.

396. **ῥύονται**, *protect*, as **ποιμένες λαῶν**. Cf. note on Z 403. We should perhaps read **πτολίεθρ' ἐρύονται**, but the υ (also K 259) may be due to the influence of the parallel form **ἐρύ-**, see on A 216.

397. **ἐθέλωμι**: cf. A 549.

398. **ἐπέσσυτο**, *was set upon* before sailing.

399. **γῆμαντα** is preferable to the vulg. **γῆμαντι**, because it goes closely with the infin. 'to marry and enjoy';



κτῆμασι τέρπεσθαι τὰ γέρων ἐκτῆσατο Πηλεύς. 400  
οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ψυχῆς ἀντάξιον οὐδ' ὅσα φασὶν  
"Ἴλιον ἐκτῆσθαι, ἐν ναιόμενον ποτολίεθρον,  
τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης, πρὶν ἔλθειν νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,  
οὐδ' ὅσα λαῖνος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἑέργει,  
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος, Πυθοῖ ἐνι πετρηέσση. 405  
ληῖστοι μὲν γάρ τε βόες καὶ ἵφια μῆλα,  
κτητοὶ δὲ τρίποδες τε καὶ ἵππων ξανθὰ κάρηνα·  
ἀνδρὸς δὲ ψυχὴ πάλιν ἔλθειν οὔτε λείστη  
οὔθ' ἔλετή, ἐπεὶ ἄρ κεν ἀμείψεται ἔρκος ὀδόντων.  
μήτηρ γάρ τέ μέ φησι, θεὰ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα, 410  
διχθαδίας κῆρας φερέμεν θανάτοιο τέλοσδε.  
εἰ μὲν κ' αὖθι μένων Τρώων πόλιν ἀμφιμάχωμαι,

401. ἐμοὶ : ἐμᾶς GJPQ Par. b f j, and *ap.* Did. 402. ἰλίου R. 403.  
ἐλοῖμεν Mor. || νῆας : νῆας R. 405. φοίβου : νηοῦ Zen. 407. κτητοὶ τε  
HJ : κτητοὶ δέ τε D. 408. ληίστη J (*supr.* ε) P (*supr.* ε) Q. 411. κῆρας :  
κούρας J : μοίρας Schol. T on II 687. 412. μένω Lips.

'a Dat. construed with the principal clause expresses something prior to the Inf. (either a *condition* or a *reason*),' *H. G.* § 240. The context already shews that the marrying is here the essential predicate, the enjoying being subordinate.

401. ἀντάξιον is used like a substantive, an *equivalent*, representing the whole of the next two clauses.

402. ἐκτῆσαι (Attic *εκτ.*), perf. infin. here used to represent the plpf.; the direct constr. would be ὅσα "Ἴλιος ἐκτητο, 'used to possess.' For the wealth of Troy see Σ 288, Ω 543. The cautious guarding line 403=X 156; it has probably been inserted here by the same hand to which we owe 382-4.

404. ἀφῆτωρ, the archer, ἐκηβόλος. Pytho, the later Delphi, is named B 519, λ 581, and the oracle of Apollo there θ 80 (λαῖνον οὐδόν). For the wealth which accumulated in temples and sacred precincts see B 549, Θ 203, γ 274, μ 346. The 'stone threshold' seems to imply a stone temple such as acc. to the *Hymn. Ap.* 294 ff. was built by Trophonios and Agamedes when first Apollo came. But the words do not necessarily mean more than a treasure-house.

406. ληίστοί, to be gained by forays in war; κτητοί, by peaceful means, barter or gifts. See on 125.

407. For the pleonastic use of κάρηνα (as we talk of so many 'head of oxen,' though not of horses) cf. Δ 309, Ψ 260 βούων ἵφθιμα κάρηνα.

408. πάλιν ἔλθειν, sc. ὥστε π. ἔλθ. λείστιά, a curious by-form of ληίστή, cf. Attic *λεία*, Hom. *νεός* by *νηός*. Heyne and others would read ληίστή with η shortened by the following vowel. See van L. *Ench.* § 17, and cf. note on δῆριος l. 674.

409. ἐλετή, a general word, of acquiring by any means; here answering to κτητοί above. ἀμείψεται in sense *pass over* recurs in H. only in the same phrase κ 328. So Hes. *Theog.* 749, Aisch. *Cho.* 965, etc. ἔρκος ὀδόντων recurs only in the formal phrase ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕ. ὁ.; (Δ 350, Ξ 83, and six times in *Od.*).

411. I.e. there are two fated ways by which I may pass through life; one (μὲν, 412) short and glorious, the other (δέ, 414) long and unhonoured. We do not elsewhere find that Achilles has such a choice in his power; in A 352 he claims that since his life *must* be short it *ought* to be glorious as well.

412. ἀμφιμάχωμαι with accus. in local sense, as A 461, II 73, Σ 208; also with gen. O 391, II 496, Σ 20; and dat. II 526, 565.

ὦλετο μὲν μοι νόστος, ἀτὰρ κλέος ἄφθιτον ἔσται·  
 εἰ δέ κεν οἴκαδ' ἴωμι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν,  
 ὦλετό μοι κλέος ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶ δηρὸν δέ μοι αἰὼν  
 ἔσσεται, οὐδέ κέ μ' ὦκα τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη.  
 καὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοισιν ἐγὼ παραμυθησαίμην  
 οἴκαδ' ἀποπλείειν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι δῆτε τέκμων  
 Ἰλίου αἰπεινῆς· μάλα γάρ ἐθεν εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 χεῖρα ἔην ὑπερέσχε, τεθαρσῆκασιν δὲ λαοί.  
 ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν ἰόντες ἀριστήεσσιν Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἀγγελίην ἀπόφασθε, τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ γερόντων,  
 ὄφρ' ἄλλην φράζωνται ἐνὶ φρεσὶ μῆτιν ἀμείνω,  
 ἣ κέ σφιν νῆάς τε σόηι καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν

115

120

413. **ΜΕΝ** om. P. || αὐτὰρ G. 414. **ἴωμι**: ἴκωμαι Ω (incl. A, ἴκωμαι sic, T.W.A.). 415. **ΜΟΙ**: μὲν μοι GQ. 416. **ἀθ.** Ar., om. Zen. 418. **ΔΕΙΣΤΕ** C (γρ. H). 420. **ΤΕΘΑΡΣΗΚΑΣΙ** S. 423. **ΦΡΑΖΕΝΤΑΙ** P (φράζωνται Pm): φράζονται Q Mosc. 3. 424. **ἦ καὶ** GPQ. || **ΣΟΗΙ**: σῶω Α: σῶει J: σόει PR (cf. 681).

413. ὦλετο, aor., perhaps as referring to the moment of choice: see, however, H.G. § 78. 1.

414. ἴωμι is Nauck's conj. for ἴκωμαι, which is found in all mss., and does not even receive a passing comment in the scholia. The line is occasionally quoted by the grammarians to prove that final -αι can be short before a consonant, in explanation of the fact that it counts as short for purposes of accentuation. Numerous emendations have been proposed; Hugo Grotius' ἴκοιμι held the field for a long time, but it is a mere vox nihili; the act. ἴκων is unknown to Greek, unless the very doubtful ἴκόντ' (or ἴκοντ' ?) of Pind. P. ii. 36 be regarded as another case of it. The same objection applies to ἴκωμι introduced by Wolf and supported by a wrong report of the reading of A, now corrected by Allen. Others have corrected φίλην into ἐμήν (Bentley), ἰών (Heyne), ἔην (Brugmann). For the last, to be taken in the sense of (my) own, see App. A. The obvious objection to it is that it would have been corrupted not into φίλην but into ἐμήν. There is no reason why ἐμήν or ἰών should have been corrupted at all, unless it be by a reminiscence of the frequent repetition of the phrase φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν (fifteen times in *Iliad* and thirteen in *Od.*). On the whole Nauck's conj. ἴωμι best fulfils the conditions; it is near to the mss., and the unfamiliar ending -ωμι has almost invariably led

to corruption (see on A 549). We should, indeed, have expected ἴοιμι. But an intermediate ἴωμαι is quite possible; cf. the error of A ἐθέλωμαι for ἐθέλωμι in the schol. on 397.

416. Athetized by Ar. and expunged by Zen. as a weak tautology, interpolated from the supposed necessity of giving a verb to the last clause of 415—a frequent source of interpolation.

418. **ΔΕΙΣΤΕ**: a future with present form, see X 431 βέλομαι. Ye will never find (as H 31 τέκμων Ἰλίου εὐρύοπον).

420. The hiatus in χεῖρα ἔην is unexplained. Bentley conj. χεῖρά θ' and τεθαρσῆκασί τε. Cf. T 194 and App. D (c 2).

422. *Declare openly my answer, for so to do is the privilege of counsellors, sc. to speak openly.* ἀπόφασθε, like ἀποειπεῖν 309.

424. For **τε σόηι** Nauck reads σάηι, Brandreth τε σαῶι. This verb has got into great confusion in the mss. owing to wrong 'diectasis' of contractions. But with the exception of ε 490 σώζων, an altogether later form (unless we read σαδων there), all can be reduced to σάειν (with perhaps a non-thematic form σάωμι). σῶειν (ι 430), σῶεσκον (Θ 363) will be for σάειν, σάεσκον under the influence of σώζειν. Similarly we can always read σάος for σῶς (except X 332). The original form σάFos is attested by the name ΣαFοκλέFης in a Cyprian inser. The question is not certain, however; it is quite possible that there may really

νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῆς, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφισιν ἦδέ γ' ἐτοίμη, 425  
 ἦν νῦν ἐφράσσαντο, ἐμεῦ ἀπομνηνίσαντος.  
 Φοῖνιξ δ' αὖθι παρ' ἄμμι μένων κατακοιμηθήτω,  
 ὄφρα μοι ἐν νήεσσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἔπηται  
 αὔριον, ἣν ἐθέλησιν· ἀνάγκη δ' οὐ τί μιν ἄξω."  
 ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ 430  
 μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀπέειπεν.  
 ὁψὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Φοῖνιξ  
 δάκρυ' ἀναπρήσας· περὶ γὰρ διέ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν·  
 "εἰ μὲν δὴ νόστόν γε μετὰ φρεσὶ, φαίδιμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
 βάλλεαι, οὐδέ τι πάμπαν ἀμύνειν νηυσὶ θοῇσι 435  
 πῦρ ἐθέλεις αἰδῆλον, ἐπεὶ χόλος ἔμπεσε θυμῶι,  
 πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σείο, φίλον τέκος, αὖθι λιποίμην  
 οἶος; σοὶ δέ μ' ἔπεμπε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς  
 ἥματι τῷ ὅτε σ' ἐκ Φθίης Ἀγαμέμνονι πέμπτε  
 νήπιον, οὐ πω εἰδόθ' ὁμοίου πολέμοιο 440  
 οὐδ' ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσι·  
 τούνεκά με προέηκε διδασκόμεναι τάδε πάντα,  
 μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.

425. γλαφυρά(ι)σι(ν) DJPQU. 427. δ' om. U. || δ' ἄμμι παρ' αὖθι Harl. a.  
 428. ἔποιτο D. 431. ἀπόειπεν G: προσέειπεν H (supr. ἀπέ); ἀγόρευε Q.  
 433. ἀναπλήσας G. 435. βούλειαι G. 437. σοῖο P. 439. φείας G. 440.  
 πτολέμοιο GH. 441. ἀγοράων GPQ. || τελέεωσι D. 442. με: μοι J.  
 443. μύεων δὴ G. || πρακτῆρα Q.

have been, as Schulze thinks (*Q. E.* pp. 397 f.), two stems *σω(F)* and *σα(F)*, giving rise between them to a third, *σο(F)*. He regards *σώσι* in 393 and *σῶν* here as belonging to an aor. *ἔσσαν*. But in 393 *σώσι* (i.e. *σάωσι* as Apio read) may equally be referred to a non-thematic *σάωμι* following the analogy of *δῶσι*, etc., and Brandreth's *σαῶι* here might be defended as an analogical singular. See *H. G.* § 81, and cf. note on 681.

425. *ἐτοίμη* (possibly conn. with *ἔτεος*, *ἔνυμος*, in sense 'really existing,' i.e. present, at hand) seems here to mean 'brought to reality,' i.e. successful, as we say 'realized.' Cf. Ξ 53, Σ 96, θ 384, the only other instances in H. except the often recurring *ὀνείαθ' ἐτοίμα προκείμενα*.

426. I.e. the plan of sending this embassy to me. *ἀπομνηνίσαντος*: for the force of *ἀπο-* see on B 772.

431. *ἀπέειπεν* here may mean either *spoke out* as 309, or *refused their offers* as generally.

433. *ἀναπρήσας*, 'making his tears well up'; see note on A 481. So also β 81.

434. *μετὰ φρεσὶ βάλλεαι*, *art pondering over* (cf. λ 428), is to be distinguished from *ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεσθαι*, *to lay to heart*, e.g. A 297.

436. *αἰδῆλον*, 'making invisible,' *deströying*. See on B 318.

437. *λιποίμην* in passive sense, as often. *ἀπὸ σείο*, *far from thee*.

438. *ἔπεμπε* = *πομπὴν ἔδωκε*, made me thy companion, 'escort.' But the word is very awkward, especially as it is used in a different sense in the next line. *σοὶ δ' ἄμ* conj. Düntzer, *σὺν δ' ἔμ* Jacobs.

440. *ὁμοίου*, *levelling*; see note on Δ 315. The correct form is of course either *ὁμοίω* or *ὁμοίωιο*, to either of which the variant *πτολέμοιο* may point.

441. The *τε* is gnomic. Compare A 490 *ἀγορὴν κυδιάνειραν*. To avoid the synzesis van L. conj. *ἀγορῆς* for *ἀγορέων*.

ὥς ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ σείῳ, φίλον τέκος, οὐκ ἐθέλοιμι  
 λείπεσθ', οὐδ' εἴ κέν μοι ὑποσταίῃ θεὸς αὐτὸς 445  
 γῆρας ἀποξύσας θήσιν νέον ἡβάοντα,  
 οἷον ὅτε πρῶτον λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,  
 φεύγων νείκεα πατρὸς Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο,  
 ὅς μοι παλλακίδος περιχώσατο καλλικόμοιο,  
 τὴν αὐτὸς φιλέεσκεν, ἀτιμάζεσκε δ' ἄκοιτιν, 450  
 μητέρ' ἐμήν· ἡ δ' αἰὲν ἐμὲ λισσέσκετο γούνων  
 παλλακίδι προμηγῆναι, ἵν' ἐχθήρειε γέροντα.  
 τῇ πιθόμην καὶ ἔρεξα· πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς αὐτίκ' οἷσθεις

444. ὥς: πῶς P. || σοῖο P. || ἐθέλῃαι J (γρ. ἐθέλοιμι). 446. ἀποξέσας S. ||  
 ὅκει G. || ἡβάοντα P: ἡβώωντα JT: ἡβώωντα Q Mor.: ἡβώοντα Ar. Ω.  
 447. τοῖον Zen. || ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα: ὀρμένιον πολύμηλον (πολύπυρον  
 Eust.) Dem. Scaepsius ap. Strabo ix. 439. 448. ἀμύντορος: ἀμύμονος J.  
 449. καλλικόμοιο: κυθαλίμοιο J. 451. ἐμὲ: ἐμῶν QS: ἐμεῦ T Lips.<sup>1</sup> |  
 λισσέσκετο Δ suppr. || γουνάων T. 452. προμηγῆναι Lips. || γέροντα: γρ.  
 γέροντι Schol. T. 453. τῇ οὐ πιθόμην οὐδ' ἔρεξα Sosiphanes and Aristodemus  
 Nysaeus ap. Eust. (v. *infra*).

444. Repeated from 437, ἂν going with the verb, as there, and not with ὥς, which virtually = *wherefore* (lit. in which way, or rather, in *that* way), like the later ὥστε.

446. γῆρας ἀποξέσας, *having stripped off my old age from me*, as though like a snake a man could cast his old skin and reappear fresh and young. γῆρας is used by Aristotle (*H. A.* v. 15. 6) to mean the slough or cast-off skin of a serpent.

447. An attempt to reconcile the different statements in Homer about Amyntor lands us in hopeless confusion. In K 266 we have an Ἀμύντωρ Ὀρμενίδης in Eleon, and in B 500 we find Eleon in Boiotia; but here Amyntor's kingdom is Ἑλλάς. But according to the regular Homeric usage, Ἑλλάς is part of the kingdom of Peleus. We may assume perhaps that Amyntor was one of the ἀριστῆες of 396, a subordinate chieftain of Hellas, which with the neighbouring district of Phthia made up the kingdom of Peleus in SW. Thessaly. But then we have to reckon with the fact that Ormenos was an eponymus in Northern Thessaly, where we find Ὀρμένιον (B 734); of this Ormenos Eurypylos, whose kingdom lay here, was the grandson according to the tradition. The statements in K seem to imply a complete transplantation southwards to Boiotia of the whole legend or

genealogy, comparable to that which transferred Eurytos and Oichalia into Peloponnesos (B 595). The location in Phthia will then be an intermediate stage. (See also Bury in *J. H. S.* xv. 224-5.) Demetrius of Skepsis wanted to read here Ὀρμένιον πολύμηλον, according to Strabo (ix. 438-9), instead of Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα.

449. παλλακίδος, *on account of his concubine*; this causal genitive is common after χέσθαι and similar verbs, and is here particularly natural in connexion with περί.

451. γούνων is frequently thus used with verbs of praying; it is a pregnant construction, and we must supply λαβών or the like from λισσέσκετο. See note on A 500.

452. προμηγῆναι: the force of the preposition is not quite certain. Perhaps it means 'in preference to,' 'taking the advantage of' my father.

453. The 'bowdlerizing' of this passage by the insertion of οὐ (see above) is amusing; compare N 658. The patron of the emendation, Aristodemus of Nysa, was tutor to Pompey's sons, and in his old age lectured the young Strabo. He had, however, more than one predecessor in the whitewashing of Phoinix, who was made out to be innocent by Euripides (see the fragments of his Φοίνιξ). δῖος, *suspecting*, A 561.



πολλὰ κατηράτο, στυγερὰς δ' ἐπεκέκλετ' Ἐρινύς,  
 μή ποτε γούνασιν οἷσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἱόν 455  
 ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα· θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαράς,  
 Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνηια. 457

455. ΟἶCIN: τινὲς γρ. ἐμοῖCIN An. ἐφέCCECΘAI Ar. Ω: ἐφέζεCΘAI CJQRU Harl. a d, Par. b c e g h, ἐφέC(c)αCΘAI DH Par. k. 457. ἐΠΑΙΝΗ: οἱ δὲ γρ. ἐπ' αὐτῶι Schol. T. || Περσεφόνηια A suprl., and so ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων Eust. || καὶ μὴν ὁ Φοῖνιξ διὰ τὴν παλλακίδα κατάρματος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς γενόμενος

τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ (φησί) βούλευα κατακτάμεν δεξιῇ χαλκῶι· 458  
 ἀλλὰ τις ἀθανάτων παῦσεν χόλον, ὅς ῥ' ἐνὶ θυμῶι  
 δάμου θᾶκε φάτιν καὶ ὀνειδέα πόλλ' ἀνθρώπων, 460  
 ὥς μὴ πατροφόνος μετ' ἈχαιοῖCIN καλεοῖμην. 461

ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρίσταρχος ἐξεῖλε ταῦτα τὰ ἐπη φοβηθεῖς (*shocked*?) Plut. *de Aud. Poet.* 8. 460. παῦCEN χόλον: τρέψεν φρένας, Idem *Coriol.* 32. 461 is quoted also by Plut. *de Aud. et Amico* 33.

454. The Erinyes appear here in their proper function, as upholders of the moral order, and especially as avengers of sins against the family. But though the Erinyes are appealed to, Zeus of the underworld and Persephone carry out the curse; while below, 569 and 571, the exact converse occurs. As in the latter case the Ἐρινύς is distinctly spoken of as a person, not a curse in the abstract, it seems difficult not to identify it with the nether gods, so that Zeus and Persephone would be themselves the Ἐρινύες in so far as they were acting to maintain the right order of things. But the views of Erinyes in H. cannot be brought into complete harmony; in Φ 412 an almost purely abstract conception seems to have been reached. We seem to have the whole development of the idea before us. Primitive man, to whom the shedding of *tribal* blood is horrible, has to call in supernatural powers to punish it; for this offence cannot be avenged by the next of kin. This first conception of a non-human retribution gradually grows into the lofty idea of a divine moral law ruling the world. See T 418, and note on Γ 278.

455. ἐφέCCECΘAI, from ἐδ, root of ἴζω = *si-(e)d-o*, transitive, as π 443, *that he might never seat upon his knees any dear son begotten of me*; i.e. he prayed that I might be for ever childless. We should rather expect ἐμοῖCIN, which is indeed a variant. οἶCIN cannot here be = ἐμοῖCIN, as Phoinix himself is not the subject of the sentence.

457. Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος is a unique title in H., but we have Ζεὺς χθόνιος in

Hesiod *Opp.* 465, where he is coupled with Demeter, and Soph. *O. C.* 1606; and there was a cult of him in Corinth (Paus. ii. 2. 8) and Mykonos. Compare the phrases Ζεὺς ἄλλος and τὸν πολυξενώτατον Ζῆνα τῶν κεκηρκότων, quoted from Aischylos. Ζεὺς χθόνιος is a favourite name in the Orphic poems and Nonnos. The name seems to imply a different set of myths from that general in H.—a theogony in which one Zeus is the god of heaven, earth, and underworld alike, and is worshipped in all these different aspects (cf. Paus. loc. cit.), instead of being differentiated into three gods. ἐΠΑΙΝΗ occurs only as an epithet of Persephone, and only in this book and κ and λ in *Od.* (also Hes. *Theog.* 768, 774). It is apparently = *αἰνή*, terrible, though some explained it ἡ αἶνος ἐπεστι, *depraised*, a hypocoristic epithet like *ἀγανή* and *ἀγνή* of the same goddess.

458–61 were first inserted into the text by Lederlin in the Amsterdam edition of 1707 (see Bergler's preface). The statement that Ar. 'took them out' can only be true in the sense that they may very likely have been found in some of the editions current in the book-trade, such as the early papyri recently discovered, which were displaced under Alexandrine criticism by corrected copies of the old Attic vulgate. The lines are neither essential to nor inconsistent with the context. They are by no means un-Homeric in thought or expression. The reference to the ὀνειδέα πόλλ' ἀνθρώπων reminds us of Z 351, and the general sentiment of ι 299 f.

461. ὥς μὴ is epexegetic of the previous

ἐνθ' ἐμοὶ οὐκέτι πάμπαν ἐρητύετ' ἐν φρεσὶ θυμὸς 462  
 πατρὸς χωρόμενοι κατὰ μέγαρα στροφάσθαι.  
 ἦ μὲν πολλὰ ἔται καὶ ἀνεψιοὶ ἀμφὶς ἔοντες  
 αὐτοῦ λισσόμενοι κατερήτυον ἐν μεγάροισι, 465  
 πολλὰ δὲ ἴφια μῆλα καὶ εἰλίποδας ἔλικας βούς  
 ἔσφαζον, πολλοὶ δὲ σύες θαλέθοντες ἀλοιφήν  
 εὐόμενοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστοιο,  
 πολλὸν δ' ἐκ κεράμων μέθυ πίνετο τοῖο γέροντος.  
 εἰνάνυχες δέ μοι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ παρὰ νύκτας ἴαυον 470  
 οἱ μὲν ἀμειβόμενοι φυλακὰς ἔχον, οὐδέ ποτ' ἔσβη  
 πῦρ, ἕτερον μὲν ἐν αἰθούσῃ ἐνερκέος αὐλῆς,  
 ἄλλο δ' ἐνὶ προδόμῳ, πρόσθεν θαλάμοιο θυράων.  
 ἄλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ μοι ἐπήλυθε νύξ ἐρεβεννή,  
 καὶ τότ' ἐγὼ θαλάμοιο θύρας πυκινῶς ἀραρυίας 475  
 ῥήξας ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ὑπέρθορον ἐρκίον αὐλῆς

462. ἔνεά μοι CST Harl. a, Mor. Mosc. 3, and γρ. A: ἔνεα μοι G. 463.  
 στροφάσθαι JU Harl. d, and τινὰ τῶν ἀντιγράφων East.: στροφάσθαι R Par.  
 e: στροφάσθαι Ω. 464. ἀμφὶς ἔοντες: ἐν ἄλλοις ἐγγύς ἔοντες A: ἀντιώοντες  
 Dion. Thrax ap. Did. (see Ludw.). 467. θαλέοντες P (θαλέοντες P<sup>m</sup>). 469.  
 πολλῶν δ' JST: πολὺ δὲ G. 470. παρὰ: περὶ G. 472. ἐν Ar. P (and ἐν  
 ἄλλοις A): ὑπ' Ω. || αἰθούσης Par. g, Schol. A on A 120. || εὐεργέος Schol. A on  
 A 120.

line, 'the thought how I might not be called a parricide' (so Hentze).

464. ἦ μὲν is the later καίτοι, lit. 'true, that they kept me.'

465. αὐτοῦ, *there where I was*; with *κατερήτυον*.

466. εἰλίποδας must mean *volventes pedes*, i.e. expressing the fact that 'each foot as it is set forward describes a segment of a circle, a movement made necessary by its being so slightly lifted. *εἰλίποδες* as an epithet of oxen thus forms a graphic contrast to the word *ἀερίποδες* applied to horses' (M. and R. on α 92). *ἔλικας* was generally taken by the ancients to mean 'black' (see A 98). Ameis would refer it to root *σελ-*, 'shining, sleek' (see note *ibid.*), which is not improbable. The most usual explanation is that which must have been accepted by the author of the *Hymn. Merc.* (192)—not a bad authority in such a matter—*βούς* . . . *κεράεσσιν ἔλικτάς*, i.e. with 'crumpled,' twisted horns. This best suits the sense of the root *Feλικ-*, but the omission of any explicit mention of horns is as strange as if we should speak of a 'crumpled cow.'

468 = Ψ 33. *Were stretched to sing in the flame of Hephaistos.* τανύοντο, sc. on long spits, see l. 213. εὐόμενοι, in order to burn off the bristles and prepare them for cutting up. For φλόξ Ἡφ. cf. ω 71, P 88, and note on B 426. Phoinix's friends endeavour by these festivities to distract him from his thought of flight.

470. ἴαυον, like soldiers on watch; see on 325. παρὰ goes with the verb; it is not used by Homer as a preposition in temporal sense ('by nights,' Paley). εἰνάνυχες should be an adverb, formed, but not correctly, on the analogy of *εἰνήμερος*, where the -es is part of the noun-stem *ἐρεσ-* (*εἶνα* = *ἐν* *Fa*, from *ενν-*, Schulze *Q. E.* 107). It is, however, possible to make it a nom. pl., on the analogy of *τριταῖος ἦλθεν*, etc., where the adjective, however, is regularly used to express a point, not duration, of time. αὐτῷ, *my person*, expressing the closeness of the watch.

472. For the explanation of these lines see App. C on the Homeric House.

ρεία, λαθὼν φύλακας τ' ἄνδρας δμωιάς τε γυναικάς.  
 φεύγον ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε δι' Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόριοι,  
 Φθίην δ' ἐξικόμην ἐριβώλακα, μητέρα μῆλων,  
 ἐς Πηλῆα ἀναχθ'. ὁ δέ με πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο, 480  
 καί με φίλησ' ὥς εἴ τε πατὴρ ὃν παῖδα φιλήσῃ  
 μῶνον τηλύγετον πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσι,  
 καί μ' ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολλὴν δέ μοι ὥπασε λαόν.  
 ναῖον δ' ἐσχατὴν Φθίης Δολόπεσσιν ἀνάσσω.  
 καί σε τοσοῦτον ἔθηκα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ, 485  
 ἐκ θυμοῦ φιλέων, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐθέλεσκες ἅμ' ἄλλωι  
 οὔτ' ἐς δαῖτ' ἵεναι οὔτ' ἐν μεγάροισι πάσασθαι,  
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε δῆ σ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γούνεσσι καθίσσας  
 ὄψον ἄσαιμι προταμῶν καὶ οἶνον ἐπισχών.  
 πολλάκι μοι κατέδυσσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα 490  
 οἶνου ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπιέῃ ἀλεγεινῇ.  
 ὥς ἐπὶ σοὶ μάλα πόλλ' ἔπαθον καὶ πόλλ' ἐμόγησα,

477. τ' om. DU Schol. α 1. || ἀνδρῶν Schol. α 1. 479. θηρῶν Harl. α (γρ. μῆλων). 480. ἄνακτα Α (supr. χθ') GJQ. 481. φιλήσῃ(ι) ART: φιλήσκει J: φιλήσει Ω. 488. ΓΟΥΝΕΣΣΙ Ar. AT: γούνας(ς)(ι) Ω. || κασίεας GPQRT. 489. ὄψου τ' [G]. 490. μοι: μου RU. || ἐπὶ: ἐν S. || στήθεσσι P. 492. πολλὰ πάσων Ar. PS. || πολλὰ μόγησα Ar.

477. **ρῆια**, διὰ τὸ τῆς νεότητος ἄνθος, schol. This seems more Homeric than to take **ρῆια** λαθὼν together.

480. **ἐς**, into the house of. So Ψ 36, etc.

482. **τηλύγετον**: see l. 143. The force of the word here is given by M. and R. (δ 11): 'a father's increasing fondness for an only son is described: he is the heir of (ἐπὶ) large possessions, and the father's love for him grows as the chance of having other sons diminishes; the eldest being already in early manhood.'

484. The Dolopes are not mentioned in the Catalogue or elsewhere in H.—not even in the catalogue of the Myrmidons, II 168–97. They were a historical people, apparently closely connected with the Thessalians, whom H. equally ignores; cf. Herod. vii. 132, Strabo ix. p. 431, where the quotation given shews that Pindar must have had this passage or something very similar before him—Πίνδαρος μνησθεὶς τοῦ Φοίνικος, "ὃς Δολόπων ἀγαγε θρασὺν ὄμιλον σφενδονάσαι, ἱπποδάμων Δαναῶν βέλεσι πρόσφορον." Dolopia is placed on the southern Pindos range immediately W. of Phthia. Cf. also Ap. Rhod. i. 68.

485. **τοσοῦτον ἔθηκα**, lit. *made thee as great* (as thou now art), i.e. reared thee to manhood. This is inconsistent with the legend of Achilles' education by Cheiron (Α 831), and is another indication that the Phoenix-episode is a composition independent of the accepted legends of the *Iliad*.

487. Offended at the idea of an infant in arms going to a banquet, Düntzer conj. **ἐθέλεσκον** for **-es** in 486, 'I would not accompany a friend to the feast.' This, however, does not suit the emphatic **ἐγὼ** in 488, though the line in other respects follows more naturally. As the text stands, we must consider **πρὶν γ' ὅτε δῆ, κτλ.**, as substituted for the ἢ **ἐμοί** which would naturally follow **ἅμ' ἄλλωι**.

489. The printed texts have **ὄψου τ'**, but it is doubtful if τ' has any ms. authority. The absence of it may point to a primitive **ὄψου**. Cf. B 198. **προταμών**, *cutting thee the first morsel*. **ἐπισχών**, X 83, 494, *holding to thy lips*. Compare the very similar passage, π 442–4.

491. **οἶνου**, partitive gen., lit. 'spitting out some of the wine.' **ἀλεγεινῇ**, *troublesome, irksome helplessness*

τὰ φρονέων, ὅ μοι οὐ τι θεοὶ γόνον ἐξετέλειον  
 ἐξ ἐμεῦ· ἀλλὰ σὲ παῖδα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,  
 ποιεύμην, ἵνα μοί ποτ' αἰεκέα λαιγὸν ἀμύνῃς. 495  
 ἀλλ', Ἀχιλλεῦ, δάμασον θυμὸν μέγαν· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ  
 ἠγλεές ἦτορ ἔχειν· στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί,  
 τῶν περ καὶ μείζων ἀρετὴ τιμὴ τε βίη τε·  
 καὶ μὲν τοὺς θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχολῆις ἀγανῆισι  
 λαιβῇ τε κνίσῃ τε παρατρωπῶσ' ἄνθρωποι 500  
 λισσόμενοι, ὅτε κέν τις ὑπερβῇ καὶ ἀμάρτη.  
 καὶ γάρ τε λιταὶ εἰσι Διὸς κοῦραι μέγалоι,

493. ἐξετέλες(с)αν GJP. 495. ἀμύνεις Q. 497. τρεπτοὶ L. || τε : re R.  
 498 om. Plato *Rep.* 364 D. 499. τοὺς μὲν J Plato *ibid.* || εὐσείαςι Plato *ibid.* ||  
 εὐχολαίαις ἀγανῆισι G : εὐχολαῖς ἀγανῆισιν Plato. 500. ἐν ἄλλωι λαιβῆς τε  
 κνίχης τε A. || λαιβῆς Vr. c. || ἀνθρώπων Vr. A. 501. ὑπερβῆναι J (c corr. ?)  
 P. || ἀμάρτοι P. 502. τε om. G : τοι P.

493. τά is answered by ὅ = ὅτι, 'reflecting on this (namely), that the gods were not minded (imperf.) to bring into being any offspring of mine own;' see 455.

495. ποιεύμην, *I strove to make thee* (imperf.) as *mine own son*. ἀμύνεις, subj. instead of opt., because the wish still remains in force and should indeed be now in course of fulfilment. See A 158, 559, B 4.

497. στρεπτοί, *capable of being bent by prayer*; O 203 *στρεπταὶ μὲν τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν*. Cf. 158.

498. ἀρετή, *majesty*, supremacy in the widest sense. This word, like the correlative adj. ἀγαθός, does not in H. imply moral excellence absolutely (*virtue*) except so far as implied by the obligations of birth and power.

499. καὶ μὲν τοὺς, *yet even them* prayers can bend (how much more should prayers move weak men !)

501. This is the only place in H. where λισσεσθαι is applied to prayer made by men to gods; elsewhere it is always used of prayers between man and man, or, rarely, between god and god (A 394, 502, etc.). In later Greek (*Hygyn. Ven.* 184, Pind. *O.* xii. 1, etc.) it is common enough in the sense of praying to the gods—again an instance of a late use in this book. Of course the use here is influenced by the need of an introduction for the word λιταὶ in the next line.

502-12. This remarkable passage is unique in Homer, where there is no other equally clear case of an allegory.

T 91-4 is the most similar; see note there. Some would prefer to look on the λιταὶ here not as allegory, but as personification; the primitive mind is always in the habit of regarding all forces, moral as well as intellectual, as sentient and active persons. This is undoubtedly the case with Ἄτη, who is personified in T 91, 126, and elsewhere; and even with ἔπεα πτερόεντα, which are conceived as winged beings flying like birds from man to man. But in the present case personification has passed into conscious allegory; at least the epithets in 503 seem to be susceptible of no other explanation. Compare the oracle in Herod. vi. 86 ὅρκον παῖς ἐστίν, ἀνώνυμος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρες | οὐδὲ πόδες· κραιπνὸς δὲ μετέρχεται, εἰς ὃ κε πᾶσαν | συμμάρψας ὀλέσῃ γενεὴν καὶ οἶον ἅπαντα. The passage falls into two parts. 502-7 give the position of the offender; he is surprised by the sudden coming of Ἄτη, who makes him sin; sin is followed by the λιταὶ, who in this connexion virtually mean *penitence*, prayers for forgiveness. 508-12 refer to the person injured, and the responsibility thrown upon him by his enemy's request for pardon. If he hearkens to the suppliant, the 'quality of mercy blesseth him that gives'; if he denies roughly, the prayers refused become a curse to him.

502. The τε is gnomie, as so often. Διὸς κοῦραι, because Zeus is the god of suppliants, and to forgive is divine; and also, perhaps, to explain their power over the other gods (497-501).



χωλαί τε ῥυσαί τε παραβλώπες τ' ὀφθαλμῷ,  
 αἵ ῥά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιούσαι.  
 ἡ δ' ἄτη σθεναρή τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὐνεκα πάσας 505  
 πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν  
 βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους· αἱ δ' ἐξακέονται ὀπίσσω.  
 ὃς μὲν τ' αἰδέσεται κούρας Διὸς ἄσσον ἰούσας,  
 τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καὶ τ' ἔκλουν εὐχομένοιο·  
 ὃς δέ κ' ἀνήνηται καὶ τε στερεῶς ἀποείπη, 510  
 λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε Δία Κρονίωνα κιούσαι  
 τῶι ἄτην ἅμ' ἔπεισθαι, ἵνα βλαφθεὶς ἀποτίσῃ.  
 ἀλλ', Ἀχιλεῦ, πόρε καὶ σὺ Διὸς κούρησιν ἔπεισθαι

503. ὀφθαλμῷ HS: ὀφθαλμῶν ADTU Par. b c<sup>2</sup> j k, Vr. b: ὀφθαλμοῦς G: ὀφθαλμὸν Par. e: ὀφθαλμῶ...τέτριπται πλέον τοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν Eust. 505. ἀρτίπους CDGHJTU: ἀρτίπως Q. 506. φεάνει Zen. 507. ταί δ' Vr. b. 509. εὐχομένοιο Ar, HPQ: εὐζαμένοιο Ω. 510. δέ κ': δ' P. || τε στερεῶς: τι στερεῶς R: ἔκστερεῶς G. 512. ἀποτίνη P, γρ. A: ἀποτίσει Q (supr. η). 513. κούραισιν P.

503. The epithets are transferred from the attitude of the penitent to his prayers. *χωλαί*, because of his reluctance to go to ask pardon (*pede Poena claudo*, generally quoted here, is quite different); *ῥυσαί*, from his face wrinkled with the mental struggle; *παραβλώπες ὀφθαλμῶ*, because he dares not look in the face him whom he has wronged.

504. *καί* belongs to the whole clause, and gives an additional touch to the picture. *ἀλέγουσι* is best taken closely with *κιούσαι*, 'make it their business to go after Ate.' The construction is thus analogous to that of *φθάνειν*, etc., with the participle (so Nägelsbach on B 398).

505. I.e. man is swift to sin, but slow to repent; the wrong act is done and over long before any thought of penitence has time to arise in the mind.

506. *ὑπεκπροθέει*, lit. *runs forward out from among* them all. For *φεάνει* with long α, from *φθάνφει*, see K 346, Φ 262, *H. G.* § 47.

508. *αἰδέσεται*, subjunctive. *ἄσσον ἰούσας*, when offered by the repentant offender.

509. It is not of course quite exact to say that Prayers hear a man's prayers; what is meant is that they, as representatives of the heavenly powers, ensure a man's prayers being heard. *εὐχομένοιο* seems best to give the sense *whenever he prays*. The vulg. *εὐζαμένοιο* is, however, more usual, cf. A 381, 453, II 236, 531, φ 211. *εὐχομένοιο* generally means *boast-*

*ing*, but there is no reason why it should be confined to this sense.

510. For κ' Monro would read τ', answering to μὲν τ' above, on the ground that *κε* is out of place in a general sentence (*H. G.* § 283 b).

512. *τῶι* is emphatic, 'that Ate may come upon *him*,' as before upon the man who had wronged him. This is exactly illustrated by the case of Achilles. He suffers Ate (i.e. puts himself in the wrong) by refusing Agamemnon's humiliation, and pays the penalty in the death of Patroklos.

513. Lit. *provide thou that honour may attend upon the prayers* (of Agamemnon). The respect due to the divine quality of repentance, rather than the mere prayer for forgiveness, is here made the motive which influences men to relent. Phoinix says, 'admit into thy soul that reverence which bends the minds even of the best.' Others translate 'grant to the request of these *λαῖ* that *recompense* (i.e. Agamemnon's gifts) may be bestowed on thee.' This gives the usual Homeric meaning of *τιμή*, but the connexion of words is unnatural, as no *σοί* is expressed; it does not suit the drift of the allegory, and leaves no force in the emphatic antithesis *καὶ σὺ . . ἄλλων περ*. The purely abstract use of *τιμή* is not so serious a consideration as it would be in an older portion of the poems (cf. note on A 158). But it must be admitted that von Christ's

τιμήν, ἢ τ' ἄλλων περ ἐπιγνάμπτει νόον ἐσθλῶν.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ δῶρα φέροι, τὰ δ' ὀπισθ' ὀνομάζει 515  
 Ἀτρεΐδης, ἀλλ' αἰὲν ἐπιζαφελῶς χαλεπαῖνοι,  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γέ σε μῆνιν ἀπορρίψαντα κελοίμην  
 Ἀργείοισιν ἀμνύμεναι, χατέουσί περ ἔμψης·  
 νῦν δ' ἅμα τ' αὐτίκα πολλὰ διδοῖ, τὰ δ' ὀπισθεν ὑπέστη,  
 ἄνδρας δὲ λίσσεσθαι ἐπιπροέηκεν ἀρίστους 520  
 κρινάμενος κατὰ λαὸν Ἀχαικόν, οἳ τε σοὶ αὐτῶι  
 φίλτατοι Ἀργείων· τῶν μὴ σύ γε μῦθον ἐλέγξης  
 μηδὲ πόδας· πρὶν δ' οὐ τι νεμεσσητὸν κεχολῶσθαι.  
 οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν  
 ἥρώων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐπιζάφελος χόλος ἴκοι· 525  
 δωρητοὶ τ' ἐπέλοντο παράρητοί τ' ἐπέεσσι.

514. ἐπιγνάπτει DGJPQR Cant. Vr. b. || ΝΟΟΝ : φρένας PQ Eust. || ἐσθλὸν J.  
 515. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ DRU. || φέροι Q : διδοῖ Schol. A on I 164. || ὀνομάζει G Cant.  
 516. χαλεπαῖναι G. 517. οὐδ' ἂν P. 519. ὅπισθ' ὀνομάζει S Bar. 520.  
 ἄνδρε G (p. ras.). || ΔΕ : ΤΕ S. || ἐπὶ δὲ προέηκεν G. || ἀρίστῳ G (p. ras.). 521.  
 ἀχαϊκόν CGHJP. 523. πρὶν γ' P. 524. ἐπευχόμεθα Q. 525. ΚΕΝ ΤΙς P.

conj. αἶ τ' . . ἐπέγναμψαν gives a simpler sense.

515. γάρ implies 'you may do so without disgrace.' 'For if Atreides were not offering thee gifts and promising thee more hereafter' (i.e. in 135 sqq.) . . 'I would not be the one to bid thee,' etc. Agamemnon's liberal offerings not only guarantee his sincerity, but would make Achilles' change of attitude honourable by their publicity.

516. ἐπιζαφελῶς is referred by Ameis, Düntzer, etc., to root φελ- to swell, of δ-φέλ-λω, etc.; the ζα = δια being intensive, see 525 ἐπιζάφελος χόλος = very swelling anger. The word occurs elsewhere only ζ 330, ἐπιζαφελῶς μενέαιεν.

517. The strong expression ἀπορρίψαντα recurs in the same sense in II 282.

519. διδοῖ, offers, like διδοῖς I. 164.

520. This is yet another proof of the sincerity of Agamemnon's penitence.

522. ἐλέγεαις, dishonour, bring to shame; so φ 424, and the subst. ἐλεγχος = disgrace Δ 314 (where see note). After Homer this sense recurs only in the compound κατελέγχειν (Pind. O. viii. 19, P. viii. 36, I. iii. 14).

523. πόδας, i.e. their journey hither. This, however, seems much rather a Tragic than an Epic use; e.g. Eur. Hērō. 661 σὺν πατρὸς μολῶν ποδί, Aisch. Sept. 374. Cf. 'How beautiful

are the feet of them that preach.' The whole of 523-8 looks very much like a joint marking the insertion of an alien passage. The episode of Meleager is very confused in detail, though it may be greatly simplified by leaving out two passages (see on 529), and only a disproportionately small part of it has any bearing upon Phoenix's argument—namely, the fact that Meleager's Ate was turned upon himself in that he had to run the risks of war without receiving the reward (597-9). It undoubtedly seems that a distinct Epic ballad, most interesting in itself, has been not very skilfully grafted into this already long speech on account of a general similarity between the relations of Achilles to Agamemnon and Meleager to Althaea; and then 523-8, 597-9 have been added to give a plausible connexion with the argument.

524. τῶν πρόσθεν is in apposition with ἀνδρῶν ἥρώων. Note the Attic use of the article. For κλέα cf. 189 and B 486. οὕτω, i.e. we have heard of such conduct on the part of heroes of the old time; a rather loose expression.

525. This is the only case in H. of ὅτε κέν with the opt. It is, however, sufficiently defended by the use of the opt. after εἰ κεν.

526. They were to be won by gifts and

μέμνημαι τόδε ἔργον ἐγὼ πάλαι, οὗ τι νέον γε,  
 ὥς ἦν· ἐν δ' ὑμῖν ἐρέω πάντεσσι φίλοισι.  
 Κουρήτες τ' ἐμάχοντο καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ μενεχάρμαι  
 ἀμφὶ πόλιν Καλυδῶνα καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐνάριζον, 530  
 Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν ἀμυνόμενοι Καλυδῶνος ἐραυνῆς,  
 Κουρήτες δὲ διαπραθέειν μεμαῶτες Ἄρῃ.  
 καὶ γὰρ τοῖσι κακὸν χρυσόθρονος Ἄρτεμις ὤρσε,  
 χωσαμένη ὃ οἱ οὐ τι θαλύσια γουνῶι ἀλωῆς  
 Οἰνεὺς ἔρξ', ἄλλοι δὲ θεοὶ δαίνυνθ' ἐκατόμβας· 535  
 οἷνι δ' οὐκ ἔρρεξε Διὸς κούρη μεγάληο·  
 ἢ λάθεται ἢ οὐκ ἐνόησεν· ἀάσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῶι.

527. ΓΕ : ΤΕ Vr. A. 528. ἡμῖν Q Vr. c. 531. ἐρατεινῆς C<sup>1</sup> (?) GRU.  
 534. χωσαμένη H. 535. ἔρξ' A (supr. ε) DPQ Harl. a, Vr. b : ἔρεξ' C<sup>1</sup> GJRTU :  
 ῥέξ' C<sup>2</sup> H. 537. ἢ λάθ' ἢ οὐκ Par. d : ἐκλάσεται οὐδ' Zen. || δὲ : γὰρ P.

*persuasion*. *ῥωρητός* is *ἀπ.* λεγ. in H. ; *παράρρητος* recurs only N 726, in the sense of *persuasive*.

527. *μέμνημαι* with accus., as Z 222. It is hard to see why Phoenix should adopt the confidential tone of 528.

529. Oineus the Aitolian, king of Kalydon, married Althaia, daughter of Thestios, king of the Kuretes. The two peoples combined to slay the wild boar that ravaged Kalydon, but fell out over the division of the spoils, which Meleager wished to assign as *ἀριστεία* to Atalanta; but the sons of Thestios, indignant, had taken it from her, for which Meleager slew them, and was therefore cursed by his mother Althaia, their sister. It will be seen that the story as given in the text is only very partially told, although 533-49 and 557-64 (or rather 572) are inserted, to the damage of the connexion, to explain the circumstances out of which the quarrel had arisen. In any case the story must be read continuously thus: 529-32, 550-56, 573-99. It will be observed that the fire-brand with which Meleager's life was bound up is inconsistent with the present legend (see on 570 below); nor is Atalanta mentioned.

531. *Καλυδῶνος* (a sort of 'causal' gen.) after *ἀμύνεσθαι*, as M 155, 179, N 700. For the Aitolians see B 638-44. The Kuretes are said to be a tribe who first inhabited Aitolia side by side with the Aitolians proper, but were afterwards expelled by them and inhabited Akarnania. They do not appear in the

Catalogue. For the name cf. T 193. It may, however, be distinct from the substantive *κουρήτες*, and be related to the Italic *Curetes*, 'spearmen,' as Paley suggests. *ἐραυνῆς* for *ἐρατεινῆς*, only here, 577, and η 18 in H.

533. *τοῖσι*, sc. the Aitolians. The story suddenly goes back to the *ovum*, and *καὶ γάρ* = *for it must be known*, *ὤρσε* = *had raised up*.

534. *θαλύσια*, the harvest feast when the first fruits were offered to the gods in gratitude for the abundance (*θάλλω*) of nature. It has been remarked that this is the only mention of a public festival in the *Il.* (see, however, B 550). *γουνῶι ἀλωῆς* (see Σ 57), *on the fat of the garden-land*. *γουνός* is generally considered to be for *γονF-ος*, a derived form of *γόνυ*, 'knee,' in the sense of 'the hill' or 'swell' of the 'garden'; that is, the part most exposed to the sun, and therefore the most fertile. But Hesych. explains *γονίμωι τόπωι*, as if from *γεν-* to *produce*, and this seems more reasonable.

536. *Διὸς κούρηι* of Artemis, ζ 151; elsewhere, when used by itself, it almost always means Athene.

537. *οὐκ ἐνόησεν* can hardly be distinguished from *λάθεται* (*τὸ μὲν ἐλάθετο, ἐκὼν παρέπεμψεν, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐνόησεν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ νοῦν ἐσχεν* of the schol. is purely artificial). Zen.'s reading is apparently an attempt to evade this difficulty. Probably Brandreth and Platt (*J. P.* xix. 39) are right in omitting the *οὐ* altogether, so that the sense is

ἥ δὲ χολωσαμένη δῖον γένος ἰοχέαιρα  
 ὥρσεν ἔπι χλοῦνην σὺν ἄγριον ἀργιόδοντα,  
 ὃς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν ἔθων Οἰνῆος ἀλωήν. 540  
 πολλὰ δ' ὃ γε προθέλυμα χαμαὶ βάλε δένδρεα μακρὰ  
 αὐτῆσι ρίζησι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι μῆλων.  
 τὸν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνῆος ἀπέκτεινεν Μελέαγρος,  
 πολλέων ἐκ πολίων θηρήτορας ἄνδρας ἀγείρας  
 καὶ κύνας· οὐ μὲν γάρ κε δάμη παύροισι βροτοῖσι. 545  
 τόσσος ἔην, πολλοὺς δὲ πυρῆς ἐπέβησ' ἀλεγεινῆς.  
 ἥ δ' ἀμφ' αὐτῷ θῆκε πολὺν κέλαδον καὶ αὐτὴν,  
 ἀμφὶ σὺνὸς κεφαλῇ καὶ δέρματι λαχνήεντι,  
 Κουρήτων τε μεσηγνὴ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν μεγαθύμων.  
 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν Μελέαγρος ἀρητίφιλος πολέμιζε, 550  
 τόφρα δὲ Κουρήτεσσι κακῶς ἦν, οὐδὲ δύναντο

539. ὥρσεν : ὀρέψεν Aristot. *Hist. An.* vi. 28. ἄργιόδοντα : οὐδὲ ἐώικει  
 ἑορὴ γε σιτοφάγῳ ἀλλὰ ῥίωι ὕληντι *ibid.* (cf. i 191-2. The same variant is quoted  
 as from Strabo by Eust.). 540. ἔρδεσκεν : ἔοργεν R : ἔθρασκεν Par. d :  
 ἔ(ρ)ρεσεν or ἔ(ρ)ρεzen Ammon. 541. δένδρεα : δοῦρατα Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 1. 3.  
 542. ῥίζαισι P. 546. τόσσος Cant. || δὲ πυρῆς ἐπέβησ' PR<sup>m</sup> (-εἰκ') : δ' ἐπέβησε  
 πυρῆς R<sup>t</sup> U (πυρὸς). 550. πτολέμιζε G. 551. δέ : μέν οὖν RU : μέν D. ||  
 κακὸς T (γρ. ὥς *man. rec.*) U Vr. A. || οὐδὲ δύναντο : οὐδ' ἐεέλεσκον Aph.

whether he forgot, or knew what he was  
 doing, i.e. neglected Artemis deliberately.  
 The οὐ may have been inserted from  
 motives of piety, see note on 453; in  
 any case the synzesis is very suspicious.  
 Perhaps we have here another legend  
 of the struggle between the Dionysiac  
 (Οἰνεύς = Wine-man : Apollod. i. 8. 1  
 Οἰνεὺς δὲ βασιλεύων Καλυδῶνος παρὰ  
 Διονύσου φυτὸν ἀμπέλου πρῶτος ἔλαβε)  
 and older religions, here represented by  
 the savage Artemis Laphria of Kalydon  
 (see Paus. vii. 18. 8 and note on Z 130).  
 ἀάατο : see note on Θ 237.

538. δῖον γένος seems to mean *child*  
 of Zeus, Δῖον, as Eust. explains it, and  
 so = Διὸς κούρη above. The same title  
 is given to Bacchos in *Hymn.* i. 2.  
 This, however, does not explain Hesiod's  
 application of it to his bad brother, *Opp.*  
 299. Others take it to mean the boar,  
 a creature of the gods. But the order of  
 the words and the use of δῖον are against  
 this. Düntzer would read θεῖον γένος,  
 which is applied to the Chimaira in Z 180.

539. χλοῦνην : a word of unknown  
 meaning, explained by the ancients as  
 entire (not castrated) or *couching in grass*  
 (χλοή—εὐνάεσθαι). Aristotle's quotation  
 (see above) seems to be made up from a

reminiscence of i 191 οὐδὲ ἐώικει ἀνδρὶ γε  
 σιτοφάγῳ ἀλλὰ ῥίωι ὕληντι. We have  
 no right to say that it is a mistake of  
 memory in quoting; the addition may  
 well have been actually found in the  
 corrupt popular copies; see note on B 15.

540. κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκεν (with *F*  
 neglected) is copied in *Hymn. Ap.* 303,  
 355. ἔθων, *suo (suis) more*, like II 260  
 ἐριδμαίνωσιν ἔθοντες.

541. προθέλυμα, *by the roots*, lit.  
 'from the foundations onwards,' like  
 πρόρριζος. So K 15; and cf. τετρα-  
 θέλυμος, of a shield, *with four layers*  
 of hide as foundation. In N 130, q.v.,  
 it seems to mean *row upon row*, a sense  
 which is possible here also.

542. ἀνεοὶ μῆλων, either *fruit-*  
*blossom*, or *blooming fruits*; a peri-  
 phrase like i 449 ἀνθεα ποίης (so Ameis).

546. ἐπέβησε, *brought to the pyre*, just  
 as we say 'brought to the grave.' So  
 Δ 99 πυρῆς ἐπιβάντα, and cf. B 234.

547. She brought to pass great noise  
 and battle-cry over his body (αὐτῷ, cf.  
 A 4) as to the disposal of the spoils.

550. We now suddenly return to the  
 war which arose out of the quarrel, in  
 continuation of 532.

551. κακῶς ἦν : cf. H 424 χαλεπῶς ἦν.



τείχεος ἔκτοσθεν μίμνειν πολέες περ εἶοντες·  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Μελέαγρον ἔδν χόλος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλων  
 οἰδάνει ἐν στήθεσσι νόον πύκα περ φρουρούντων,  
 ἦ τοι ὁ μητρὶ φίλῃ Ἀλθαίῃ χωόμενος κῆρ 555  
 κεῖτο παρὰ μνηστῇ ἀλόχῳ, καλῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ,  
 κούρῃ Μαρπήσσης καλλισφύρου Εὐηνίνης  
 ἴδεώ θ', ὃς κάρτιστος ἐπιχθονίων γένετ' ἀνδρῶν  
 τῶν τότε, καὶ ῥα ἀνακτος ἐναντίον εἴλετο τόξον  
 Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος καλλισφύρου εἵνεκα νύμφης· 560  
 τὴν δὲ τότ' ἐν μεγάροισι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ  
 Ἀλκούνῃην καλέεσκον ἐπώνυμον, οὐνec' ἄρ' αὐτῇ

554. στήθεσφι *Ap. Lex.* 558. κάρτιστος : κάλλιστος *HPQ.* || ἐπιχθονίων *J.* ||  
 ΓΕΝΕΤ' : ἦν *Antimachos ap. Euseb.* : τράφεν *H.* 561. τὴν τε *J.* 562. αὐτῇ  
*J (supr. ἢ αὐτῆς) :* αὐτῇ ἢ αὐτῆς *Eust.* : αὐτῆς *Ω.*

It is a question if οὐδ' ἐθέλεσκον, the reading of *Aph.*, is not original, and οὐδὲ δύναντο a gloss (so Bentley and Heyne); the scholia always explain in such cases that ἐθέλειν = δύνασθαι, e.g. in the exactly similar phrase in 353 (here evidently alluded to) and *Φ* 366.

552. τεῖχεος ἔκτοσθεν seems to imply that the Kuretes, so far from besieging Kalydon, were themselves at first shut up in their walls, and could not meet Meleager in the open plain. This is a clear allusion to the position of the Trojans so long as Achilles fought, and emphasizes the parallel between him and Meleager. But we are left to supply a great deal more than is usually left unexpressed in Epic poetry.

553. ἔδν χόλος (*T* 16, *X* 94), on account of his mother's curse, as is explained later on, 566.

554. οἰδάνει, makes to swell. Cf. 646 (and μελάνει? *H* 64). For the second half of the line cf. *Ξ* 217.

555. ἦ τοι, then, begins the apodosis.

556. κεῖτο, began to lie idle at home. *ε*τε above shows that this must be the meaning (*Σ* 178, etc.); but the writer of 565 evidently took it to mean 'lay in bed.'

557. From here to 565 we have a digression which grievously interferes with the narrative and savours strongly of the genealogical poetry of the Hesiodic age.

Idas the son of Aphareus had carried off Marpessa from her father Euenos (*Εὐηνίη* is a patronymic), but Apollo

wished to carry her off from Idas; so the two came to fighting until Zeus separated them, and bade Marpessa choose which of them she would have. And Marpessa chose Idas, the mortal, for fear the god should prove unfaithful. A scene from the story was represented on the chest of Kypselos (*Paus.* v. 18. 2). The whole legend, which is nowhere completely told, is pieced together from the scholia and Apollodoros (i. 7. 8) by Erhardt (p. 148).

561. ἐν μεγάροισι perhaps means 'when their troubles and wanderings were over.'

562. They called her (sc. Kleopatra) *Alkyone* because her mother (Marpessa) herself wept with the plaintive voice of the *Halcyon* (kingfisher: the female when separated from the male is said to utter continually a mournful cry. This has no foundation in fact; see Thompson *Gloss.* s.v.). The legend of Alkyone and Keyx, which sprang from the same source, is of course not referred to here. For the vulg. αὐτῆς I have taken αὐτῇ from one ms., she herself (namely) the mother. The pronoun is used to contrast the mother with the daughter, who might naturally be supposed to be the person described by her name. For children named from their parents' circumstances see note on *Ζ* 403. Either the gen. or dat. involves the weakest anaphoric use of the pronoun, which is especially bad in this emphatic place and could only be excused by the lateness of the whole passage

μήτηρ ἄλκυνός πολυπενθέος οἶκτον ἔχουσα  
 κλαῖεν, ὃ μιν ἐκάεργος ἀνῆρπασε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.  
 τῇ ὃ γε παρκατέλεκτο χόλον θυμαλγέα πέσσων, 565  
 ἐξ ἁρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος, ἥ ῥα θεοῖσι  
 πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἡῤατο κασιγνήτοιο φόνιοι,  
 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ γαῖαν πολυφόρβην χερσὶν ἀλοία  
 κικλήσκουσ' Ἀΐδην καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν,  
 πρόχυν καθεζομένη, δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι, 570  
 παιδί δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ' ἡεροφοίτις Ἐρινὺς  
 ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἑρέβεσφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα.  
 τῶν δὲ τάχ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ὄμαδος καὶ δούπος ὀρώρει

563. Οἶκτον H: οἶτον Ω. 564. κλαῖεν, ὃ μιν Ar. LP (κλαῖε): κλαῖ' ὅτε  
 μιν Zen. Ω. || ἀνῆρπασε A (γρ. ἀνῆρπασε) R. 569. περσεφόνειαν A *supr.* (cf.  
 457). 570. κασιγνομένη (P *supr.*) S. || κόλπῳ S (*supr.* οι). 571. ἱεροφοίτις  
 II J, γρ. Schol. A. 572. ἑρέβεσφιν JR<sup>1</sup>: ἐρέβεσφιν Ω (φιν om. Γ). ἀμείλιχτον  
 C DJR<sup>m</sup> U. 573. πολὺς J (γρ. πύλας). || ὀρώρη P<sup>1</sup>.

563. On the authority again of one ms. only I have adopted the reading **οἶκτον**, originally conjectured by Heyne. The sense *plaintive wail* is not found in H., but is common in Trag. (see Lexx.). It is clearly what is wanted here (cf. Eur. *I. T.* 1090 ἄλκυν, ἔλεγον οἰκτρὸν αἰδεῖς). The vulg. οἶτον, *having the fate of the halcyon*, is very feeble. But it must be admitted that do what we may it is impossible to make anything but a most confused and clumsy piece of narration out of all this. It has all the air of a fragment of an old Epic interspersed with lines taken from other portions of the original story—aids to the memory, perhaps, of hearers who partly knew a not very common legend, but to us only darkening the obscurity.

565. The next eight lines seem intended to lead back from the digression to the main story while supplying some details which Phoinix had omitted. **πέσσων**, *digesting*, brooding over. Cf. A 81.

567. **πολλά** goes with ἡῤατο, **φόνιοι** as 'causal' gen. with **ἀχέουσα**. For **κασιγνήτοιο** others read **κασιγνητοῖο** as adj. 'fraternal slaughter'; for acc. to the common legend Althaia had several brothers killed by Meleagros. As nothing has been said above of this apparently essential matter, we cannot tell what is meant.

568. **ἀλοία**, *she beat the ground with her hands*, to call the attention of the gods below. So Hera appealing to Γαῖα

and the Τιτῆνες, *χειρὶ καταπρηγεῖ ἔλασε χθόνα*, and ἔμασε χθόνα *χειρὶ παχείη*, *Hymn. Apoll.* 333, 340.

569. See on 457. It will be seen that Ἀΐδης has taken the place of Ζεὺς *καταχθόνιος*, possibly a sign of different authorship.

570. **πρόχυν** is commonly explained as = *knee-forward*, i.e. falling on her knees. But the change of γ to χ in Greek is at least doubtful (see G. Meyer *Gr.* § 212), and the word nowhere else (Φ 460, ξ 69, and later Greek) conveys any distinct reference to knees; it means *utterly*. It must therefore be regarded as of uncertain meaning here. It will be seen that, so far as the story is told, the only result of the curse is to deprive Meleagros of the promised gifts. Pausanias, in an interesting excursus on the development of the Meleagros legend (x. 31. 2) says that 'according to Homer' M. did die through the curse (and perhaps that is a fair deduction from the *ἐκλυεν* of 572), but that the Ἡοῖαι and Μινῶες ascribed the death to Apollo. He adds that the familiar story of the firebrand was first adopted by Phrynichos in his *Πλευρώνια*.

571. **δόμεν θάνατον**, a phrase only paralleled by the doubtful *δαίμονα δώσω* of Θ 166. The infin. depends on the sense of *prayer* in 567-8, 570 being parenthetical. **ἡεροφοίτις**, *walking in darkness*, here and T 87 only.

573. **τῶν δέ**, the Aitolians or Kuretes, according as we connect the gen. with

πύργων βαλλομένων· τὸν δὲ λίσσονται γέροντες  
 Αἰτωλῶν, πέμπουν δὲ θεῶν ἱερῆας ἀρίστους, 575  
 ἐξελθεῖν καὶ ἀμῦναι, ὑποσχόμενοι μέγα δῶρον·  
 ὀππόθι πιότατον πεδίον Καλυδῶνος ἔρανης,  
 ἐνθά μιν ἦνωγον τέμενος περικαλλὲς ἐλέσθαι  
 πεντηκοντόγυον, τὸ μὲν ἦμισυ οἶνοπέδοιο,  
 ἦμισυ δὲ ψιλὴν ἄροσιν πεδίοιο ταμέσθαι. 580  
 πολλὰ δέ μιν λιτάνευε γέρων ἱππηλάτα Οἰνεύς,  
 οὐδοῦ ἐπεμβεβαῶς ὑψηρεφέος θαλάμοιο  
 σείων κολλητὰς σανίδας,\* γονοῦμενος υἱόν·  
 πολλὰ δὲ τὸν γε κασίγνηται καὶ πότνια μήτηρ  
 ἐλλίσσονται· ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναίνετο· πολλὰ δ' ἑταῖροι, 585  
 οἳ οἳ κεδνότατοι καὶ φίλτατοι ἦσαν ἀπάντων·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς τοῦ θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσιν ἔπειθον,  
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ θάλαμος πύκ' ἐβάλλετο, τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ πύργων  
 βαῖνον Κουρήτες καὶ ἐνέπρηθον μέγα ἄστρ·  
 καὶ τότε δὴ Μελέαγρον εὐζωνος παράκοιτις 590  
 λίσσεται ὀδυρομένη, καὶ οἳ κατέλεξεν ἅπαντα  
 κήδε' ὅσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστρ ἀλώη·

576. ὑπὶσχνόμενοι Harl. b, Par. d g; ὑπὶσχνούμενοι J: ὑπὶσχνόμενοι Et. Mag.  
 577. ἑρατεινῆς C<sup>J</sup>. 578. ἀνώγειον G. 579. πεντηκοντόγυιον DRU. 580.  
 ψιλῆς (sc. γῆς) Ar. 582. ὑπερβεβαῶς PQ and ap. Eust. || ὑψηρεφέος CR. 584.  
 τόνδε HPQS. || κασίγνητοι JP Par. b d h, and ap. Did.: κασίγνήτη Schol. B  
 (Porph.) on K 167. 586. κήδιστοι P (γρ. κεδνότατοι), γρ. R. 588. πύκα  
 βάλλετο [GS]. || πύργων JR: πύργω(i) Q Harl. d, Par. b j, and ap. Eust. 589.  
 ἐνέπρηθεν J. 592-3. ὅσα κάκ' ἀνθρώποι πέλει τῶν ἄστρ ἀλώη· λαοὶ μὲν  
 φεινύθουσι κτλ. Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 7.

πύλας or δμαδος: the latter is more Homeric, cf. Ψ 234. We suddenly return to the main incident, the siege of Kalydon.

575. What have the 'best priests' to do with the matter? It is not a religious question. The line looks like an interpolation for the sake of introducing the explanatory but needless word Αἰτωλῶν. It must, however, have been known to Soph., if Schol. A is right in saying that in consequence of it he made the chorus of his Μελέαγρος consist of priests.

578. τέμενος, a 'severalty' taken from the public land. Cf. Z 194, M 313, Σ 550; and for πεντηκοντόγυον, K 351.

580. ταμέσθαι is added pleonastically, repeating ἐλέσθαι. ψιλὴν ἄροσιν, i.e. arable land unencumbered by trees. So ι 134 ἄροσις λείη.

582. *Standing on the threshold* of the chamber where his son had locked himself in, and *shaking the doors* in his endeavour to force an entrance. γονοῦμενος is here of course only metaphorical, *beseeching*, the literal act of clasping the knees being excluded by the circumstances, as in A 130, ζ 149.

584. The variant κασίγνητοι is supported in the schol. by a reference to B 641, where it appears that Meleagros had brothers besides Tydeus. The legend, however, knows also of his sisters, one of whom was Deianeira.

586. κεδνότατοι seems here to be equivalent to κήδιστοι (which P reads), *nearest*; cf. κηδεσταί. See κ 225 ὅς μοι κήδιστος ἐτάρων ἦν κεδνότατός τε.

588. πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ, *until at last*, as 488, M 437, and several times in *Od.*

ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει,  
 τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἄγουσι βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας.  
 τοῦ δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἀκούοντος κακὰ ἔργα, 595  
 βῆ δ' ἰέναι, χροὸν δ' ἔντε' ἐδύσετο παμφανώντα.  
 ὥς ὁ μὲν Αἰτωλοῖσιν ἀπήμυνεν κακὸν ἦμαρ  
 εἷξας ὦι θυμῶι· τῶι δ' οὐκέτι δῶρ' ἐτέλεσσαν  
 πολλά τε καὶ χαρίεντα, κακὸν δ' ἦμυνε καὶ αὐτῶς.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺν μὴ τοι ταῦτα νόει φρεσί, μηδέ σε δαίμων 600  
 ἐνταῦθα τρέψει, φίλος· κάκιον δέ κεν εἴη  
 νηυσὶν καιομένησιν ἀμυνέμεν· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δόρων  
 ἔρχεο· ἴσον γάρ σε θεῶι τίσουσιν Ἀχαιοί·

593. ἀμαλύνει JQT. 594. τέκνα δὲ δῆϊοι (sic) ἄγουσι Zen. | βαεουζώνας  
 Lips. 595. ὠρνύετο S. 596. ἐδύετο A (supr. α) CD (Harl. a supr.):  
 ἐδύς(α)το Ω. 597. ἀπήμυνε νηλεές Q. 599. ἄμυνε P. || οὕτως H. ||  
 ἡμύνετο αὐτῶς Mor. 600. τοι· μοι PU Eust. 601. ΚΑΚΙΟΝ· χαλεπὸν A  
 (γρ. ΚΑΚΙΟΝ) DHRU, γρ. Harl. a. 602. δῶρων Ar. HPQ Harl. a (γρ. δῶροις),  
 Par. d h: δῶρον Harl. b, Par. c (supr. δῶροις) g: δῶροις Ω. 603. ἔρχεο PQ.

593. ἀμαλύνει, turns to dust, i.e. consumes, probably with a reminiscence of the commoner ἀμαλδύνειν: so Ap. Rhod. iii. 295, Aisch. *Eum.* 937. In *Hymn. Merc.* 140 it seems to mean scatter dust.

594. ἄλλοι, strangers, as Γ 301, Z 456. Zen.'s δῆϊοι is needless. βαεουζώνας, only here and γ 154 in H. It occurs four times in *Hymn. Cer.*, Aisch. *Persae* 155, Pind. *P.* ix. 2 (of the Charites), O. iii. 35 (of Leda), and elsewhere. The idea of the schol. γ 154, that it applies only to barbarian women, is clearly wrong. Studniczka (*Beitr.* p. 120) sees in the word an allusion to the deep bend made in the full lines of the peplos by the girdle round a slim waist; so that we might almost translate slender-waisted. Cf. βαθύκολλος.

595. κακὰ ἔργα, the sad story (especially no doubt the fate of the captive women).

598. εἷξας ὦι θυμῶι, yielding to his own feelings (on hearing this appeal, and not to the *legal* of his mother, who had offended him). In this lies the point of the story. Meleager now has to pay for his stubbornness (512) inasmuch as he has to yield his point without the gifts which would have made his relenting honourable. (The context forbids us to take ὦι θυμῶι in the natural sense of 'his wrath'; Paley suggests οὐ θυμοῦ.)

599. καὶ αὐτῶς, even so, without recompense. Phoinix means of course

that Achilles' fate will be exactly the same if he persists in his refusal, 604-5. When the story was introduced, we were led to expect encouragement rather than warning (526); Meleagros cannot be called *δαρητὸς*. This is only one more of the awkwardnesses in this curious narrative.

601. ἐνταῦθα, in that way of thine; like all forms of οὗτος it regularly refers to the person addressed. The word does not recur in H. (ἐνταυθοῖ Φ 122, σ 105, υ 262, ἐντεῦθεν τ 568).

602. It seems that Phoinix does not take Achilles' threat to return seriously; he is justified in 650. ἐπὶ δῶρων seems to be a sort of temporal use, in the time of gifts, i.e. while they may still be had; cf. B 797 ἐπ' εἰρήνης, E 637 ἐπὶ προτέρων ἀνθρώπων. This comes to nearly the same as Ar.'s interpretation of ἐπὶ as= μετά (cf. a 278 ὅσσα ἔοικε φίλης ἐπὶ παιδὸς ἔπεσθαι). It gives a better connexion with the story of Meleagros than the vulg. ἐπὶ δῶροις, on condition, in consideration, of the gifts, and the latter as the more familiar use is perhaps more likely to be the corruption. In so late a passage little weight can be given to the form -ος for -οις, and of course it is possible that δῶροις was altered to δῶρων when the story of Meleagros was added.

603. For ἴσον θεῶι see note on H 298.



εἰ δέ κ' ἄτερ δώρων πόλεμον φθισήνορα δύης,  
οὐκ ἐθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσσαι, πόλεμόν περ ἀλαλκῶν." 605  
τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
"Φοῖνιξ, ἄττα γεραίέ, διοτρεφές, οὐ τί με ταύτης  
χρεὼ τιμῆς· φρονέω δὲ τετιμῆσθαι Διὸς αἴσῃ,  
ἣ μ' ἔξει παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, εἰς ὃ κ' αὐτμῇ 610  
ἐν στήθεσσι μένη καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη.  
ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσι·  
μή μοι σύγχει θυμὸν ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων,  
Ἀτρεΐδῃ ἥρωϊ φέρων χάριν· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ 615  
τὸν φιλέειν, ἵνα μή μοι ἀπέχθῃαι φιλέοντι.  
καλὸν τοι σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν κήδειν ὅς κ' ἐμὲ κήδηι.  
ἴσον ἐμοὶ βασίλευε καὶ ἥμισυ μείρεο τιμῆς·

604. δύοις T: δοίσις D<sup>1</sup>. 605. ἀνάλκων Lips. Vr. A. 607. διοτρεφές GH. || οὔτε L. 609. αὐτῇ R (αὐτῇ R<sup>m</sup>). 610. μένει DL (supr. οι) Q Vr. c. || ὀρώρει DQRU Vr. b<sup>2</sup>: ὀρώροι HL. 612. ὀδυρόμενος καὶ: ἐνὶ στήθεσσι Ar. JP Par. c g. || καὶ ἀχεύων: κινυρίζων Zen. 615. ὅς: ὥς P. || κήδηι: κήδει DHJPQSU Vr. b<sup>1</sup>.

605. *τιμῆς* for *τιμῆ-Feis*, a late (Attic) form, supported by Σ 475 *τιμῆντα*, η 110 *τεχνήσσαι* (M 283 *λωτοῦντα*?). Ar. read *τιμῆς*, but the gen. can only be explained by great violence as dependent on ὁμῶς (as a sort of 'improper preposition,' at the same point of price?) or as a strict gen. of price; cf. Ψ 649 *τιμῆς ἧς τέ μ' εἴκει τετιμῆσθαι*.

607. *ἄττα*, a primitive word for father, no doubt formed from the early efforts of childish lips, like our 'dada.' It is found in this identical form in Latin, Skt. (*attā* in fem.), and Gothic; and slightly altered in Slavonic, Albanian, and Erse, i.e. in every main branch of the Indo-European family. 'Attam pro reverentia senī cuilibet dicimus, quasi eum *avi* nomine appellenus,' Paul. *Epit.* 12. So P 561 and several times in *Od.*, where it is always used by Telemachos to Eumaios.

608. For *χρεώ* with gen. and acc. see on 75. *αἴχι*, by the just measure, cf. A 418.

609-10. This couplet, as Heyne remarks, would be better away. Achilles, who a few lines further doubts whether to depart or no, is here made to say that he will be among the ships so long as he lives. From *εἰς ὃ κε το ὀρώρη* is probably borrowed from K 89-90. *ἔξει* apparently = *will guard me*, cf. E 473

*πόλιν ἐξέμεν*. The analogy, however, is not very close, nor is that of the common phrases *θάμβος*, *ὑπνος*, *γῆρας*, κτλ., *ἔχει τινα*. Others, perhaps better, make *φρονέω* . . . *αἴσῃ* parenthetical, and *τιμῆς* the antecedent to *ἣ*, comparing P 143 *κλέος ἔχει* (so Schol. T etc.). In any case the expression is very awkward.

612. *σύγχει*, *confound*, our colloquial 'do not upset me.' Achilles acknowledges the effect which Phoenix's speech has had upon him.

613. *φέρων χάριν*, *out of complaisance* to A. So E 211, 874; and cf. A 572 *ἦρα φέρειν*.

616. This verse is expunged as meaningless by almost all recent editors (Heyne, Bekker, Dödl., Ameis, Düntzer, Fäsi, von Christ and van Leeuwen). But it is possible to explain it as a hyperbolic expression meant to be taken in irony rather than earnest: 'ask what you will, you shall have even the half of my kingdom (but do not expect me to change my mind)'; only for the last clause he substitutes 'these shall take my message,' i.e. I do not recall it. *μείρομαι* does not occur again; but it would be a legitimate present of *ἐμμορε*, for *μερ-γ-ομαι*. Hes. *Theog.* 801, *Opp.* 578 has *ἀπομείρομαι*. *ἥμισυ* must be taken as neut. acc. used adverbially, 'share my honour to the half.'

οὔτοι δ' ἀγγελέουσι, σὺ δ' αὐτόθι λέξεο μίμνων  
εὐνῇ ἐνὶ μαλακῇ· ἅμα δ' ἡοῖ φαινομένηφι  
φρασσόμεθ' ἥ κε νεώμεθ' ἐφ' ἡμέτερ', ἥ κε μένωμεν."

ἥ καὶ Πατρόκλῳ ὃ γ' ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεύσε σιωπῇ 620  
Φοῖνικι στορέσαι πυκινὸν λέχος, ὄφρα τάχιστα  
ἐκ κλισίης νόστοιο μεδοίατο. τοῖσι δ' ἄρ' Αἴας  
ἀντίθεος Τελαμωνιάδης μετὰ μῦθον ἔειπε·  
"διογενὲς Λαερτιάδῃ, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ,  
ἴομεν· οὐ γάρ μοι δοκέει μῦθοιο τελευτῇ 625  
τῇδε γ' ὁδῶι κρανέεσθαι· ἀπαγγεῖλαι δὲ τάχιστα  
χρὴ μῦθον Δαναοῖσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν περ ἔοντα,  
οἳ πον νῦν ἔαται ποτιδέγμενοι. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς  
ἄγριον ἐν στήθεσσι θέτο μεγαλήτορα θυμόν,  
σχέτλιος, οὐδὲ μετατρέπεται φιλότῃτος ἐταίρων 630  
τῆς ἥι μιν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἐτίομεν ἔξοχον ἄλλων,  
νηλῆς· καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φονῆς  
ποινὴν ἥ οὐ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος·  
καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δῆμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ, πόλλ' ἀποτίσας,  
τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρητύεται κραδίῃ καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ 635  
ποινὴν δεξαμένῳ. σοὶ δ' ἄλληκτόν τε κακὸν τε

619. ἦ κε: ἡ ἐ GT Cant.: ἡ\*ε A (supr. κ). 623. μετὰ: μέγα Q. || εὐμὸν  
Lips. 625. τελευτῇ S. 626. γ': ο' G. 627. After this add. εἰπέμεν  
ἀτρείδης ἀγαμέμνωνι καὶ μενελάῳ (= II 373) GJQST<sup>m</sup> (Rhosos) Vr. A<sup>m</sup> (ἀτρείδῃ  
GT<sup>m</sup>). 628. προτιδέγμενοι DU. 631. ἦ: ἡ T<sup>1</sup>: ἦν PT<sup>2</sup>. 632. τε: γε  
Ar. Harl. b, Par. d g. || φονῆος A (supr. οιο) T: φόνοιο Ω. 633. τεθνηῶτος  
Ar. PQ Vr. b: τεθνηῶτος A supr.: τεθνεῖῶτος Ω. 636. δεξαμένῳ AC<sup>1</sup>  
D<sup>1</sup>HIT<sup>1</sup>: δεξαμένου Ω.

617. λέξεο, i.e. λεχ-σ-εσο, from the  
'mixed' aor. ἐλεξόμην of \*λέχομαι, like  
ἐδυσόμην. The imper. of the non-  
thematic aor. (λέκτο) is λέξο (λεχσο) Ω  
650, like δέξο T 10. So we have both  
ὄρσοο and ὄρσο.

620. ἐπὶ . . . νεύσε ὀφρύσι, he nodded  
(with) his head to P. in silence . . . for  
Phoinix. Observe the four consecutive  
datives: instrumental, jussive, modal,  
and 'commodi.' ἐπὶ . . . νεύσε, because  
he wishes to give a silent hint for  
departure to the envoys.

625. μῦθοιο τελευτῇ, the fulfilment of  
our errand. μῦθος is 'a charge imposed,'  
as A 25.

629. ἄγριον, predicate with θέτο, has  
turned his heart savage. This use is  
common in the act, but there is no exact  
parallel in mid. The alternative which  
makes ἄγριον an epithet correlative to

μεγαλήτορα, has taken a savage high  
heart into his breast, is often adopted,  
but is obviously awkward; it, however,  
is the usual sense of ἐν στήθεσσι θέσθαι,  
cf. 637, 639.

632. τις, a man in general. Compare  
Ω 46 ff. φονῆος, though not strongly  
supported, gives rather the better sense,  
accepts the blood-price from the slayer of  
his brother. It is then more natural to  
go on to take παιδός as dependent  
directly on ποιήν, for his son. The  
vulg. φόνοιο is of course defensible.  
The schol. suggest that κασιγνήτοιο is  
then an adj. (see on 567), and this  
avoids the awkwardness of the double  
gen. For the general question of the  
acceptance of blood-money in H. see  
Σ 498.

636. δεξαμένῳ: the change of case is  
rather harsh, but may be paralleled by

θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι θεοὶ θέσαν εἵνεκα κούρης  
οἷης. νῦν δέ τοι ἐπτά παρίσχομεν ἔξοχ' ἀρίστας  
ἀλλὰ τε πόλλ' ἐπὶ τῆσι· σὺ δ' ἴλαον ἔνθεο θυμόν,  
αἰδεσσαι δὲ μέλαθρον· ὑπωρόφιοι δέ τοι εἶμεν 640  
πληθύνος ἐκ Δαναῶν, μέμαμεν δέ τοι ἔξοχον ἄλλων  
κῆδιστοὶ τ' ἔμεναι καὶ φίλτατοι, ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί."  
τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
"Αἴαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,  
πάντά τί μοι κατὰ θυμὸν εἰσαο μυθήσασθαι· 645  
ἀλλὰ μοι οἰδάνεται κραδίη χόλωι, ὅππότε κείνων  
μνήσομαι, ὥς μ' ἀσύφηλον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν  
Ἀτρεΐδης ὥς εἴ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην.

637. οὔνεκα C. 638. παρέσχομεν PQ: παρίσχεμεν U. 639. τοῖσι P (and  
ap. Did. ?). || ἔνθεο: θέο J. 640. αἰδεσσαι S. || ἐμμεν G. 641. πληθύνος:  
ἀερόοι Zen. || ἐκ om. Q. || ἔξοχοι R (supr. om). 642. κῆδιστοὶ Q Lips. (supr. H):  
κῆδεστοὶ Vr. A. 644. κοίραν' ἀχαιῶν G. 645. εἰσαο Ar. (ἐν τισι τῶν ὑπο-  
μνημάτων) PQ: εἰσῶ Ω. 646. ὅππότε ἐκείνου G. 647. ὥς: ὅς Par. b (?), El.  
Mag. || ἔρεξεν: ἔθηκε El. Gud.

Γ 300-1, K 187, T 413, ρ 555, ψ 205,  
and other instances in *H. G.* § 243. 3 d.

637. *θυμὸν*, here *anger*. *κούρης οἷης*,  
*just one single girl*. Aias' numerical  
argument is well suited to the not over-  
subtle quality of his intellect.

639. *ἴλαον*, *placable*. *ἐνθεο* is ex-  
plained by 629, and *θέσαν* 637. It is  
a question if we should not adopt the  
reading *θέο* of J; *ἴλαος* has *ā* in A 583,  
*Hymn. Cer.* 204, and this quantity is  
implied in the Ionic *ἴλεως*. But *ā* recurs  
in T 178.

640. *μέλαθρον*, i.e. the obligation of  
hospitality incurred by our reception  
under your roof.

641. *πληθύνος ἐκ Δ.*, we are selected  
from the host of the Danaans, and there-  
fore claim respect as representatives of  
the whole body of the army.

642. *ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί* (supply *εἰσὶ*) goes  
closely with *ἄλλων*, *dearest of all*  
*Achaïans that there are*. So l. 55.

645. *Θοὺ σεμνὸν εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα*  
*almost after mine own soul*. Achilles  
refers to the latter part of Aias' speech.  
The *τι* modifies the sentence like our  
colloquial 'much as I could wish.' Cf.  
i 11 *τοῦτό τί μοι κάλλιστον ἐνὶ φρεσὶν εἶδεται*  
*εἶναι*, leading on to a 'but' in the next line.  
The use, however, is elsewhere almost  
confined to negative sentences. Bentley  
conj. *τά*, needlessly. The open form

*εἰσαο* is demanded alike by the rhythm  
and by Homeric use.

647. *μνήσομαι*: aor. subj. *ἀσύφηλος*:  
a word of unknown origin recurring only  
in Ω 767. The meaning seems to be  
*degrading or vile*, here *wrought vileness on*  
*me*. The most obvious relation of the  
word is with the equally obscure *σιφλός*,  
for which see note on Ξ 142. It is at  
least a curious coincidence that as the  
meaning of that word exactly agrees with  
the Arabic *safala*, *to fall low*, so *ἀσύφηλος*  
should correspond with the Arabic super-  
lative *asfal*, *most vile*, from the same  
root. (For *ν* as a connecting vowel in  
an Oriental word cf. the form *Τύμωλος*  
by *Τυμῶλος*.) But it is more orthodox to  
refer the word to *σοφός* and explain it  
*foolish*.

648=Π 59. *μετανάστην*, one who has  
changed his home. In the early stage  
of society, in which religion as well as  
polity is based entirely on family and  
clan relations, the man who has had to  
leave his home becomes contemptible,  
an enemy of society, *ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος*  
*ἀνέστιος*. Hence in most European  
languages the name of *outcast* has be-  
come a general word of contempt. So  
with the *μέτοικος* at Athens; our own  
*wretch* means no more than 'exile,'  
Germ. *Elend*=*foreigner*, and so in other  
cases (see Schrader *Handels-gesch.* p. 7).

ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς ἔρχεσθε καὶ ἀγγελίην ἀπόφασθε·  
οὐ γὰρ πρὶν πολέμοιο μεδήσομαι αἵματόεντος, 650  
πρὶν γ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἐκτορα δῖον,  
Μυρμιδόνων ἐπὶ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας ἰκέσθαι  
κτείνοντ' Ἀργείους, κατὰ τε σμῦξαι πυρὶ νῆας.  
ἀμφὶ δέ τοι τῇ ἐμῇ κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
Ἐκτορα καὶ μεμαῶτα μάχης σχήσεσθαι ὁῖον." 655  
ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δὲ ἕκαστος ἑλὼν δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον  
σπείσαντες παρὰ νῆας ἴσαν πάλιν· ἦρχε δ' Ὀδυσσεύς.  
Πάτροκλος δ' ἐτάροισιν ἰδὲ δμῶῃσι κέλευσε  
Φοίνικι στορέσαι πυκινὸν λέχος ὅττι τάχιστα.  
αἱ δ' ἐπιπειθόμεναι στόρεσαν λέχος ὥς ἐκέλευσε, 660  
κῶεά τε ῥῆγός τε λινόιο τε λεπτὸν ἄωτον.

651. Γ' υἱὸν : ὦρεαι U : ὄρεαι υἱὸν R (with dots under ὄρεαι). 652. μυρ-  
μιδόνων δ' QR. 653. σμῦσαι : φλέσαι Plato *Hipp. Min.* 371 c, and γρ. Δ :  
οἶδε (sc. Ἀρίσταρχος) καὶ τὴν φλέσαι γραφὴν Did. || ἀργείους τὲ κατασῶσαι P (*supr.*  
τε over ας). 654. τοι : μιν Plato *Hipp. Min.* 371 c. || ἐμῇ : (')μᾶ(ι) Ω. 655.  
μάχῃ L (P p. ras. ?). || στήθεσσι G. 657. σπείσαντες : ἐν τῇ ἐτέραι τῶν  
Ἀριστάρχου λειψάντες, καὶ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν ἀρχαίων Did. 658. ἡδὲ HU. |  
κέλευε T. 659-60 om. G<sup>b</sup>. 659 hab. G<sup>m</sup>, with ὥς ἐκέλευσε for ὅττι τάχιστα.  
660. ὥς ἐκέλευε T Par. b k : ἐγκονέουσαι Zen.

ἀτίμητον doubtless=*unpriced*, a man to whose life no blood-money is attached, so that he may be killed with impunity. Aristotle, however, took it to mean *excluded from office* (*Pol.* iii. 3 ὥσπερ μέτοικος γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ τῶν τιμῶν μὴ μετέχων), a natural view in the fourth century in Athens. (But in *Rhet.* ii. 2 he makes it mean simply *despised*, which is of course possible.)

650. Achilles has apparently by this time abandoned his idea of returning home, though Odysseus in 682 reports only the original threat. This difficulty was a popular *ἀπορία* in the Alexandrian schools, and is not solved by expunging the present passage; see 601, 619.

653. The verb *σμύχειν* recurs in H. only in X 411, in the pass.=*smoulder*. Here it seems to mean simply *burn*; it may perhaps be used in a contemptuous sense.

655. *μάχης* seems to go equally with *μεμαῶτα* (as E 732 and elsewhere) and *σχήσεσθαι*, *refrain from war though eager for it*. Compare note on P 181.

657. παρὰ *νήας*, *along the line of ships*. The libation seems to mark the close of the meal, at which they were still sitting, at least nominally. So 712.

Cf. γ 334 ὄφρα . . σπείσαντες κοίτοι μεδώμεθα.

660. For ὥς ἐκέλευσε Zen. read ἐγκονέουσαι, a word specially used in this connexion. See Ω 648, η 340, ψ 291.

661. *Fleeces and sheet and fine flock of linen*. Cf. Ω 644 ff. ἄωτον is explained by Buttm. *Lexil.* as meaning 'flocus,' the flocculent knap on woven cloths. The original use was probably of wool only, οἶδς ἄωτον. The application here to linen is unique, and the word has retained only the sense of 'the most delicate fibre.' The later use of the word, a particular favourite with Pindar, is almost entirely metaphorical. The ῥῆγος itself seems to have been a sheet of linen, to judge from the ῥήγεα σιγαλόεντα commonly mentioned in *Od.* (ζ 38, λ 189, etc.). πορφύρεα in Ω 645, δ 298, η 337 points in the same direction, for purple was the one dye used for linen. If so we ought apparently to take ῥῆγός τε λινόιο τε ἄωτον together by hendiadys; and so ν 73 στόρεσαν ῥῆγός τε λινον τε (see also ν 118). The three constituents of the Homeric bed, δέμνια, ῥήγεα, and χλαῖναι (λ 189, etc.), then resolve themselves into mattress, sheets, and blankets.



ἔνθ' ὁ γέρον κατέλεκτο καὶ ἡὼ διὰν ἔμιμνεν.  
 αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς εὐδε μυχῶι κλισίης ἐνπῆκτου·  
 τῶι δ' ἄρα παρκατέλεκτο γυνή, τὴν Λεσβόθεν ἦγε,  
 Φόρβαντος θυγάτηρ Διομήδη καλλιπάρηιος. 665  
 Πάτροκλος δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐλέξατο· παρ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῶι  
 Ἴφιδι εὐζωνος, τὴν οἱ πόρε διος Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 Σκύρον ἐλὼν αἰπείαν, Ἐνυῆος πτολίεθρον.  
 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ κλισίησιν ἐν Ἀτρεΐδαο γέγοντο,  
 τοὺς μὲν ἄρα χρυσοῖσι κυπέλλοις υἷες Ἀχαιῶν 670  
 δειδέχατ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἀνασταδόν, ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο·  
 πρῶτος δ' ἐξερέεινεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 “εἴπ' ἄγε μ', ὦ πολύαιν Ὀδυσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ἧ ῥ' ἐθέλει νήεσσιν ἀλεξέμεναι δῆϊον πῦρ,  
 ἧ ἀπέειπε, χόλος δ' ἔτ' ἔχει μεγαλήτορα θυμόν;” 675  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
 κεῖνός γ' οὐκ ἐθέλει σβέσσαι χόλον, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 πιμπλάνεται μένεος, σὲ δ' ἀναίνεται ἡδὲ σὰ δῶρα.

664. τῶι δὲ γυνὴ παρέλεκτο Κάειρ', ἦν Λ. ἦγε Zen. 669. κλισίης HP :  
 κλισίην AD. 674. ἐσέλην Vr. b. || ἀμυνόμεναι PQS, ἐν ἄλλωι Δ. 675. ἀπέειπε  
 J. 678. κεῖνος κ' R. 679. cā : τὰ T (γρ. cā).

In this place the fleeces seem to serve alike for mattress and coverlet. *ρήγεα* are used only for beds, and in κ 352 for covering chairs.

668. **Σκύρον** is said by the scholia to be a city of Phrygia (one of those alluded to in 329), not the island of that name (for which see T 326). This is of course a mere guess founded on the distance of the island from Troy. Nothing else is known of such a town in Phrygia.

671. **δειδέχατο** : see 196. **ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος ἀνασταδόν**, rising each in his own place.

673. **μ'**, i.e. *μοι*. See on A 170, Ψ 579, etc. **πολύαινος** is an epithet used only of Odysseus : K 544, Δ 430, μ 184. It means *much praised*, illustrious. Buttm. however, *Lexil.* p. 60, says ‘*αἶνος* is only a speech full of meaning or cunningly imagined,’ and quotes ξ 508 where it is used ‘of the short and pithy narrative of Odysseus.’ He would then understand it to mean ‘full of pregnant utterances.’

674. The epithet **δῆϊος** is applied to fire in the *Il.* only, five times in the gen., *πυρὸς δῆϊοιο*, and four times in nom.,

*δῆϊον πῦρ* always at the end of the line. This suggests that in this sense, *consuming*, the proper form is *δᾶφιος* (ᾶ), cf. *θεσπιδαῖς πῦρ*, and Alkman *χείμα πῦρ τε δᾶφιον*. Schulze (*Q. E.* p. 86) distinguishes this from the sense *hostile* (used of war and enemies) where the regular scansion is *δῆϊος* (– ∪ ∪) (H 199, etc.) or *δῆϊος* (– ∪). The latter contracted form is established for H. by the forms of the verb *δηῖειν* (*δηῖωσαντες*, etc.), where *ηι* is necessarily monosyllabic and always in arsis. The only passage which seems to be opposed to this complete separation is B 544 (q.v.), where *δῆϊων* in the sense of *foemen* is apparently scanned ∪ ∪ –. This, however, may only shew that the two words had already been confused when the Catalogue was composed. I have therefore written *δῆϊον πῦρ*, *πυρὸς δῆϊοιο*, and *δῆϊων* in B 544, but *δῆϊους*, *δῆϊοισι*, etc., elsewhere.

679. The form **πιμπλάνεται** seems to be unique in Greek, for *πιμπλάται*. There is, however, no obvious correction, and it is probably original. (*πιμπλάσθαι* conj. Dindorf.)

αὐτόν σε φράζεσθαι ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἄνωγεν  
 ὅππως κεν νῆάς τε σόῃς καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν·  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἠπείλησεν ἅμ' ἡοῖ φαινομένηφι  
 νῆας ἐνστέλμους ἅλαδ' ἐλξέμεν ἀμφιελίσσας.  
 καὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοισιν ἔφη παραμυθήσασθαι  
 οἴκαδ' ἀποπλεῖιν, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι δῆετε τέκμωρ  
 Ἰλίου αἰπεινῆς· μάλα γάρ ἐθεν εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
 χεῖρα ἔην ὑπερέσχε, τεθαρσῆκασι δὲ λαοί.  
 ὥς ἔφατ'· εἰσὶ καὶ οἶδε τὰδ' εἰπέμεν, οἳ μοι ἔποντο,  
 Αἴας καὶ κήρυκε δύω, πεπνυμένω ἄμφω.  
 Φοῖνιξ δ' αὖθ' ὁ γέρων κατελέξατο· ὥς γὰρ ἀνώγει,  
 ὄφρα οἳ ἐν νήεσσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἔπηται  
 αὔριον, ἣν ἐθέλησιν· ἀνάγκη δ' οὐ τί μιν ἄξει."  
 ὥς ἔφαθ', οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ  
 μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἀγόρευσε.  
 δὴν δ' ἄνεωι ἦσαν τετιηότες νῆες Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ὁπρὲ δὲ δὴ μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 "Ἄτρεϊδῆ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
 μὴ ὄφελος λίσσεσθαι ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα,

681. **κόηις** : **κόοις** Par. j, Vr. c, Mosc. 3 : **κόως** Par. g : **κῶν(ι)ς** DRU Par. d : **κοῶς** Par. e<sup>1</sup> (**κῶοις** Par. e<sup>2</sup> ?) : **κῶσ(ι)ς** GJ Par. e : **κοῶς** and **καῶς** Ar. διχῶς.  
 682-3 *τινὲς ὠβέλισαν* Schol. T. 683. **ἐλξέμεν** P : **ἐλκόμεν** Ω. 684. **παρ-  
 αμυθέσσεσθαι** (Ar. ?) T (*supr.* **παρ-αμυθέσσεσθαι** διὰ τοῦ ε). 688-92 *ἀθ.* Ar. Aph.  
 688. **καὶ** : **δὲ** Lips. : **δὲ καὶ** JR. 689. **κήρυκες** HT. || **πεπνυμένοι** P. 690.  
**αὖθ'** : **αὖ** PU. || **παρ-ελέξατο** G. || **ἄνωγε** Q. 692 *ἀθ.* Zen. 694 *ἀθ.* Ar.  
 Aph., *om.* Zen. | **ἀγασσάμενοι** : γρ. **φρασσάμενοι** A. || **ἀγόρευε(ν)** CT (*supr.* c)  
 Harl. a, Vr. A : **ἀπέειπε** G Cant., γρ. A : **ἀπόειπεν** S. 695. **τετηκότες** J. 698.  
**μῆ** : **μῆδ'** Ar. CGJ Harl. a d.

681. **κόηις** : see note on 424. It will be noticed that Ar. hesitated between *σοῶς* and the more correct *σαῶς*.

682-3 were rejected by some on the ground that they take no notice of Achilles's change of attitude after the original threat was made ; see on 650.

683. **ἐλξέμεν** is clearly preferable to *ἐλκόμεν* of vulg. Cf. on K 40.

684 is 417 turned into *oratio obliqua*, thus giving the only instance in H. of *ἂν* (as X 110 is the only instance of *κε*) with infin. *καὶ δὲ κε* Brandreth.

688. **εἰς καὶ οἶδε τὰδ' εἰπέμεν κτλ.**, *my companions are here to confirm this*. This use of the infin. is exactly like that in T 140 (q.v.) *δῶρα δ' ἐγὼν ὅδε πάντα παρ-ασχέμεν*.

691. **ἐπηται** : subj. after a historical

tense, of an event that is still future ; as A 158, 559.

Aristarchos obelized 688-92 as unusual (*νεώτεροι*) in sentiment and prosy in composition ; adding that Odysseus should not call witnesses as though he were not believed. 691-2 are repeated from 428-9.

694. Rejected by Ar. and Aph., and omitted altogether by Zen., as interpolated from 431. Indeed several mss. read *ἀπέει-  
 πεν* here also, though it gives no sense.

695-6=30-1. See note there.

698. **μῆ** (Ar. *μηδ'* ; but for the hiatus cf. P 686, Σ 19, X 481) goes closely with **λίσσεσθαι** both in sense and construction, not with *ὄφελος*. This inversion of the order of the words is perhaps natural, because the negative form of the sentence, the 'ought not,' is uppermost in the

μυρία δῶρα διδούς· ὁ δ' ἀγῆνωρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλως·  
 νῦν αὖ μιν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀγνηορίησιν ἐνήκας. 700  
 ἀλλ' ἦ τοι κείνον μὲν ἐάσομεν, ἦ κεν ἦρισιν  
 ἦ κε μένηι· τότε δ' αὖτε μαχήσεται, ὅππότε κέν μιν  
 θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνώγει καὶ θεὸς ὄρσηι.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες·  
 νῦν μὲν κοιμήσασθε τεταρπόμενοι φίλον ἦτορ 705  
 σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο· τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κε φανῇ καλὴ ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως,  
 καρπαλίμως πρὸ νεῶν ἐχέμεν λαόν τε καὶ ἵππους  
 ὀτρύνων, καὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μάχεσθαι."  
 ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἐπήνησαν βασιλῆες, 710  
 μῦθον ἀγασσάμενοι Διομήδεος ἵπποδάμοιο.  
 καὶ τότε δὴ σπείσαντες ἔβαν κλισίηνδε ἕκαστος,  
 ἔνθα δὲ κοιμήσαντο καὶ ὕπνου δῶρον ἔλοντο.

699. ἄλλως: ἄλλων Par. k: γρ. αὐτως A: γρ. αὐτός Lips. 700. ἀνήκας  
 Ar. (ἐν τισι τῶν ὑπομνημάτων) P. 701. κἀκείνον R. || ἢ κ' ἀνίησιν U. 702.  
 μένει J. 703. ἀνώγει (R<sup>1</sup>?) T King's Vr. c, Mosc. 3: ἀνώγοι P Harl. b, Par.  
 d: (στήθεσσι) κελύοι L: ὀρίνει Q: ὀρίνη Eust. || ὄρσοι P. 704. ἐγὼν [A]Q.  
 710. ἐπή(ι)νεσαν DGHJPQRST. 711. ἀγασσάμενοι: γρ. φρασσάμενοι T.  
 712. κλισίησιν U: κλισίησιν C (γρ. κλισίηνδε).

speaker's mind; he begins, in fact, as though an ordinary μή with opt. were to follow.

699. καὶ ἄλλως, 'at the best of times,' in colloquial English. See T 99.

700. *Thou hast the more set him on haughtinesses.* For this use of ἐνήμη, 'to involve' a man in anything, see K 89 Ζεὺς ἐνέηκε πόντοις, and ο 198 ὁμοφροσύνησιν ἐνήσει. So ψ 13 ἐπιβῆσαι: and for the plur. of the abstract noun A 205, K 122. The sense is, of course, *acts of ἀγνηορίη*, just as in the familiar

"mercies and forgivenesses," *H. G.* § 171 (4).

701. ἐάσομεν, *we will leave him to go his own way*; followed by ἦ . . ἦ with subj. as § 183.

705. τεταρπόμενοι: redupl. aor. with the sense of 'sating,' as always, except § 244.

708. ἐχέμεν, for imper., *array*. The sudden change from the plur. (705) to the singular (αὐτός) is evidently a preparation for the ἀριστέα of Agamemnon in Δ.

713. ὕπνου δῶρον: see on H 482.

## K

### INTRODUCTION

φασὶ τὴν ῥαψωιδίαν ὑφ' Ὀμήρου ἰδίαι τετάχθαι καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέρος τῆς Ἰλιάδος, ὑπὸ δὲ Πεισιστράτου τετάχθαι εἰς τὴν ποιήσιν. These noteworthy words of Schol. T, repeated with slight variations by Eustathios, though we have no means of tracing their source, correspond too closely with the probabilities of the case to allow us to treat them as a mere empty guess.

That the book forms no essential part of the story of the *Iliad* is obvious at once. There is no allusion to it in any form whatever in any of the subsequent books, even in places where such a mention would seem inevitable. For instance, in the races in Ψ the horses which Diomedes took from Aineias play a prominent part, but there is no mention of the much-lauded pair which the same hero here takes from Rhesos. Moreover the events recorded are crowded into the latter part of a night which began in Θ and has been already occupied by all the events related in I, the agora, the council, the embassy, the report of the envoys to the council, and several feasts.

The words of Agamemnon in 106-7 εἴ κεν Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐκ χόλου ἀργαλέον μεταστρέψῃ φίλον ἦτορ are at least somewhat out of place at a moment when such a change has just been found impossible.

The composition of the book in some respects reminds us of I. Here, as in I, we have as a general background the story of the *Iliad*, with a defeat of the Greeks brought about by the secession of Achilles; neither I nor K can ever have existed independently of the Μῆνις. Here again, too, we have a brilliant episode, the expedition of Odysseus and Diomedes, introduced by a narrative marked by curious weakness and confusion. Agamemnon proposes to wake Nestor in order to devise some plan with him (19), as though Nestor had not just done his best, with some flourish of trumpets, in I; but the only outcome is the visit to the sentinels. Then the other chiefs, who would not be needed for such a purpose, are summoned in order to introduce the very un-Homeric meeting of the βουλή in the open plain. The author takes a quite peculiar delight in the minute description of dress and weapons; in order to be able to give a detailed account of the arming of the two spies, Odysseus is made to start with nothing but a shield (149). By this and similar devices the prologue is extended to 200 lines, a length quite out of proportion to the real story.

The whole book is marked by a noticeably mannered style. There is



throughout a distinct effort to produce striking contrasts, such for instance as that between the way in which Nestor speaks of Menelaos and that hero's occupation at the moment; between the promise of Hector to give the horses of Achilles to Dolon and the loss through Dolon of the horses of Rhesos; between the exaggerated despondency at the beginning and hasty exultation at the end of the story. The result is that we have a series of vivid and effective pictures at the expense of the harmony and symmetrical repose of the Epic style.

The linguistic evidence points strongly in the same direction. The book abounds not only in curious *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*, but in unusual and involved forms of expression. Such are the idea of "tearing out the hair to Zeus" (16), the curious phrase in 142, *πολέμοιο στόμα* in 8, *ὄμιλος* in the sense of "assembly," *αὐδῆσαντος* in 47, *ἐπιβωσόμεθα* or *ἐπιδωσόμεθα* in 463, and many others. The cases of approximation to later Greek are also very numerous. The pronoun *ὁ* is continually used as a fully developed article; we find numerous "perfects in -κα from derivative verbs, *βεβίηκεν*, *παροίχωκεν*, *ἀδηκότες*: the aor. *θήκατο* (for *ἔθετο*); the 3rd sing. pres. *μεθιεί* (121); the 2nd fut. pass. *μιγήσασθαι* (the only instance of the tense in Homer); the form *νῦν* (105) in the sense of 'now' (Monro). The place of particles in the sentence does not follow the strict Homeric rules (*H. G.* § 365 ad fin.).

In other cases we seem to have pseudo-archaisms—*ἐργηγόρθασι* 419, *κράτεσφι* (156), *σφίσιν* = *ὑμῖν* (398), (*παραφθαίρσι* 346 ?). With these must probably be classed the dressing of the heroes in the skins of wild animals; Agamemnon wears a lion's skin, Menelaos a pard's, Diomedes lies on an ox-hide and wears a lion's skin; he puts on a helm of bull's hide, while Odysseus takes one of leather; Dolon has a helmet of ferret-skin, and a wolf-skin over his shoulders. The only similar case of such dress is in *Γ* 17, where the pard-skin distinguishes the archer Paris from the hoplite Menelaos. It has been suggested by Erhardt that this peculiarity may be due to the same age as the lion-skin of Herakles, an attribute which was only given him by Peisandros of Kameiros in the second half of the 7th century, and was doubtless meant to mark him as a hero of the very olden times.

Everything points, in fact, to as late a date as this for the composition of the book. It must, however, have been composed before the *Iliad* had reached its present form, for it cannot have been meant to follow on *I*. It is rather another case of a parallel rival to that book, coupled with it only in the final literary redaction.

In two other respects, both possibly pointing to the 7th century, the book is peculiar. First, it gives us the only known case of an epic story closely followed in a tragedy. The (pseudo?) Euripidean *Rhesos* is in parts a close paraphrase of Homer—a curious exception to the rule of the free hand claimed by the Greek artist in the treatment of his subject. Secondly, it is treated in much the same way in vase-paintings. These are rarely actual illustrations in our sense of Homeric scenes, but the Doloneia is an exception. It was a favourite subject for vases as early as Euphronios and is represented with unusual fidelity—sometimes in a comic spirit. These two facts may both indicate that in the 6th century the story was still fresh and popular,

and was treated as public property in a different way from the consecrated older legends.

Two episodes in the *Odyssey* (δ 240 ff., ξ 468 ff.) bear a certain resemblance to the Doloneia; and the close relation of Athena to Odysseus, not elsewhere recognised in the *Iliad*, suggests that the author had the *Odyssey* rather than the *Iliad* in his mind. Numerous words and phrases recur only in *Od.*, e.g. δόσις, φήμη, δόξα, δαίτη, ἄωτέω, τοῖσδεσσι, πολλὸν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν, ἀδηκότες, ἀσάμινθος, and for whole lines cf. 214 with α 245, 243 with α 65, 279 and 291 with ν 293, 292-4 with γ 382-4, 324 with λ 344, 384 (also in Ω) *passim* in *Od.*, 457 = χ 329, 534 = δ 140, 540 cf. π 11, 560 cf. π 251.

A corollary from the late origin of the book is that it is probably preserved very nearly in its original form. Conjectural emendations, and assumptions of interpolation, are less admissible here than in those portions of the poems which must have run risks for much longer periods before being finally settled in an official form.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Κ

### Δολώνεια.

ἄλλοι μὲν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀριστῆες Παναχαιῶν  
 εὖδον παννύχιοι, μαλακῶι δεδμημένοι ὕπνῳι·  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν  
 ὕπνος ἔχε γλυκερός, πολλὰ φρεσὶν ὀρμαίνοντα.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀστράπτῃ πόσις Ἥρης ἠγκόμοιο,  
 τεύχων ἢ πολὺν ὄμβρον ἀθέσφατον ἢ χάλαζαν  
 ἢ νιφετόν, ὅτε πέρ τε χιὼν ἐπάλυνεν ἀρούρας,  
 ἢ ποθὶ πτολέμοιο μέγα στόμα πευκεδανοῖο,

5

1. ἄλλοι: ὦλλοι Zen. ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα ἑοῖ τε καὶ ἀνέρες εὖδον παννύχιοι  
 Aristot. *Poet.* 25 followed by l. 11 (confusion with B 1). 5. ἀστράπτει Q. || ἥρας  
 H. 7. ὅτε πέρ τε: ὅτε περ PQ: πολλὰς δὲ Schol. Ar. *Nubes* 261. 8.  
 πολέμοιο R.

1. Compare the opening lines of B, and Ω 677 ff., ο 7. The inappropriateness of the lines here is more marked than in B, for they contradict not only what precedes but what follows; see 26. As a matter of fact none of the principal chiefs of the Achaeans can have had more than a snatch of sleep during this portentous night. The lines 1-2 are in short used as a merely formal tag. Παναχαιῶν: see B 404.

5. The simile is so confused as to be practically unintelligible. From 9 it would seem that the frequency of Agamemnon's groans is compared to the frequency of flashes of lightning—a singularly pointless comparison. It would perhaps be possible to take ἀστράπτῃ as implying thunder, so that Agamemnon is made to groan like a thunderstorm; but this is turgid and tasteless. ἠγκόμοιο is nowhere else applied to Hera.

7. ἐπάλυνεν is of course aor. It would seem that we must understand πολὺν and ἀθέσφατον to apply also to νιφετόν, or else the picture of a snowstorm merely 'sprinkling' the fields appears a very insignificant phenomenon compared to those which precede and follow it. ὅτε πέρ τε (a combination recurring only Δ 259) should by Homeric analogy bring in some new concomitant circumstance. Here it seems to mean 'in consequence of which.' Compare the very different treatment of the snowstorm simile in M 278 ff. It is hardly necessary to add that the combination of thunder and snow is too strange to serve as a mere subordinate part of a comparison.

8. The simile runs on as though 'the mighty mouth of war' were a natural phenomenon, differing about as much from a snow-storm as a snow-storm from a hail-storm. The idea may be that if

ὥς πυκίν' ἐν στήθεσσι ἀνεσπενάχιζ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
 νειόθεν ἐκ κραδίης, τρομέοντο δέ οἱ φρένες ἐντός. 10  
 ἦ τοι ὅτ' ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τρωϊκὸν ἀθρήσειε,  
 θαύμαζεν πυρὰ πολλά, τὰ καίετο Ἰλίοθι πρό,  
 αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ' ἐνοπὴν ὁμαδὸν τ' ἀνθρώπων·  
 αὐτὰρ ὅτ' ἐς νῆάς τε ἴδοι καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν,  
 πολλὰς ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμους ἔλκετο χαίτας 15  
 ὑψόθ' ἐόντι Δίῃ, μέγα δ' ἔστεινε κυδάλιμον κῆρ.  
 ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή,  
 Νέστορ' ἔπι πρῶτον Νηληϊὸν ἐλθέμεν ἀνδρῶν,  
 εἴ τινα οἱ σὺν μῆτιν ἀμύμονα τεκτῆναιτο,  
 ἢ τις ἀλεξίκακος πᾶσιν Δαναοῖσι γένοιτο. 20  
 ὀρθωθείς δ' ἔνδυε περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα,  
 ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἔπειτα δαφνιδὸν ἐέσσατο δέρμα λέοντος  
 αἰθωνος μέγαλοιο ποδηνεκές, εἴλετο δ' ἔγχοσ.

9. ἀνεσπενάχιζ' QR Harl. d, Par. c<sup>2</sup>, Eust. 10. τρομέοντο: φοβέοντο Zen.  
 12. καίετο: καίοντ' Cant. 13. τινὲς κυρίγγων (om. τ') T. || κυρίγγων ὁμαδον  
 Aristot. *Poet.* 25. 14. τε ἴδοι: τ' ἀπίδοι D: τ' εἴδοι L. 15. πολλὰς δ'  
 Vr. b. || χαίτας: τρίχας U (γρ. χαίτας). 19. συμῆτιν CDHPT, and τινὲς Schol.  
 A: συμῆτιν R<sup>1</sup>. || ἀμείνονα C (γρ. ἀμύμονα). 21. ἔντυνε P. 22. ὑπαὶ LS,  
 γρ. Harl. a. || ἐδύσατο U (supr. c over c) Cant. 23. δαφνιδὸν PQ. || ἔσσατο GPQS.

the lightning is not accompanied by (1) rain, (2) hail, or (3) snow, it must be a portent of war. This seems to place a high importance on 'summer-lightning.' But it is hopeless to criticise such an incompetent piece of expression. For the phrase *πολέμοιο στόμα* compare T 313, T 359. The origin of the metaphor is perhaps a comparison of the two lines of battle to the jaw of a wild beast, crushing what comes in between them. But the feeling of this origin has evidently died out and left a mere phrase. In Attic (e.g. *Rhesos* 491, Xen., etc.) *στόμα* means the 'fighting line' of the army—a sense evidently unsuitable here.

10. νειόθεν: cf. Z 295, I 153, Φ 317. For *τρομέοντο* Zen. read *φοβέοντο*, which was disapproved by Ar. on the ground that *φοβέσθαι* in Homer means *flee*, not *fear*.

11. The poet does not seem to have a very vivid picture of the situation, as Agamemnon is presumably lying in bed in his hut, with a high wall between him and the plain. Various prosaic 'solutions' of the difficulty are given in the scholia.

12. Ἰλίοθι πρό: see on Γ 3.

13. The asyndeton is very harsh; it can be explained only by taking *αὐλῶν κυρίγγων* as virtually a compound word = *flute-pipes*; on the analogy of *ἰρηξ κίρκος*, etc. Some edd. reject the line, but this is arbitrary. *κύριγγες* recur only in Σ 526 (and *Hymn. Merc.* 512), *αὐλοί* in Σ 495, and are an evident anachronism. The reference is clearly to the scene in the Trojan camp at the end of Θ.

15. *προθελύμους*: cf. I 541. Here again the poet shews a tendency to exaggeration.

16. ἔστεινε, acc. to Fulda, here shews a trace of its primitive meaning, 'made his heart full to bursting,' cf. *στείνεσθαι* Ξ 34, σ 386. But of course *κῆρ* may be equally well taken as nom. The dat. *Δίῃ* seems to be an extension of the phrase *Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν*.

19. It is ambiguous whether the direct expression was *εἰ τεκτῆναιτο σὺν ἐμοί*, or *εἰ τεκτῆναίμην σὺν οἱ, μῆτιν*. In the former case we ought perhaps to read *οἱ*, the pronoun referring reflexively to the subject of the principal sentence.

21. Cf. B 42 ff.



ὥς δ' αὐτως Μενέλαον ἔχε τρόμος, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῶι 25  
 ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐφίζανε, μή τι πάθοιεν  
 Ἀργεῖοι, τοὶ δὴ ἔθεν εἵνεκα πούλυν ἐφ' ὕγρην  
 ἦλυθον ἐς Τροίην πόλεμον θρασὺν ὀρμαίνοντες.  
 παρδαλέηι μὲν πρῶτα μετάφρενον εὐρὺ κάλυψε 30  
 ποικίλῃ, αὐτὰρ ἐπὶ στεφάνῃν κεφαλῇφι ἀείρας  
 θήκατο χαλκείην, δόρυ δ' εἴλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ.  
 βῆ δ' ἵμεν ἀνστήσων ὃν ἀδελφεόν, ὃς μέγα πάντων  
 Ἀργείων ἦνασσε, θεὸς δ' ὥς τίετο δῆμωι.  
 τὸν δ' εὐρ' ἀμφ' ὥμοισι τιθήμενον ἔντεα καλὰ 35  
 νηὶ πάρα πρυμνῇ· τῶι δ' ἀσπασίος γένετ' ἐλθών.  
 τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος·  
 “τίφθ' οὕτως, ἦθεῖε, κορύσσειαι; ἢ τιν' ἐταίρων  
 ὀτρύνεις Τρώεσσιν ἐπίσκοπον; ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς

25. ὥσαύτως H. || αὐ τῶι Ptol. Asc. AG. 26. Πάθοιεν: ἐν ἄλλωι πάθωσιν A. 27. πούλῃν G: πολλῃν C<sup>1</sup> (?) DQ: πούλῃν RTU. 28. ἦλαον T. 29. εὐρὺ: ὀξὺ R (εὐρὺ Rm<sup>1</sup>). 32. ἀναστήσων P: (ἀσστήσων? αρ. Did.). 33. ἦνασσε G. 34. τιθέμενον JT Mor.: τιθείμενον G. 35. ἀσπασίως Q. 38. ὀτρυνέεις Ar.

25. αὐτῶι is sufficiently in place here, as the emphatic pronoun gives the contrast; but the variant αὐ τῶι is possible.

26. μή is to be taken with ἔχε τρόμος, οὐδὲ . . . ἐφίζανε being parenthetical.

27. πούλῃν ἐφ' ὕγρην recurs δ 709. For πούλῃν as fem. see E 776, and for ὕγρην as subst. Ξ 308, Ω 341. Schulze (Q. E. 445 ff.) points out that the simple πούλῃς occurs only nine times in H., and in five of these is feminine. He concludes that where it is masc. we should read a form of πολλός, and suggests that the original fem. form is πούλῃαν from \*πόλFa, cf. πρέσβ(F)a from πρέσβυς. The form πούλῃς was accepted from the analogy of the compounds Πουλυδάμας, Πουλυβότειρα, where it is due to metrical necessity alone.

30. στεφάνῃν: see H 12.

31. ἔθκατο, the only form of the mid. aor. in -κα- which is found in H.; it recurs Ξ 187.

32. μέγα, as A 78. For the next line cf. H 298.

34. τιθέμενον, here only; but cf. Ψ 83, 247 τιθήμεναι. The lengthening is due to metrical necessity; the forms in η (τίθημι, etc.) naturally gave the preference to τιθήμενος over τιθέμενος,

which would be the more regular form. Schulze Q. E. p. 16.

37. ἦεῖε: a word of address specially used between brothers; Z 518, X 229, 239, and see also Ψ 94, ξ 147 ἄλλά μιν ἠθεῖον καλέω καὶ νόσφιν ἔοντα. Aristonikos calls it a προσφώνησις νέου πρὸς πρεσβύτερον.

38. It is indifferent whether we read ὀτρύνεις with MSS. or ὀτρυνέεις with Ar. ἐπίσκοπον: so Ar. and MSS.; there was a variant ἐπι σκοπόν, which Döderlein and others have preferred. Both σκοπός (χ 396) and ἐπίσκοπος (X 255, Ω 729, θ 163) are used in the sense of *overseer*, so they may doubtless be both used in the sense of *spy*. It is quite possible to take Τρώεσσιν without a preposition as a sort of *dat. ethicus*, though the construction with ἐπι seems more natural. Again, while σκοπός is the regular word for 'spy' or outpost (B 792, etc.), the addition of ἐπι in composition gives more force, as implying one who *goes* to spy out the foe, rather than a passive outpost; the form may be compared with ὕφηνίχως beside the commoner ἡνίοχος (Z 19). In this equally balanced uncertainty, which recurs in l. 342, we follow the best tradition.

δαίδω μὴ οὐ τίς τοι ὑπόσχηται τόδε ἔργον,  
 ἄνδρας δυσμενέας σκοπιαζέμεν οἷος ἐπελθὼν 40  
 νύκτα δι' ἄμβροσίν· μάλα τις θρασυκάρδιος ἔσται."  
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 "χρεὼ βουλῆς ἐμὲ καὶ σέ, διοτρεφεὺς ὦ Μενέλαε,  
 κερδαλέης, ἢ τίς κεν ἐρύσσεται ἡδὲ σαώσει 45  
 Ἀργείους καὶ νῆας, ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἐτράπετο φρήν.  
 Ἐκτορέοις ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐπὶ φρένα θῆχ' ἱεροῖσιν·  
 οὐ γάρ πω ἰδόμην οὐδ' ἔκλυον αὐδῆσαντος  
 ἄνδρ' ἓνα τοσσάδε μέρμερ' ἐπ' ἥματι μητίσασθαι,  
 ὅσσοι Ἐκτώρ ἔρρεξε δῖφιλος υἱὰς Ἀχαιῶν, 50  
 αὐτως, οὔτε θεᾶς υἱὸς φίλος οὔτε θεοῖο.  
 ἔργα δ' ἔρεξ' ὅσα φημὶ μελησέμεν Ἀργείοισι  
 δηθά τε καὶ δολιχόν· τόσα γὰρ κακὰ μῆσατ' Ἀχαιούς.  
 ἄλλ' ἴθι νῦν, Αἴαντα καὶ Ἴδομενῆα κάλεσσον

40. ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι DR. || ἐλωὼν U. 41. μάλα: εἰ μὴ R. || τις: τοι H Harl. b, Par. k: κεν Eust. || ἔσται: εἶη (A *supr.*) DR Eust.: ἐστί Dem. Ixion: γρ. ἔστιν A<sup>m</sup>. || μάλα . . ἔσται: ὅτε θ' εὐδοκίᾳ βροτοὶ ἄλλοι Q (=83).  
 43. χρεῶ P. || διοτρεφεὺς GH. 44. κερδαλῆς J. || κεν: μὲν J. 46. φρένα θῆχ': φρένας εἶχ' Ar. ἐν τισὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων. 48. ἐπ': ἐν Ar. GJSTU Lips. Vr. A, Mosc. 3, Par. c d g h j. 50. φίλος υἱὸς GJU. 51-2 ἀθ. Ar. Aph. 52 om. U<sup>1</sup>, add. U<sup>2</sup>. || κακὰ om. U<sup>2</sup>. || μητίσατ' P. 53. αἵαντες Ar.? (G<sup>1</sup>?) Eust. (ὁ μὲν Δίδυμος τὴν Ἀριστάρχειον γραφὴν λέγει Αἴαντες δυνάως, ὁ δὲ Τῆλεφος λέγει κακῶς εἰρηκέναι τὸν Δίδυμον, Schol. A).

39. This is the only case of *μὴ οὐ* after a verb of *fearing* in H.; no other instance is found till Euripides (*M. and T.* §§ 264, 365). Cf. note on A 26.

40. The pres. infin. after verbs of promising is excessively rare (cf. however on Θ 246). In I 683, T 85 the fut. should be read. But here the construction is made easier by the fact that the infin. is exegetical of *ἔργον*, so that *ὑπόσχηται* = *undertake* rather than *promise*, though in N 366 we have *ὑπέσχετο δὲ μέγα ἔργον* . . *ἀποσέμεν*.

44. *ἐρύσσεται*, fut. (as T 311?); see on A 216. Others, however, take it as aor. subj. In that case *σαώσει* should be written for *σάωσει*, or the change of constr. will be harsh. We have fut. *εἰρύσσονται* in Σ 276; but all other future forms belong to *ἐρύω, θάω*; *ἐρύσσεσθαι* Φ 176, φ 125, *ἐρέσθαι* Ξ 422. *κερδαλέης*, *cunning*, cf. Z 153.

46. Did. mentions a variant which seems to have been recognized by Ar., *φρένας εἶχ'*. This must mean the same as the text, *paid attention to*. Neither

*ἐπέχειν* nor *ἐπιτιθέναί φρένα* recurs in Homer.

47. *αὐδῆσαντος*, *by word of mouth*; whereas by the usual Homeric practice it should mean, 'I never heard any one speaking,' see II 76, γ 337, δ 505, ι 497. In the Tragedians, however, *αὐδᾶσθαι* means 'to be noised abroad' (e.g. Soph. *O. T.* 731), which is correlative to the present use.

48. *ἐπ' ἥματι*, *in a day's space*, as T 229, β 284 *ἐπ' ἥματι πάντας ὀλέσθαι*, μ 105, ξ 105, and Θ 529 *ἐπὶ νυκτί*. Ar. ἐν ἥματι, followed by a few mss. There is much to be said for the conj. of Schrevelius, *ἐν' (= ἐνί)*, as we should expect the idea *one* to be expressed. There is no antithesis between *μητίσασθαι* and *ἔρρεξε*: this would require an *οὐδέ* in the former sentence, and practically in Homeric language *μητίσασθαι* implies *ῥέξαι*, like *μῆσατο* in 52.

50. *αὐτως*, 'just as he is,' without extraneous aid.

51-2. Athetized as tautological, not without some reason.

53. Whether or no Ar. read *Αἴαντε* we

ρίμφα θέων παρὰ νῆας· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Νέστορα διὸν  
 εἶμι, καὶ ὀτρυνέω ἀνστήμεναι, αἳ κ' ἐθέλησιν 55  
 ἐλθεῖν ἐς φυλάκων ἱερὸν τέλος ἡδ' ἐπιτεῖλαι.  
 κείνου γάρ κε μάλιστα πιθοίαιτο· τοῖο γὰρ υἱὸς  
 σημαίνει φυλάκεσσι καὶ Ἰδομενῆος ὀπάων  
 Μηριόνης· τοῖσιν γὰρ ἐπετράπομέν γε μάλιστα.”  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος· 60  
 “πῶς τάρ μοι μύθῳ ἐπιτέλλεαι ἡδὲ κελεύεις;  
 αὖθι μένω μετὰ τοῖσι δεδεγμένος εἰς ὃ κεν ἔλθῃς,  
 ἦε θέω μετὰ σ' αὖτις, ἐπὴν εὖ τοῖς ἐπιτείλω;”  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 “αὖθι μένειν, μή πως ἀβροτάξομεν ἀλλήλοιιν· 65

54. παρὰ Ar. DGJL: ἐπὶ Ω. || διὸν: οἶον P. 55. κ' ἐθέλησιν: κε  
 πίηται A (γρ. αἳ κ' ἐθέλῃ) DHU. 56. ἐπιτεῖλαι R. 57. κείνω(ι) GHJ  
 (supr. ου) QU Cant. || πνεοῖατο H (supr. ῖ) P Lips.<sup>1</sup> 61. τάρ U (τ' ἄρ): γάρ  
 Ω. || μοι: τοι H (supr. μοι). || μύεω S (supr. ον). 62. μετὰ παρὰ S. 63.  
 αὖτις G. || εὖ τοῖς: αὐτοῖς G: τοῖς C<sup>1</sup>: αὖ τοῖς C<sup>2</sup>. || ἐπιτείλλω G: ἐπιτέλλω  
 Bar. 65. ἀμβροτάξομεν HR.

cannot say. In any case only the greater Aias is actually summoned. He and Idomeneus were stationed at the extremity of the camp; see 112.

56. *ἱερὸν*, in virtue of the dignity of so important an office; see note on A 366, and compare Ω 681 *ἱεροὺς πυλαφρούς*, ω 81 *Ἀργείων ἱερὸς στρατός*. Frazer suggests (*Ency. Brit.* s.v. 'Taboo') that the word indicates something of the nature of a 'war-taboo' imposed for the protection of such important persons. *τέλος*: cf. 470 *Θρηκῶν ἀνδρῶν τέλος*. The various senses of the word often correspond closely to our *post*, by which it can be translated in both these passages, as well as in the phrase A 730, etc. *κατὰ στρατὸν ἐν τελέεσσι*. The connexion seems to be *end*—*final decision*—*authority*—*office*—*post* (occupied by soldiers)—*post* (the soldiers occupying it). All the steps will be found fully exemplified in the *Lexica*. The Homeric use seems to have stopped at the last stage but one, which with its suggestion of dignity well suits the word *ἱερὸν*. It is not clear why or what orders are to be given to the sentinels, who have been appointed only a few hours, I 80; nor as a matter of fact are any given in the sequel.

57. *κείνου*: so all the best mss.; a few give *κείνω*, which (like the variant

*πιθοίαιτο*, here meaningless) is evidently a change to the more familiar construction. So in a 414 the right reading is probably *ἀγγελῆς* (not *-ης*) *πείθομαι*. The constr. with *gen.* is sufficiently attested in Herod. (i. 126, v. 29, 33, vi. 12), Thuk. vii. 73, Eur. *I. A.* 726. It is doubtless analogous to the *gen.* with *ἀκοῖναι*.

61. *τάρ* (see on A 8) was conj. by Cobet for the vulg. *γάρ*, and has now found ms. support. *γάρ* would express a certain amount of surprise, which is out of place here; what is wanted is the simple continuative particle. The asyndeton in the next line is thus natural, as it merely continues this question; but if we read *γάρ*, and thus refer the question to what precedes instead of what follows, the sudden transition in 62 is very harsh. *μύεω* is not elsewhere found with *ἐπιτέλλεσθαι* and seems superfluous.

62. *αὖτις*, sc. at the outposts, as appears from Agamemnon's answer and the sequel. The words would more naturally mean 'at the huts of those whom I wake.' *μετὰ τοῖσι*, sc. the sentinels. *δεδεγμένος*: cf. Δ 107, Θ 296; generally *δεδεγμένος ὁππότε*. This perfect always means *await*.

65. *ἀβροτάξομεν* stands to *ἀμβροτεῖν* much as *ἀβρότη* to *ἀμβρόσιος* (see notes

έρχομένω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἀνὰ στρατόν εἰσι κέλευθοι.  
 φθέγγεο δ' ἦι κεν ἦισθα, καὶ ἐγρήγορθαι ἄνωχθι,  
 πατρώθεν ἐκ γενεῆς ὀνομάζων ἄνδρα ἕκαστον,  
 πάντας κυδαίνων· μηδὲ μεγαλίζεο θυμῷ,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ περ πονεώμεθα· ὧδέ που ἄμμι 70  
 Ζεὺς ἐπὶ γεινομένοισιν ἔει κακότητα βαρεῖαν.”  
 ὧς εἰπὼν ἀπέπεμπεν ἀδελφεὸν εὖ ἐπιτείλας.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ῥ' ἰέναι μετὰ Νέστορα ποιμένα λαῶν·  
 τὸν δ' εὗρεν παρά τε κλισίῃ καὶ νηὶ μελαινῇ  
 εὐνῇ ἐνὶ μαλακῇ· παρὰ δ' ἔντεα ποικίλ' ἔκειτο, 75  
 ἄσπῃς καὶ δύο δοῦρε φαεινὴ τε τρυφάλεια·  
 πὰρ δὲ ζωστήρ κείμετο παναίολος, ὧι ῥ' ὁ γεραιὸς  
 ζώννυθ', ὅτ' ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα θωρήσσοιτο  
 λαὸν ἄγων, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἐπέτρεπε γῆραϊ λυγρῷ.

66. ἐρχόμενοι G (J *supr.*). 67. εἴ κεν Q. || ἐγρήγορε PT<sup>1</sup>. 71. γιγνο-  
 μένοιςιν HL: γινομένοιςιν DG PQS: γειναμένοιςιν J. 72. ἀπέπεμψεν P Lips.  
 74. τόν ῥ' Cant. 75. πὰρ GS. || ποικίλα κείμε CPQS Harl. a, Vr. b<sup>1</sup>. 76.  
 δοῦρα S. 77. ὧι: ὅν U, γρ. J Par. a, Lips. 78. ἐς: εἰς H. || θωρήσοντο  
 U. 79. οὐ μιν T. || ἐπέτρεπε Ar. (A *supr.*) CPT King's Par. a: ἐπέτραπε Ω.

on B 19, 651), the nasal having disappeared after generating the β. The suffix -άζω, however, is very peculiar, and should imply a noun-stem \*ἀβρότη = ἀμαρτία. Possibly this may point to an old interpretation of νύξ ἀβρότη as 'the bewildering night,' which would suit the passage where the phrase occurs (Ξ 78). Cf., however, νευστάζω by νεύω, ἀλυσκάζω by ἀλύσκω.

67. ἐγρήγορεαι: the 'Aeolic' accent is traditional, and vouched for by Herodotus. The word is evidently a perf. mid., with the 2nd plur. ἐγρήγορθε H 371, Σ 299; but ἐγρηγόρθαι K 419 must then be a false archaism founded on a misunderstanding of these forms.

68. πατρώθεν ἐκ γενεῆς go together in a single phrase, 'by his father's, that is, his family name.' This is actually done in every case, see 87, 144, 159.

69. κυδαίνων seems to mean 'using the full complimentary title,' such as διογενές, μέγα κύδος Ἀχαιῶν, etc. μεγαλίζεο, do not be too proud to do a herald's work.

71. It will be seen that MS. authority—though in such a matter of little weight—is in favour of γεινομένοιςιν rather than γινομένοιςιν. The former is the aor. participle γεινομένοιςιν, with the lengthening by metrical licence without which it could not be used at all in

hexameters. The aor. is evidently the proper tense to express 'at the moment of birth.' The form is found again in MSS. in the same sense in T 128, Ψ 79, Ω 210, δ 208, η 198, and γενόμεθ' (a) for the equally impossible γενόμεθα in X 477. See Schulze Q. E. 182-90 (where he would in this place write γινομένοιςιν. But the distinction he draws between γινόμενος = nascens and γε(ι)νόμενος = natus is erroneous. The real meaning of γινόμενος, becoming, is shewn in δ 417, the only place where it is found in H.). The aor. γελνασθαι (bear, beget) is of course quite different.

74. παρά: it would seem that Nestor, like Odysseus, l. 151, is sleeping outside his hut, perhaps ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ, as Ω 644, where the construction of a 'soft bed' is described.

76. τρυφάλεια: Γ 372.

77. ζωστήρ: App. B. The omission of the θώρηξ among the pieces of armour named is curious in so late a book; the silence is consistent throughout, and is the more notable among the other elaborate descriptions of armament.

79. ἐπέτρεπε, yielded to; this intrans. use occurs only here in Homer, cf. Herod. iii. 36<sup>1</sup> μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε, Plato Legg. 802 B, and for the mid., Z 336 προτραπέσθαι.



ὀρθωθείς δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος, κεφαλὴν ἐπαείρας, 80  
 Ἀτρεΐδην προσέειπε καὶ ἐξερεείνετο μύθῳ.  
 " τίς δ' οὗτος κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ στρατὸν ἔρχεαι οἶος  
 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, ὅτε θ' εὐδουσι βροτοὶ ἄλλοι;  
 ἢ τίς τιν' οὐρήων διζήμενος ἢ τιν' ἐταίρων;  
 φθέγγεο, μῆδ' ἀκέων ἐπ' ἔμ' ἔρχεο· τίπτε δέ σε χρεώ;" 85  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων.  
 " ὦ Νέστορ Νηληϊάδῃ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,  
 γνῶσσαι Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα, τὸν περὶ πάντων  
 Ζεὺς ἐνέηκε πόνοισι διαμπερές, εἰς ὃ κ' αὐτμῇ  
 ἐν στήθεσσι μένῃ καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη. 90  
 πλάζομαι ὧδ', ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ἥδυμος ὕπνος  
 ἰζάνει, ἀλλὰ μέλει πόλεμος καὶ κῆδε' Ἀχαιῶν.  
 αἰνῶς γὰρ Δαναῶν περιδείδια, οὐδέ μοι ἦτορ  
 ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἀλαλύκτῃμαι, κραδίη δέ μοι ἔξω  
 στηθέων ἐκθρόωσκει, τρομέει δ' ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα. 95  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τι δραίνεις, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ σέ γ' ὕπνος ἰκάνει,

80. ὑπαγκῶνος PU<sup>1</sup> (corr. U<sup>1</sup>). || ὑπαείρας Q. 81. ἀτρεΐδῃ P. || ἐξερεείνέ τε Q: ἐξερεείνε PRU. 82. δ' om. J. || οὕτως Vr. A (supr. o): οὕτω J. || ἔρχεται DGPR. 83. ὀρφναίην: γρ. αὐβροσίην Vr. b. || ο': γ' G. 84. ἀθ. Ar. 85. δέ σε χρεώ: σε χρεῖω G: δέ χρεῖω L. 86. ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα: αὐτε προσέειπεν PQ Vr. b supr. 88. γνῶσσαι: εἴσαι PQ Vr. b (γρ. γνῶσαι?), Eust.: γνῶσι Par. a (supr. σαι). || τὸν: ὃν Q. 89. ἐνέεικε A (T.W.A.) H. 90. ὀρώρη Q (supr. η). 91. ὄμμασιν ἥδυμος: ὄμμασι νήδυμος Ar. Ω. 94. ἀλύκτῃμαι GH<sup>1</sup>JPQRU Vr. b c. 95. ἐνερῶσκει R. || τρομέω J. 96. τί: τοι G. || γ': γ' J.

84. This line was athetized by Aristarchos on account of the word οὐρεὺς, which he took to mean φύλαξ, a longer form of οἶρος, guardian. So also Fäsi, Düntzer, and others, comparing πομπεύς by πομπός, ἀριστεύς by ἀριστος. But this is hardly tenable; οὐρεὺς in the sense of mule is too common a word to admit of homonyms which might lead to ambiguity. And there is something peculiarly graphic in the idea of the suddenly awakened sleeper asking the intruder if he wants to find a friend or a strayed mule—of which there were many in the Greek camp, A 50, Ψ 111. Schwartz has compared Xen. Anab. ii. 2. 20, where a night alarm occurs owing to an ass straying among some armour. If there is something of a burlesque tone about the question, it is only in harmony with the rest of the book.

88. γνῶσσαι, you shall know, a mild imper.; as we say 'you must know.'

The variant εἴσαι may perhaps be defended on the ground that it means 'thou must know that it is Ag.,' but οἶδα with a personal object is very rare (cf. § 176 τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ τινα οἶδα, T 203 ἴδμεν τοκῆας, τ 501 φράσσομαι καὶ εἴσομ' ἐκάστην: B 409 ἦιδεε . . ἀδελφεὸν ὡς ἐπονείτο is of course different), and γνῶναι is the regular word for recognition; A 199 etc.

89. ἐνέηκε: see I 700.

93. περιδείδια must be read in one word, or the caesura disappears; but Herodianos preferred πέρι δείδια here, and in P 240 takes the same view, ἀναστρεπτέον τὴν πρόθεσιν. Compare note on Δ 97. In N 52 the preposition must go with the verb.

94. ἀλαλύκτῃμαι: ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, from \*ἀλυκτέω, standing to ἀλύνω in the same relation as ὑλακτέω to ὑλάω. We have ἀλυκτάζω in Herod., ἀλύσσω in X 70.

96. δραίνεις: again ἀπ. λεγ., from

δεῦρ' ἐς τοὺς φύλακας καταβήομεν, ὄφρα ἴδωμεν·  
 μὴ τοὶ μὲν καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες ἡδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ  
 κοιμήσωνται, ἀτὰρ φυλακῆς ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθωνται·  
 δυσμενέες δ' ἄνδρες σχεδὸν εἴεται, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν. 100  
 μὴ πως καὶ διὰ νύκτα μενοινήσωσι μάχεσθαι."

τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήμιος ἱππότητα Νέστωρ·  
 "Ἀτρεΐδῃ κύδιστε, ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγάμεμνον,  
 οὐ' θην Ἐκτορι πάντα νοήματα μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 ἐκτελέει, ὅσα πού νυν ἐέλπεται· ἀλλὰ μιν οἶω 105  
 κήδεσι μοχθήσειν καὶ πλείουσιν, εἴ κεν Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 ἐκ χόλου ἀργαλέοιο μεταστρέψῃ φίλον ἦτορ.  
 σοὶ δὲ μάλ' ἔφom' ἐγώ· ποτὶ δ' αὖ καὶ ἐγείρομεν ἄλλους,  
 ἡμὲν Τυδεΐδην δουρικλυτὸν ἡδ' Ὀδυσῆα  
 ἡδ' Αἴαντα ταχὺν καὶ Φυλῆος ἄλκιμον υἱόν. 110  
 ἀλλ' εἴ τις καὶ τούσδε μετοιχόμενος καλέσειεν,

97. εἰς ADGH. || μεταβείομεν T. || ὄφρ' εἴδωμεν DJ. 98. ἀδδῃκότες (P  
 suppr.) S. || ἡδὲ καὶ : ἡδέϊ Zen. 99. κοιμήσονται J (suppr. ω) SU Mosc. 3. ||  
 λάθονται U. 100. ὕπνῳ P. 105. ἐκτελέσει DJRS. || nun om. PQ. || ἔλπεται  
 GH<sup>1</sup> Cant. Harl. a, Mosc. 3, Par. k : ἐέλπεται A (suppr. ὀ over π). 106. εἴπερ Q.  
 107. μεταστρέψει P Harl. a : μεταστρέψοι Mor. Bar. : μετατρέψῃ U. 108.  
 προτὶ CP. || ἀγείρομεν JT. 111. μετοιχόμενος : ἐποιοχόμενος JQ.

δράω, here apparently in a desiderative sense.

98. ἀδῃκότες recurs outside this book (312, 399, 471) only in μ 281 (always in the same connexion), with α 134 ἀδῃ-  
 σσειν. In the last case the word means *feel disgust*, and we should probably read ἀδῃσειν with Wackernagel (cf. *H. G.* p. 25). But this does not explain the present phrase. Nor is any satisfactory sense to be got from ἀδῃν or ἀδῃν E 203, where the *ā* is equally puzzling. Schulze (*Q. E.* p. 454), comparing ζ 2 ὕπνῳ καὶ καμάτῳ ἀρημένος, would read ἀρήντες, cf. τετιγῆς beside τετιγμένος, βεβαρηῶς, κεκορηῶς. This gives the required sense, *worn out* (see note on Σ 435), but there is no particle of evidence for it. It is simpler to say that though the meaning of the word is obvious, its affinities are unknown. ὕπνῳ, *drowsiness*, cf. Horace's *ludo fatigatumque somno*, Juvenal's *somno fameque urguntur* (vi. 424), and Aisch. *Eum.* 127 ὕπνος πόνος τε κύριοι συνωμόται. The variant of Zen., which brings ὕπνῳ into connexion with κοιμή-  
 σονται, looks like a conjecture.

100. The punctuation of this line is doubtful. The colon is generally put at εἴεται, and the comma at ἴδμεν, but the real connexion of μὴ is not with ἴδμεν, but with the whole thought of the preceding three lines; it is really correlative with μὴ in 98, and neither depends upon ἴδμεν. Rather both are almost independent sentences, i.e. 'we know nothing (of their designs); I hope they do not intend to fight' (see *M. and T.* § 366, *H. G.* § 281. 2; in both of these the subordination is regarded as virtually complete, which gives a less satisfactory sense. See also note on A 26). The force of the aorist μενοινήσωσι must be 'lest a desire come upon them.'

105. For the enclitic nun = νῦν, now, cf. Ψ 485, the only other instance in H. It is of course possible to read νῦν ἐλπεται with slight ms. support, but the text gives the better rhythm.

110. Φυλῆος υἱόν : Meges, B 627.

111. εἰ with optative expresses a wish, as O 571, II 559, Ω 74. It is commoner with γάρ (20 times). See *M. and T.* § 723, *H. G.* § 312.

- ἀντίθεόν τ' Αἴαντα καὶ Ἴδομενῆα ἄνακτα·  
 τῶν γὰρ νῆες ἕασιν ἐκαστάτω οὐδὲ μάλ' ἐγγύς.  
 ἀλλὰ φίλον περ ἔοντα καὶ αἰδοῖον Μενέλαον  
 νεικέσω, εἴ πέρ μοι νεμεσήσεται, οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω, 115  
 ὥς εὔδει, σοὶ δ' οἴωι ἐπέτρεψεν πονέεσθαι.  
 νῦν ὄφελεν κατὰ πάντας ἀριστήας πονέεσθαι  
 λισσόμενος· χρεῖῳ γὰρ ἰκάνεται οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτός."  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 "ὦ γέρον, ἄλλοτε μὲν σε καὶ αἰτιάσθαι ἄνωγα· 120  
 πολλὰκι γὰρ μεθιῇ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλει πονέεσθαι,  
 οὔτ' ὅκωι εἶκων οὔτ' ἀφραδίησι νόοιο,  
 ἀλλ' ἐμέ τ' εἰσορόων καὶ ἐμὴν ποτιδέγμενος ὀρμήν.  
 νῦν δ' ἐμέο πρότερος μάλ' ἐπέγρετο καὶ μοι ἐπέστη·  
 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ προέηκα καλήμεναι οὓς σὺ μεταλλᾷς. 125  
 ἀλλ' ἴομεν· κείνους δὲ κιχησόμεθα πρὸ πυλᾶων  
 ἐν φυλάκεσσ', ἵνα γάρ σφιν ἐπέφραδον ἡγερέεσθαι."  
 τὸν δ' ἡμέιβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·  
 "οὕτως οὐ τίς οἱ νεμεσήσεται οὐδ' ἀπιθήσει  
 Ἀργείων, ὅτε κέν τιν' ἐποτρύνῃ καὶ ἀνώγῃ." 130

112. τ' *om.* JLR. 115. νεικέω H. || εἴ πέρ Ar. Ω: αἴπερ Par. b: others εἰ καί. || νεμεσῇσεται GP (R *supr. man.* 1?) Par. d, γρ. A. 118. ἀνεκτός C (γρ. ἀνεκτός *man. rec.*). 120. αἰτιάσασθαι JQ Bar. 123. ἐμέ γ' JR. 124. μάλ': μέγ' Dem. Ixion, *Et. Mag.*: καὶ μήποτε ἡ Ἀριστάρχειος οὕτως εἶχεν Did. || ὑπέστη Q. 127. φυλάκεσιν T. || σφιν: μιν Zen. || ἡγερέεσσαι Ar.: ἡγερέεσσαι Ω. 129. οἱ *om.* P: κοί C (γρ. οἱ) QT: τοί L, γρ. A: τι Harl. b. || νεμεσῇσεται R. 130. ἐποτρύνει (*supr.* η) καὶ ἀνώγει (*supr.* η) Q (χωρὶς τοῦ σ ἐποτρύνει καὶ ἀνώγει Schol. A, so that some must have written ἐποτρύνῃς καὶ ἀνώγῃς).

116. ὥς=ὅτι οὕτως (the explanation of this use is given in *H. G.* § 267. 3 α). Nikanor, however, thinks it may be taken as a paratactic exclamation, 'how he sleeps!' (καθ' ἐαυτὸ ἀναγνωστέον τὸ "ὥς εὔδει" ἐν θαυμασμῶν· ἢ τοῖς ἄνω συναπτεῖν).

120. For *ce* Nauck conj. *έ*; but we can easily supply αὐτόν after αἰτιάσασθαι.

121. μεθιῇ: see E 880.

124. ἐμέο for ἐμεῖο occurs only here in H. It is, however, a genuine form occurring in Ionic prose, and is a transitional stage towards ἐμεῦ, corresponding to the genitive in -οο between -οιο and -ου. μάλα must be taken with πρότερος. ἐπέστη, *came to me*.

127. ἵνα γάρ, a phrase which has caused some trouble. We have perhaps to recognize a relic of the primitive use

of γ' ἄρ (which Brandreth writes) before the words had coalesced in the sense of our *for*. Compare ὁ γάρ (=ὁ γ' ἄρ) M 344, Ψ 9, α 286, ω 190; *H. G.* § 348. 3. But in the case of ὅς, ὃ the pronoun may be demonstrative, and the use of γε immediately after a rel. is very rare (only η 214, ξ 198 ὁσά γε, τ 511? ὅντινά γε). Hence various conjectures: Bentley τ' ἄρ (and γάρ has probably in many cases supplanted τ' ἄρ, see on 61; but ἵνα τε is used only in *general* sentences, I 441 etc.); περ G. Hermann; φυλάκεσιν, ἵνα σφιν Barnes. Peppmüller's ἵν' ἄρα is as likely as any, cf. ζ 322 ἵν' ἄρ' ἔζητο, but there is no obvious cause for the corruption. ἡγερέεσσαι is the regular Homeric form —ἡγερέεσθαι of mss. is not found elsewhere.

ὥς εἰπὼν ἔνδυνε περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα,  
 ποσσὶ δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσιν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα,  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαῖναν περονήσατο φοινικόεσσαν,  
 διπλὴν ἐκταδίνην, οὐλὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη.  
 εἶλετο δ' ἄλκιμον ἔγχος, ἀκαχμένον ὀξεί χαλκῶι, 135  
 βῆ δ' ἰέναι κατὰ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.  
 πρῶτον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντον  
 ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνέγειρε Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ  
 φθεγξάμενος· τὸν δ' αἶψα περὶ φρένας ἦλυθ' ἰωή,  
 ἐκ δ' ἦλθε κλισίης καὶ σφεας πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε· 140  
 “τίφθ' οὐτῶ κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ στρατὸν οἶοι ἀλάσθε  
 νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην; ὅτι δὴ χρειῶ τόσον ἵκει;”  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·  
 “διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεύ,  
 μὴ νεμέσα· τοῖον γὰρ ἄχος βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιοῦς· 145

131. ἐνέδυνε S: ἔδυνε LQ. 132. ὑπαὶ LRS, γρ. C. || ἐδύσατο HQ Cant.  
 134. ἐπενήνοχε P: ἐπενήνετο L. 137. ἔπειτ': μέν ῥ' JR. 141. οὐτῶ  
 κατὰ: οὐτως ἐπὶ A (γρ. κατα) DHU Vr. b<sup>2</sup>. || νῆας ἀνὰ: νῆα κατὰ Lips. || ἀλά-  
 ασε P (om. οἶοι). 142. ἀμβροσίην: γρ. ὀρφναίην A. || ὅτι: ὅτε S *supr.* ||  
 ἵκει *supr.* Y JP: ἵκοι Mor.: ἰκάνει Q.

133. ΦΟΙΝΙΚΟΕΣΣΑΝ, two spondees (-οῦσ-  
 σαν), a late form, cf. Θ 116, whence Nauck  
 conjectured *σιγαλόεσσαν* here; Brandreth  
 better *φονήεσσαν*, cf. M 202. For the  
 buckle of a cloak cf. τ 225, Helbig *H. E.*<sup>2</sup>  
 274 ff., Studniczka p. 75.

134. ΔΙΠΛῆΝ: so τ 226, elsewhere  
 δίπλακα (Γ 126 q.v.) or δίπτυχον (ν 224).  
 ἐκταδίνην, apparently 'capable of being  
 spread out'; the mantle, like a Scotch  
 plaid, is commonly worn double round  
 the body, but can be spread out so as  
 entirely to cover the body as a coverlet at  
 night. οὐλὴ = *woolly* (as II 224, Ω 646,  
 and several times in *Od.*) by etymology  
 as well as sense (for *Fol-no-s*, Goth. *vulla*,  
 Lat. *vellus*, etc.). ἐπενήνοθε: see B 219,  
 whence the phrase is evidently copied.

139. The idea of a sound coming round  
 a person is not uncommon in Homer, cf.  
 B 41 *θείη δέ μιν ἀμφέχυντ' ὀμφή*, τ 444  
 (π 6) *τὸν . . περὶ κτύπος ἦλθε ποδοῖν*,  
 and ρ 261 *περὶ δέ σφεας ἦλυθ' ἰωή*. For  
 the φρένες as the organ in which sleep is  
 situated cf. Ξ 164 *τῶι δ' ὕπνον . . χεύη  
 ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἰδὲ φρεσὶ* (Fulda). ἰωή:  
 see Δ 276.

142. It is doubtful whether there  
 should be a note of interrogation, or  
 only a comma, after ἀμβροσίην. In the  
 former case we must understand 'is it  
 because so great need has come?' or else  
 we must read ὅ τι, and take it to be an  
 indirect, virtually equivalent to a direct,  
 question, owing to an ellipse of the words  
 'tell me,' which is not possible. So  
 Schol. A *ἀντὶ τοῦ* "τί δὴ χρειῶ τόσον  
 ἵκει," comparing α 171 *ὀπποίης τ' ἐπὶ  
 νηὸς ἀφίκεο*, where, however, κατάλεξον  
 has preceded at an interval of only one line.  
 If we put a comma after ἀμβροσίην we  
 may assume a curious inversion of ex-  
 pression, instead of 'what need has  
 come on you that you wander'; but  
 this (La Roche's) explanation is very  
 harsh. It is better to read ὅ τι and  
 explain it as an accusative of relation,  
 'on what account do you thus wander,  
 in respect of which need has so much  
 come?' So Monro, comparing Δ 32  
*τί . . τόσσα κακὰ ῥέζουσιν, ὃ τ' ἀσπερχές  
 μενεαίνεις*; Our choice seems to lie  
 between the first and the last of these  
 alternatives. For ἀμβροσίην as an epithet  
 of night see B 19.



ἀλλ' ἔπε', ὄφρα καὶ ἄλλον ἐγείρομεν, ὃν τ' ἐπέοικε  
βουλὰς βουλεύειν, ἢ φευγέμεν ἢ μάχεσθαι."

ὡς φάθ', ὁ δὲ κλισίηνδε κιὼν πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ποικίλον ἄμφ' ὥμοισι σάκος θέτο, βῆ δὲ μετ' αὐτούς.

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βὰν δ' ἐπὶ Τυδείδην Διομήδεα· τὸν δ' ἐκίχανον  
ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ κλισίης σὺν τεύχεσιν· ἄμφι δ' ἐταῖροι  
εὖδον, ὑπὸ κρασὶν δ' ἔχον ἀσπίδας· ἔγχεα δὲ σφιν  
ὄρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος ἐλήλατο, τῇλε δὲ χαλκὸς  
λάμφ' ὥς τε στεροπὴ πατρὸς Διός· αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἥρως  
εὖδ', ὑπὸ δ' ἔστρωτο ῥινὸν βοὸς ἀγραύλοιο,

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αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ κράτεσφι τάπης τετάνυστο φαεινός.  
τὸν παρστὰς ἀνέγειρε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ,  
λὰξ ποδὶ κινήσας, ὠτρυνέ τε νείκεσέ τ' ἄντην·

"ὄρσεο, Τυδέος υἱέ· τί πάννυχον ὕπνον ἄωτεῖς;  
οὐκ αἰεὶς ὥς Τρῶες ἐπὶ θρωσμῶι πεδίοιο

160

εἵται ἀγχι νεῶν, ὀλίγος δέ τε χῶρος ἐρύκει;"

ὡς φάθ', ὁ δ' ἐξ ὕπνοιο μάλα κραιπνῶς ἀνόρουσε,

146. ἔπε' Ar. T (*supr.* ἀνευ τοῦ υ ἔπειο): ἔπει Ω. || ἐπέοικε G. 147 *om.* R<sup>t</sup>.  
148. ἔφασ' GRU. || κλισίην γε D. 149. θέτο σάκος Q. 153. σαυρωτῆρας  
Aph. 154. ὥστ' ἀστεροπὴ DQST: ὡς ἀστεροπὴ P. 155. εὖδεν ὑπὸ δ' L  
(*supr.* αἱ over ο). || ῥινὸς PR. 156. τετάνυτο JP. 157. παρστὰς DPQT.  
158. ὠτρυνέ PQT. 159. ὄρσεο ADGHJU Harl. a, Vr. b: ἔρρεο Ω, Ar. διχῶς. ||  
The line μή τις σοι εὖδοι μεταφρένωι ἐν δόρῳ πῆξῃ in Diog. Laert. vi. 2, 6,  
quoted as though following this line by Eust., is apparently only a parody of Θ 95.  
161. Δέ τε Ar. PT Vr. b, Par. b: Δέ τοι Q Harl. a, Par. g: Δέ τις Vr. c, Mosc. 3:  
δ' ἔτι or Δέ τι Ω. || γρ. ὀλίγος δ' ἀπὸ χῶρος ἐέργει Did. || ἐρύκοι Harl. a. 162.  
ἔφασ' GRU. || ὕπνου RT. || κραιπνῶς: σφοδρῶς C. || ἀνόρουε H.

147. This line, as Heyne remarked, is almost undoubtedly spurious, interpolated from 327, with the intention of supplying an infin. to ἐπέοικε, which does not need one. The question of fighting or flying is not one which has to be discussed at all now; it has already been settled in the Agora at the beginning, and the council at the end, of the preceding book. It will be seen that one MS., R, omits the line.

151. ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ seem to go together and to mean simply 'outside.' The modern Greek idiom happens to be precisely the same, ἔξω ἀπὸ τοῦ σπιτί = 'outside the house.'

153. σαυρωτῆρ, the *spike* at the butt-end of the spear—not elsewhere named; οὐρίαχος seems to mean *butt* only (N 443 etc.). Aristotle *Poet.* 25, quoting these words, speaks of the custom of thus standing the spear upright as characteristic of

the Illyrians. Apparently, therefore, it was unknown to the classical Greeks.

155. ὑπέστρωτο ῥινόν, like περικείσθαι τελαμῶνα, ξίφος, etc., in Herod., and ἐπαιμένους ἀλκήν.

156. κράτεσφι, a form which can only be explained as an artificial coinage on the false analogy of στήθεσφι and the like; there is no stem κρατεσ- (κρατί σφι?). κρασίη in 152, though it does not recur in Homer, is sufficiently defended by the common κρατί.

158. λὰξ ποδὶ κινήσας: cf. ο 45. There the phrase seems less suitably used of one sleeper arousing another.

159. ἄωτεῖς only here and κ 548 in H.; and in the famous Danaë ode, Simon. 50. 6. Schulze refers it to the root ἀF of ἰαῖνεν (ἀF-ωτεῖν), comparing ἐρωτῶν by εἶρωμαι. Connexion with the subst. ἄωρος is very doubtful. Cf. I 661.

160. For θρωσμῶι πεδίοιο see A 56.

καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 “σχέτλιός ἐσσι, γεραιέ· σὺ μὲν πόνου οὐ ποτε λήγεις.  
 οὐ νυ καὶ ἄλλοι ἔασι νεώτεροι νῖες Ἀχαιῶν, 165  
 οἳ κεν ἔπειτα ἕκαστον ἐγείρειαν βασιλῆων  
 πάντῃ ἐποιχόμενοι ; σὺ δ’ ἀμήχανός ἐσσι, γεραιέ.”  
 τὸν δ’ αὖτε προσέειπε Γερήμιος ἱππότη Νέστωρ·  
 “ναὶ δὴ ταυτά γε πάντα, φίλος, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες.  
 εἰσὶν μὲν μοι παῖδες ἀμύμονες, εἰσὶ δὲ λαοὶ 170  
 καὶ πολέες, τῶν κέν τις ἐποιχόμενος καλέσειεν·  
 ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη χρεὼν βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιοῦς·  
 νῦν γάρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς,  
 ἣ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιοῖς ἥε βιῶναι.  
 ἀλλ’ ἴθι νῦν, Αἴαντα ταχὺν καὶ Φυλῆος υἱὸν 175  
 ἄνστησον, σὺ γάρ ἐσσι νεώτερος, εἴ μ’ ἐλεαίρεις.”  
 ὧς φάθ’, ὁ δ’ ἀμφ’ ὤμοισιν ἐέσσατο δέρμα λέοντος  
 αἰθωνος μέγαλοιο ποδηνεκές, εἴλετο δ’ ἔγχος.  
 βῆ δ’ ἵεναι, τοὺς δ’ ἐνθεν ἀναστήσας ἄγεν ἥρως.  
 οἱ δ’ ὅτε δὴ φυλάκεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν, 180

166. ἀγείρειαν Lips. 168. αὖτε προσέειπε : ἡμείβετ’ ἔπειτα Par. b j, ἐν ἄλλωι Α. 169. φίλος (Aph. ?) Ω : τέκος Ar. ? (see Ludw.) : γέρων Bar. || ἔειπας CG. 171. ἐποιχόμενος : ὑποσχόμενος Ambr. 172. χρεῶ Q. || βεβίακεν J. 173. ἀκμή U. 176. ἄνστησον Ar. Ω (others ἄςστησον ?). 177. ἔφαθ’ GRU. 180. ἀγρομένοισι γένοντο CG Lips. (γρ. ἔμιχθεν), ἐν ἄλλωι Α.

164. *σχέτλιος*, *hard, tough*, here in the physical sense, full of endurance, and so μ. 279 *σχέτλιός εἰς*, Ὀδυσσεύ, *πῆρι τοι μένος οὐδέ τι γνῖα κάμνεις*. Hence the derived sense ‘hard of heart,’ full of resistance to entreaty.

166. *ἔπειτα*, *then* or *therefore*, i.e. because they are younger. There is no exactly similar use of the adverb in H.

167. *ἀμήχανος*, not to be dealt with, *unmanageable* ; a half playful reproach from a younger to an elder man.

173. The proverbial expression is a common one in Greek, occurring in Herod. vi. 11, Theognis 557, Simonides 99; cf. Eur. *Her.* 630 (with von Wilamowitz’s note), Soph. *Ant.* 996 *φρόνει βεβῶς αὖ νῦν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τύχης*, and perhaps Aisch. *Cho.* 883. The idea is that of balancing on an edge so thin that a fall to one side or the other must soon happen. Neither *ἀκμή* nor *ξυρόν* recurs in Homer, nor is the practice of shaving mentioned. This, however, is not an argument against the antiquity of this passage, as razors

of very high antiquity have been found among remains of the bronze period in Italy, and perhaps Greece ; and it was the practice at Mykene to shave the upper lip (Schuchh. p. 253, Tsountas-Manatt, pp. 166–7). In fact the Skt. *kshurā* = *ξυρόν* shews that the practice may even date from Indo-European days (cf. Schrader, *S. und U.* p. 53).

174. For the use of the infinitive here cf. I 230 ; ἵσταται is really an impersonal verb, and the substantive ὄλεσρος is not added in a very strict construction. Logically, the idea is ‘the state of all is on the razor’s edge (balancing) between destruction and safety.’ But the juxtaposition of ὄλεσρος and βιῶναι is a curious instance of the process by which the infin. in later Greek came to be used as a noun.

179. *τούς*, sc. Aias and Meges ; ἔνθεν, from their huts.

180. See I 209, of which this line is not a very happy reminiscence ; as there it alludes to an assembly to which the

οὐδὲ μὲν εὖδοντας φυλάκων ἡγήτορας εὔρον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐργηγορτὶ σὺν τεύχεσιν εἴατο πάντες.  
 ὥς δὲ κύνες περὶ μῆλα δυσωρήσονται ἐν αὐλῇ  
 θηρὸς ἀκούσαντες κρατερόφρονος, ὅς τε καθ' ὕλην  
 ἔρχεται δι' ὄρεσφι· πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ἐπ' αὐτῶν 185  
 ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ κυνῶν, ἀπὸ τέ σφισιν ὕπνος ὄλωλεν·  
 ὥς τῶν ἡδυμος ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάροισιν ὄλωλε  
 νύκτα φυλασσομένοισι κακὴν· πεδίουνδε γὰρ αἰεὶ  
 τετράφαθ', ὅπποτ' ἐπὶ Τρώων αἴοιεν ἰόντων.  
 τοὺς δ' ὁ γέρων γήθησεν ἰδὼν θάρσυνέ τε μύθωι 190  
 [καὶ σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα].  
 "οὕτω νῦν, φίλα τέκνα, φυλάσσετε· μηδέ τιν' ὕπνος  
 αἰρείτω, μὴ χάρμα γενώμεθα δυσμενέεσσιν."  
 ὥς εἰπὼν τάφροιο διέσσυτο· τοὶ δ' αἶμ' ἔποντο  
 Ἀργείων βασιλῆες, ὅσοι κεκλήατο βουλῇν. 195

182. ἐργηγορτὶ Lips. 183. δυσωρήσονται Harl. b: δυσωρήσοντες Par. k: δυσωρήσονται Ar. Lex. [H?]. 184. ὥστε D. 185. ἔρχεται DJT. || ὀρυμαγδός CGHJPRU. || ἐπ': ἐν JQ: ὑπ' DRU. || ὀρώρει ὑπ' αὐτοῦ H. 187. ἡδυμος: νῆδυμος Ar. Ω. || βλεφάρων GP: βλεφάροισιν QU. 188. φυλασσομένων γε G. || αἰεὶ J. 189 om. R<sup>1</sup>. || τέτραφε' T Lips. 191 om. AD<sup>2</sup>PR<sup>2</sup>TU Harl. a. 194. τοὶ δ': τόνδ' J. 195. βουλῇ J (supr. ἦν).

Trojans were called, whereas in the case of the sentinels there is nothing of the sort. The **ἐν** is superfluous, see E 134 etc. Hence Bentley conj. *συναγρομένοις*. οὐδέ: an unusual form of the common *δέ* in *apodosis*.

182. **ἐργηγορτὶ**: a strange form, cf. *ἐγερτὶ Rhcesos* 524, Soph. *Ant.* 413. These adverbs in -*τί* are generally negative (*ἀναιμωτί*, *ἀκονίτι*, etc., see *H. G.* § 110, and Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 1251).

183. **δυσωρήσονται**: so MSS.; almost all edd., however, give *δυσωρήσωσιν*, from Apoll. *Lex.*, on the ground that the form in -*σονται* cannot stand in a simile, being a future. It would of course be easy to emend -*σονται*, but it is a question if this is necessary. The rule which our texts follow, that the long vowel in subjunctive forms is written whenever the metre admits (*H. G.* § 80), is simply an attempt to reduce the Homeric forms as far as possible to the analogy of later Greek. *δυσωρήσονται* is an almost unique survival of the evidently original rule by which the subj. in the non-thematic conjugation is formed by the thematic vowel unlengthened. In other places we find an occasional -*ονται* in MSS. for -*ωνται*,

but generally in so small a minority as to shew that the variation is accidental, 99 above, Θ 511, N 745, etc. See, however, M 168. The verb itself seems to come from *ώρα*, and to mean 'keep painful watch.' The use of the middle may be supported by forms like *εὐλαβέσθαι*, *εὐθηνεῖσθαι*, *εὐωχεῖσθαι*, etc., though the act. is certainly more usual.

188. **φυλασσομένοις**: for the change of case after *τῶν* see *H. G.* § 243 (3 d); it is perhaps made easier by *σφισιν* in 186.

189. **ὅπποτε**: not 'whenever,' for the Trojans are not attacking; but like B 97 *εἴ ποτε*, § 522 *ὅτε*, against the time when they should hear, i.e. *expecting* to hear, this idea being implied in the preceding words. The full phrase *δέγμενος ὅπποτε* occurs B 794, etc., cf. Δ 334. **ἐπὶ** may go either with *αἰοιεν* or *ἰόντων*, but better with the last; *ἐπαῖω* does not occur in Homer.

194. The sentinels are in the space between wall and moat, I 87. The chieftains now go out into the open plain.

195. **βουλῇν**: acc. of the *terminus ad quem*, only here with *καλεῖν*, and rarely with any verbs except those which

τοῖς δ' ἅμα Μηριόνης καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
 ἦϊσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ κάλεον συμμητιάσθαι.  
 τάφρον δ' ἐκδιαβάντες ὀρυκτὴν ἐδριώνοντο  
 ἐν καθαρῳι, ὅθι δὴ νεκύων διεφαίνετο χῶρος  
 πιπτόντων, ὅθεν αὐτὶς ἀπετράπετ' ὄβριμος Ἑκτωρ 200  
 ὄλλυς Ἀργείους, ὅτε δὴ περὶ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν·  
 ἔνθα καθεζόμενοι ἔπε' ἀλλήλοισι πίφανσκον.  
 τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχε Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν δὴ τις ἀνὴρ πεπίθωιθ' ἐὼι αὐτοῦ  
 θυμῳι τολμήεντι μετὰ Τρῶας μεγαθύμους 205  
 ἐλθεῖν, εἴ τινα πού δήμων ἔλοι ἐσχατώνοντα,  
 ἢ τινα πού καὶ φῆμιν ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι πύθοιο,  
 ἄσσοι τε μητιώσι μετὰ σφίσιν, ἣ μεμῶσιν  
 αὐθὶ μένειν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀπόπροθεν, ἦε πόλινδε

197. γὰρ κάλεον: δ' ἐκάλεον Q. || συμματίσασθαι P. 198. ἐκδιαβάντες: γρ. εὐ διαβάντες T. 200. αὐτοῖς CHJ (surpr. τις). || ἐπετράπετ' C. || ὄβριμος CGHPQ. 202. πίφασκον GJQR: πέφασκον H: ἀλλήλοισιν ἐπίφασκον P. 203. μύθων ἦρχε: ἐν ἄλλωι καὶ μετέειπε Δ. 204. πεπίθωι G. || αὐτῷ P. 206. ἔλοι: γρ. ἴδοι J. || ἐσχατόντα R (surpr. ω). 207. εἴ τινα JRT Cant. Harl. a. || φῆμιν CGHPQU Harl. a (surpr. ι) Vr. b c, γρ. T. 209. ἀποπρόσι P.

imply reaching a point (*H. G.* § 140. 4). Cf. Z 87 ξυνάγουσα γεραίᾳς νηόν. For the regular members of the βουλή see on B 194.

199. See Θ 491, where the line is used of quite another place, νόσφι νεών.

200. ΠΙΠΤΟΝΤΩΝ is hardly to be explained; it implies that men were still falling. Von Christ conjectures πεπεστων (Φ 503, χ 384), Renner τεθνεώτων.

204. There is considerable doubt as to the punctuation of the whole of this speech of Nestor's, the note of interrogation having been variously put after ἐλθεῖν (206), Ἀχαιοῖς (210), and ἀσκηθῆς (212). The true explanation is mainly due to Lange (EI p. 382). In 206 εἰ goes immediately with ἐλθεῖν, to go 'in the hope that'; and ἔλοι and πύθοιο are co-ordinate. Then ἄσσοι is explanatory of φῆμιν, as expressing the contents of the supposed rumour, and is again divided into the two alternatives ἦ—ἦε. The optatives in 211 resume that after οὐκ ἂν in 204; in form they are a wish, in reality they are only a suggestion in form of a hope, 'I should like him to find out'—a shade of meaning which we express by 'he might.' If we read κε for τε in 211 (see note there), the expression would be more

confident, 'he would'; but this is better reserved till 212, where κεν indicates a result which in that case is asserted to follow upon the assumed condition, being virtually equivalent to the future ἔσσεται. We may in fact regard the clause μέγα κεν . . εἴη as an apodosis ἐκ the sentence ταῦτα . . ἀσκηθῆς, which in effect, though not in form, is a protasis. A similar use of the opt. to express a condition, followed by an apodosis with κεν, occurs in α 265, the difference being that there the opt. resumes a wish introduced by εἰ (255); here the wish is put in the form of a question with οὐκ ἂν. So also σ 366–70, where, however, the apodosis is postponed till 375. (So in the main Hentze.)

207. Φῆμιν recurs only in *Od.* Schol. A illustrates it by a well-known story: Λακεδαιμονίων βουλευομένων ποῖον χῶρον ἐπιτειχίσουσι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Ἀλκibiάδης συνεβούλευσε πέμπειν εἰς Ἀθήνας κατασκοπεύς, οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι ἤκουσαν αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων διαλεγομένων ὅτι τὴν Δεκέλειαν μέλλουσιν ἐπιτειχίζειν οἱ πολέμοι· καὶ οὕτως Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπετειχίσαν τὴν Δεκέλειαν. (The tale is not, however, known to Thuk., vi. 91.)

209. ἀπόπροθεν, i.e. far from the city; the ellipse is filled up by πόλινδε



ἂψ ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐπεὶ δαμάσαντό γ' Ἀχαιοὺς ; 210  
 ταῦτά τε πάντα πύθοιτο, καὶ ἂψ εἰς ἡμέας ἔλθοι  
 ἀσκηθῆς· μέγα κέν οἱ ὑπουράνιον κλέος εἶη  
 πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, καὶ οἱ δόσις ἔσσεται ἐσθλή·  
 ὅσοι γὰρ νήεσσιν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἄριστοι,  
 τῶν πάντων οἱ ἕκαστος ὃν δώσουσι μέλαιναν 215  
 θῆλυν ὑπόρρηνον· τῇ μὲν κτέρας οὐδὲν ὅμοιον·  
 αἰεὶ δ' ἐν δαίτησι καὶ εἰλαπίνησι παρέσται.”  
 ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ·  
 τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπε βοῶν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 “Νέστορ, ἔμ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ 220  
 ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων δῶναι στρατὸν ἐγγὺς ἑόντα,

210. γ' *om.* GJ (-cant'): τότ' P. 211. τε A (*supr.* κ) GHPRT Ambr. Cant.  
 Vr. b (*in ras.*) Harl. a: γε Q: κε Ω. 216. ὑπόρρηνον Ar. || τῇ: ταῖς P: τῆς  
 Lips. 221. ἑόντα (A *supr.*) JP (S *supr.*) T (ἐγγὺς ἑόντα δῶναι στρατὸν):  
 ἑόντων Ω.

immediately succeeding. It is a question if we should not read ἀπόρροθι with P, as more likely to be changed; but the variant does not recur in 410 (208-10 = 409-11).

211. The ms. evidence is fairly divided between τε and κε. The reason for preferring the former has been given above. The clause being a resumption of what precedes, τε goes with καί, and means 'both.'

212. ὑπουράνιον, i.e. over all the earth, virtually identical with πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους.

214. The phrase νήεσσιν ἐπικρατέουσιν is unusual; the line is borrowed from α 245 (= π 122, τ 130), νήσοισιν being changed into νήεσσιν.

215. πάντων, as we should say 'without exception'; but the phrase is a rather awkward one, and so is ἕκαστος immediately followed by the plural. The omission of the F of ἕκαστος too is very rare. In 216 τῇ . . ὅμοιον is an obvious exaggeration, as a dozen ewes with their lambs would be of ridiculously little value to the great chiefs concerned, with their wealth of gold, silver, and slaves, besides horses and cattle. Probably the author of the book thought that he was introducing a touch of heroic simplicity. So too 217, if we take it as a mere standing invitation to royal feasts, would be no inducement to the

members of the council present, who, with the exception perhaps of Meriones and Thrasymedes, are elsewhere in the *Iliad* regarded as attending as a matter of course (B 53, Δ 259). But Peppmüller suggests that as 215-6 represent the δόσις, so 217 answers to the κλέος, the real meaning being 'he shall be present in the songs sung at feasts and banquets,' ἀνθρώποισιν αἰόδιμος ἔσσομένοισιν. This is clearly the sense of the similar words in Theognis 237 ff. σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα . . θοῖνης δὲ καὶ εἰλαπίνησι παρέσση ἐν πάσαις, πολλῶν κείμενος ἐν στόμασιν, καὶ σε σὺν αὐλίσκοισι λιγυφθόγγοις νέοι ἄνδρες . . ἄισονται . . πᾶσι γὰρ οἷσι μέμλε καὶ ἔσσομένοισιν αἰοδῇ ἔσση ὅμως, κτλ. But here there is no mention of song, so that the expression, if this is the meaning, is barely intelligible. Yet the resemblance to Theognis can hardly be a coincidence; possibly both are quoting a well-known phrase. Clearly Theognis has the more original form, and is not borrowing from K. The alternative is to suppose that 214-7 are a latter addition, and contain an imitation of Theognis; but the theory of interpolation explains nothing.

221. ἑόντα, though not largely supported by mss., is evidently superior to the vulg. ἐόντων, as it breaks the ponderous succession of genitives.

Τρώων· ἄλλ' εἴ τίς μοι ἀνὴρ ἄμ' ἔποιτο καὶ ἄλλος·  
μᾶλλον θαλπωρὴ καὶ θαρσαλεώτερον ἔσται.

σύν τε δὺ' ἐρχομένω, καὶ τε πρὸ ὃ τοῦ ἐνόησεν,  
ὅπως κέρδος ἔη· μῦθος δ' εἴ πέρ τε νοήσῃ, 225  
ἀλλὰ τέ οἱ βράσσων τε νόος λεπτή δέ τε μήτις."

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἔθελον Διομήδεϊ πολλοὶ ἔπρασθαι·

ἠθελέτην Αἴαντε δύνω, θεράποντες Ἄρῃος,  
ἠθελε Μηριόνης, μάλα δ' ἠθελε Νέστορος υἱός,  
ἠθελε δ' Ἀτρεΐδης δουρικλειτὸς Μενέλαος, 230

ἠθελε δ' ὁ τλήμων Ὀδυσσεὺς καταδύναι ὄμιλον

Τρώων· αἰεὶ γάρ οἱ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἐτόλμα.

τοῖσι δὲ καὶ μετέειπεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·

"Τυδείδῃ Διομήδεσ, ἐμῶι κεχαρισμένε θυμῶι,

223. θαρσαλεώτερος P. ἔστι P Mor. Vr. a<sup>1</sup> (and A *supr.*, T.W.A.). 224. ἐρχομένω Ar. Ω: ἐρχομένων (G *supr.*) U: ἐρχομένωι T. || καὶ τε: καὶ τοι P. || καὶ ὁ ἕτερος πρὸ τοῦ J (γρ. καὶ τε πρὸ ὁ τοῦ ἐνόησεν) (In Plato *Symp.* 174 D, where the passage is quoted, the best MSS. give ὁδοῦ for ὁ τοῦ, but not in *Protag.* 348 B). 225. κέρδιον G. || εἴη DGJPRU. || τε Ar. Ω: τι GPQU Par. c d g. || νοήσαι CQ: νοήσοι L. 226. τέ οἱ: γέ οἱ J *supr.* 228. θεράποντε GL. 230 *om.* S Mose. 3. || δουρικλυτὸς (A *supr.*) CD (-ρυκλ-) GQRTU. 231. καδδῦναι R: δῦναι S. 232. αἰεὶ GL.

222. As Nikanor remarks, we may put either a comma or a colon at the end of this line; it is impossible to say whether the clause εἴ . . . ἔποιτο is a wish or a regular conditional protasis.

224-6. The recurrence of τε six times in these three lines is remarkable; it seems to be an instance of the primitive use in which it was simply a mark that the two clauses in which τε . . . τε occur are correlative; from this the use as a conjunction strictly speaking has been developed. Thus εἴ περ, the condition, is correlative to the apodosis which is stated paratactically by ἀλλά, while in the other two clauses containing τε . . . τε the co-ordination in pairs is obvious. The connexion of this use with the gnomic τε (almost=τοι) is not clear; the two are possibly quite distinct. The gnomic τε would of course be in place in such a sentence as the present, but it is not used in pairs. ἐρχομένω, a *nom. pendens*, like I 211 ἀμφω δ' ἐξομένω, γεραρώτερος ἦεν Ὀδυσσεύς; or we might perhaps more properly call it a sort of 'distributive apposition' not completely expressed; compare M 400. The old vulgate ἐρχομένων, evidently a correction, is found only in one or two inferior mss.

πρὸ ὃ τοῦ: for this order of words cf. E 219 ἐπὶ νῶ τῶιδ' ἀνδρὶ. The meaning is of course that sometimes one, sometimes the other, is quickest to mark. Brandreth conj. πρὸς for πρὸ.

226. βράσσων: the comp. of βραχύς, for βραχίων, though the adj. is not found elsewhere in H. The sense will be, 'his mind does not reach so far,' he is 'shorter of sight' as we should say. It has generally been referred to βραδύς, which gives a better sense, as quickness of perception is the point in 224; but βραδ-ζων could only make βράζων. It was probably the knowledge of this which led Aristarchos to the strange idea that βράσσων is a participle meaning 'confused,' 'perturbed,' παρασσύμενος. Λεπτή: only here and Ψ 590 (the same phrase) in a metaphorical sense. It means *thin*, *narrow*, cf. ζ 264 λεπτή εἰσίσμη, and is very different from the familiar Attic sense *subtle*. Even if one alone does mark, his ideas are 'short and thin' compared with those of a pair of men.

231. τλήμων: cf. 498, E 670 (see note), Φ 430, the only instances in Homer, all in the sense of 'enduring.' The use of the article ὁ is post-Homeric.

- τὸν μὲν δὴ ἔταρόν γ' αἵρήσεται, ὃν κ' ἐθέλησθα, 235  
 φαινομένων τὸν ἄριστον, ἐπεὶ μεμῶσσί γε πολλοί.  
 μηδὲ σύ γ' αἰδόμενος σῆσι φρεσὶ τὸν μὲν ἀρείω  
 καλλείπειν, σὺ δὲ χεῖρον' ὀπάσσειαι αἰδοῖ εἶκων,  
 ἐς γενεὴν ὀρόων, μηδ' εἰ βασιλεύτερος εἶη.”  
 ὡς ἔφατ', ἔδδειςεν δὲ περὶ ξανθῷ Μενελάω. 240  
 τοῖς δ' αὖτις μετέειπε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 “εἰ μὲν δὴ ἔταρόν γε κελεύετε μ' αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι,  
 πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ θείοιο λαθοίμην,  
 οὐ πέρι μὲν πρόφρων κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ  
 ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι, φιλεῖ δέ ἐ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη. 245  
 τούτου γε σπομένοιο καὶ ἐκ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο  
 ἄμφω νοστήσαιμεν, ἐπεὶ περιόιδε νοῆσαι.”  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “Τυδεΐδην, μῆτ' ἄρ με μάλ' αἴνεε μῆτέ τι νείκει·  
 εἰδόσι γάρ τοι ταῦτα μετ' Ἀργείοις ἀγορεύεις. 250

235. Τὸν: τῶν HQS Harl. a, Vr. A (Lips. *supr.*), γρ. C (*man. rec.*). 236. πολλοί: πάντες H. 238. ὀπάσειαι H (*supr. c over z*). 239. βασιλεύτατος H Mor. || εἶη P: ἐστίν Ω. 240. ἀθ. Ar., *om.* Zen. 241. αἰεὶς C. || προσέειπε P. 246. γε *om.* GU<sup>1</sup>: δ' R. || γε σπομένοιο Ptol. Ask.: γ' ἐπομένοιο JQ Harl. a: γ' ἐσπομένοιο Ω. 247. περίειδε G. 249. τι: γε G. 250. τοι ταῦτα: τοιαῦτα H. || ἀγορεύεις H.

235. αἵρήσεται, 'you shall choose,' which may be taken either as a permission or as a modified imperative. Cf. Z 71.

236. φαινομένων, a curious use which must mean 'as they present themselves.' Döderlein conj. *φαινόμενον*, to which Paech has added *τοι* for *τόν*. But the later use of the article is common in this book.

237. αἰδόμενος, from a feeling of respect; as ζ 329 αἶδετο γάρ ῥα πατροκασίγνητον.

238. *κύ* δέ, repeated to enforce the opposition of clauses, not of persons. This is common enough when the pronoun has not been expressed before, but is very rare in cases like this where an emphatic *σύ* γε precedes. ὀπάσσειαι: aor. subj., as regularly after *μή*; some have taken it as a 'jussive' future, but this does not seem in place here.

239. εἶη seems demanded by the context for the vulg. *έστω*, as the case of the person chosen being βασιλεύτερος is purely hypothetical, and not assumed to happen.

240. Omitted by Zen. and athetized by Ar. as superfluous. It clearly gives the meaning which is meant to lurk in the preceding line; and it is more in the Epic style that this should be openly expressed than left to be understood. Thus if it be rejected 239 should probably go with it; Agamemnon's remarks are then quite general in their application.

243 = α 65. The *έπειτα* is more suitable in this passage than in α.

246. σπομένοιο: see note on E 423. As between *γε* σπ- and *γ' έσπ-*, MS. authority is *nil*.

247. νοστήσαιμεν without *άν*, see H. G. § 299 (*f*), M. and T. § 240, and note on E 303. The sense is clearly potential.

249. μήτε τι νείκει is superfluous according to our ideas; we can express it by saying 'there is no more need of praise than of blame.' It is really an instance of the tendency which we find in Latin as well as in Greek to emphasize a word by means of its contrary; as in phrases like *fas nefasque*, etc., where the second member is often superfluous.

ἀλλ' ἴομεν· μάλα γὰρ νύξ ἄνεται, ἐγγύθι δ' ἠώς,  
ἄστρο δὲ δὴ προβέβηκε, παρώιχκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ  
τῶν δύο μοιράων, τριτάτῃ δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λέλειπται."

ὥς εἰπόνθ' ὅπλοισιν ἐνι δεινοῖσιν ἐδύτην.

Τυδείδῃ μὲν δῶκε μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης 255  
φάσγανον ἄμφηκες, τὸ δ' ἐὼν παρὰ νηὶ λέλειπτο,  
καὶ σάκος· ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε  
ταυρεῖην, ἄφαλόν τε καὶ ἄλλοφον, ἣ τε καταῖτυξ  
κέκληται, ῥύεται δὲ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζηνῶν.  
Μηριόνης δ' Ὀδυσῇ δίδου βιὸν ἡδὲ φαρέτρην 260

251. ἔνυται G. 252. παρώιχκεν or παροίχκεν Ar. (see Ludwigh): παρώ-  
χκεν Vat. 1319 (Allen *C.R.* xiii. p. 113): παρώχετο Q. || πλέω ACGJST Lips.  
Harl. a d, King's, Par. d e j, Vr. b<sup>1</sup>: πλέων R<sup>1</sup> Porphyr. (J *supr.*). 253 *ab.* Ar.  
Aph., *om.* Zen. || τριτάτης δέ τι τινές *ap.* Porphyr. *ad loc.* || δ' ἔτι: δέ τι L(ΓT):  
δέ τοι HP. 255. ἔδωκε G. 258. ἄλοφον Ar. 259. κάρην GH<sup>2</sup>.

252. προβέβηκε: cf. μ 312 *τρίχα νυκτὸς ἔην, μετὰ δ' ἄστρο βεβήκει*. Of the alter-  
native forms of the verb παρώιχκεν  
has almost unanimous MS. authority.  
The Ionic form is οἰχωκα (Herod. ix.  
98). In Attic (Aisch. *Pers.* 13, Soph.  
*Aiax* 896) editors generally read οἰχωκα,  
but against the MSS. which have οἰχωκα.  
It is likely that Ar. read παροίχκεν  
here; the scholia are contradictory, and  
MSS. cannot be depended on to distinguish  
between ω and ο. οἰχωκα is not found  
again till late prose (Polybios); but it is  
noteworthy that the MSS. of Aristotle,  
who quotes the line in *Poet.* xxv., have  
παρώιχκεν without variant. It is prob-  
ably a genuine form, compare the fut.  
οἰχήσομαι. The principal MS. of Aristotle  
has πλέω, the others πλέον. Aristotle  
ends his quotation with νύξ, citing the  
phrase as an instance of ambiguity in  
the word πλέω. He did not, however,  
reject the next line, as Porphyrios  
mentions his explanation of it (see  
next note).

253. This puzzling line was rejected,  
presumably as unintelligible, by the  
Alexandrian trio. The long com-  
mentary of Porphyrios in Schol. B  
gives a collection of 'solutions,' only two  
of which deserve serious consideration.  
None of those which adopt the reading  
πλέω are satisfactory. The best ex-  
planation is the most obvious; the  
words mean 'more of the night than  
two (of the three) watches has gone, and  
the third only remains.' The objection  
to this is not really serious; it is pedantic

to say that if more than two-thirds have  
gone, a third cannot remain, for the  
words imply only that there is nothing  
but the third watch left to act in; there  
is no assertion that the *whole* of the  
third is left. In other words λέλειπται  
means rather 'is left us' than 'remains  
intact.' There is nothing absurd in  
saying 'we have let more than eleven  
hours slip by, and only the twelfth is  
left us,' though the words are not of  
course those of a mathematician. This is  
the way in which Chrysippos took the  
passage; the explanation of Aristotle  
seems to have been in effect the same  
as that of Ameis, 'the greater part of the  
night, consisting of two-thirds, is gone,  
and only one-third is left.' But this is  
excessively complicated and unnatural  
even if possible. For the threefold  
division of the night cf. μ 312 *ἦμος δὲ  
τρίχα νυκτὸς ἔην, μετὰ δ' ἄστρο βεβήκει*.  
The scholiast compares the threefold  
division of the day Φ 111 *ἔσσεται ἡ  
ἠὼς ἢ δέλην ἢ μέσον ἡμῶν*. *ἄνο* is in-  
declinable in Homer, but the only other  
instances of its use, except in nom. or  
acc., are κ 515 (gen.), N 407 (dat.).

254. ὅπλα=*armour* only occurs four  
times in H.; see note on Θ 55.

258. ταυρεῖην with κυνέην seems to  
be a contradiction in terms, if κυνέη  
means 'a helmet of dogskin' (cf. 335),  
though such a phrase can easily be  
justified (v. A 598). See, however, App.  
B vii.; and for ἄφαλος, ἄλλοφος, *ibid.*  
καταῖτυξ: a word of unknown origin and  
meaning, except for what we are told here.



καὶ ξίφος, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε  
 ῥινοῦ ποιητήν· πολέσιν δ' ἔντοσθεν ἱμάσιν  
 ἐντέτατο στερεῶς, ἔκτοσθε δὲ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες  
 ἀργιόδοντος ὕος θαμέες ἔχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
 εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως, μέσσηι δ' ἐνὶ πῖλος ἀρήρει. 265  
 τὴν ῥά ποτ' ἐξ Ἑλεῶνος Ἀμύντορος Ὀρμενίδαο  
 ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας,  
 Σκάνδειαν δ' ἄρα δῶκε Κυθηρίῳ Ἀμφιδάμαντι·  
 Ἀμφιδάμας δὲ Μόλῳι δῶκε ξεινήϊον εἶναι,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ Μηριόνη δῶκεν ὦι παιδί φορῆναι. 270  
 δὴ τότε Ὀδυσσῆος πύκασεν κάρη ἀμφιτεθεῖσα.  
 τῷ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ὅπλοισιν ἐνὶ δεινοῖσιν ἐδύτην,  
 βάν ῥ' ἱέναι, λιπέτην δὲ κατ' αὐτόθι πάντας ἀρίστους.

264. ἀργιόδοντος G. || εὐος RU. 268. σκάνδεια G : σκάνδεια J (*supr.* N) :  
 τινὰ τῶν νεωτέρων ἀντιγράφων σκάνδεια Eust. 269. ξεινήϊον GP. 271.  
 κάρην GH<sup>2</sup>U<sup>2</sup>. 273. κατ' : παρ' G.

263. ἐντέτατο should mean *was stretched tight*, cf. E 728. In this case the thongs could not have been 'inside' the hollow, i.e. next the head. Possibly it is meant that there was a leather cap (ῥινοῦ 262) padded with felt (πῖλος) inside, and wound round outside for the sake of strength with thongs; while outside these again came an outer covering of boar's tusks. The ἱμάντες are then ἔντοσθεν because they form the middle one of three layers. The tusks may possibly be a relic of the origin of the helmet from the wild beast's head, a form which is very commonly found in primitive headgear; see App. B, vii. 2.

264. ἔχον, *clasped*, surrounded; X 322 ἔχε χρῶα χάλκεα τεύχη, ι 301 φρένες ἦπαρ ἔχουσι. There is no need for either Bentley's *τρέχον* or Nauck's *θέον*.

265. πῖλος, *felt*, one of the most rudimentary and primitive clothing products. The word is 'proethnic,' Schrader *Sprachw.* 401. Felt was used in Greece for both shoes and caps in Hesiod's time (*Opp.* 542 πέδιλα . . πῖλοις ἔντοσθε πυκάσσας, 546 κεφαλῇφιν . . πῖλον ἔχειν ἀσκητῶν); in Thuk. iv. 34 for cuirasses, Herod. iv. 23, 73, 75 for Scythian tents and rugs. The felt cap, πῖλον or πῖλος, came from this passage to be the conventional mark of Odysseus in later (but not in archaic) Greek art; acc. to Pliny xxxv. 36 it was first introduced by the painter Nikomachos, acc. to Eust. by Apollodoros.

266. Ἑλεῶν (or Ἑλεών) in Boiotia, B 500. For the migration southwards of the legend of Amyntor—doubtless in consequence of the displacement of the Boiotians through the Thessalian invasion—see I 447. Ptolemy of Askalon held that this Eleon was a Thessalian town, distinct from the Boiotian; but this is a mere figment to explain the obvious discrepancy. Ἀμύντορος: gen. with δόμον.

267. Autolykos was the maternal grandfather of Odysseus, see λ 85, τ 395; he was an arch-thief, ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο κλεπτοσύνην θ' ὄρκωι τε. Hence in the later legends he was made the son of Hermes. ἀντιτορήσας, so *Ηγημν.* Merc. 178 μέγαν δόμον ἀντιτορήσων. The force of the preposition is not clear, and Döderlein (*Gloss.* § 672) is perhaps right in reading ἀντετορήσας, from the reduplicated aor. ἀν-τετορήσαι. The real form will then have been forgotten at the time of the composition of the hymn; see note on E 337.

268. Σκάνδειαν: acc. of the *terminus ad quem*, cf. 195 κεκλήατο βουλὴν. *Δρ.* read Σκάνδειανδ', as H 79 σώμα δὲ οἰκαδ' ἐμὸν δόμεναι πάλιν, ο 367 Σάμηνδε ὄδσαν. Skandeia was the port of Kythera; Paus. iii 23. 1, with Frazer's note.

269. For Molos, the brother of Idomeneus, cf. N 249.

273. It is doubtful if we should read κατ' αὐτοῖσι as one word or as two. The preposition in tmesis rarely stands after

τοῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν ἑρωδιὸν ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο  
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη· τοὶ δ' οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσι 275  
 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, ἀλλὰ κλάγξαντος ἄκουσαν.  
 χαῖρε δὲ τῷ ὄρνιθ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ἡρᾶτο δ' Ἀθήνη·  
 “κλῦθί μοι, αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος, ἣ τέ μοι αἰεὶ  
 ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι παρίστασαι, οὐδέ σε λήθω  
 κινύμενος, νῦν αὖτε μάλιστά με φίλαι, Ἀθήνη, 280  
 δὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ νῆας ἐνκλείας ἀφικέσθαι,  
 ῥέξαντας μέγα ἔργον, ὃ κε Τρώεσσι μελήσει.”  
 δεύτερος αὖτ' ἡρᾶτο βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης·  
 “κέκλυθι νῦν καὶ ἐμεῖο, Διὸς τέκος, ἀτρυτώνη·  
 σπεῖό μοι, ὥς ὅτε πατρὶ ἄμ' ἔσπεο Τυδεΐ δῖωι 285  
 ἐς Θήβας, ὅτε τε πρὸ Ἀχαιῶν ἀγγελος ἦιι.  
 τοὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀσωπῶι λίπε χαλκοχίτωνας Ἀχαιοὺς,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μελιχίον μῦθον φέρε Καδμείοισι  
 κεῖσ'· αὐτὰρ ἄψ' ἀπὼν μάλα μέρμερα μῆσατο ἔργα

275. παλλὰς: Ζώπυρος πελλὸν γράφει Schol. BT. 276. κλάξαντος T.  
 277. ὄρνιθ': ἐκ πλήρους ὄρνιθι Ar. 278. μοι Δ (supr. ευ) CDHRU: μευ Ω  
 (cf. E 115). 280. φίλαι (φίλαι) AD Lips.: φίλ' J (λ ἰν τας.: γρ. φίλεια): φίλε'  
 Ω. 281. ἐφικέσθαι Δ. 282. μελήσει C (Q supr.): μελήσοι L supr. 283.  
 δεύτερον T. || αὐθ' U. 284. ἐμοῖο JPR Mor. 286. τε om. DGJQR Lips. |  
 πρὸ: πρὸς J (γρ. πρὸ). || ἦιι: εἴη JP<sup>1</sup> (ἦη P<sup>2</sup>) Q: ἦλθε DRU. 289. αὐτὰρ  
 DGQ. || ἀπὼν: λιπὼν P.

its verb (see, however, B 699), and here the rhythm throws it forward. In Φ 201, φ 90 κατ' αὐτόθι λείπεν, λιπόντε, where the verb follows, it seems most natural to take it with κατά. The same question arises with κατ' αἶθρι, N 653, P 535, Ω 470; for παραντόθι or παρ' αὐτόφιν see on M 302.

274. The ἑρωδιός is perhaps the night heron, *Ardea Nycticorax* L., which is abundant in the Troad (Thompson *Gloss.* s.v.). The common heron was called πελλός, grey; hence Zopyros in his *History of the Foundation of Miletos* read πελλὸν for Παλλὰς in the next line. The heron appears as a symbol of Athens on coins of Ambrakia and Corinth, and is mentioned as a bird of good omen by Aelian, Plutarch, and Pliny. Schol. B has a lengthy excerpt from Porphyrios dealing with various difficulties, mostly imaginary, discussed by the ancient critics.

278-80. Cf. E 115-7 and ν 300-1. κινύμενος, apparently 'no movement of mine escapes thee.' But this is hardly

a Homeric view of the gods, whose omniscience does not extend to details unless their attention is called.

285. σπεῖο, for σπέο, according to Schulze (*Q. E.* 404) a case of lengthening due to the first arsis (see App. D); no satisfactory explanation on any other ground has ever been given. There is no reason to doubt that both it and ἔσπεο (or ἔσπεο, see on E 423) have stood together in the text from the first. For the favourite story of Tydeus and the Kadmeians see Δ 376 ff., E 802 ff.

286. To avoid the hiatus Barnes conj. παρ' for πρὸ, Bentley πρὸς (and so one ms.). ἦιι recurs N 247, θ 290 only. It is probably a mere mistake for the regular ἦι (= ἦι), as it always comes at the end of the line.

289. μέρμερα ἔργα, the slaying of the ambush, Δ 396. κεῖσε in the emphatic place contrasts, rather violently perhaps, but in the style of this book, the different moods of the two journeys, brought about by the treacherous reply of the Kadmeians to the friendly message.

- σὺν σοί, διὰ θεά, ὅτε οἱ πρόφρασσα παρέσσης. 290  
 ὥς νῦν μοι ἐθέλουσα παρίστασο καὶ με φύλασσε·  
 σοὶ δ' αὖ ἐγὼ ῥέξω βοῦν ἥνιν εὐρυμέτωπον,  
 ἀδμήτην, ἣν οὐ πω ὑπὸ ζυγὸν ἤγαγεν ἀνὴρ·  
 τήν τοι ἐγὼ ῥέξω χρυσὸν κέρασιν περιχεύας.”  
 ὥς ἔφαν εὐχόμενοι, τῶν δ' ἔκλυε Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη. 295  
 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἡρήσαντο Διὸς κούρηι μέγαλοιο,  
 βάν ῥ' ἴμεν ὥς τε λέοντε δῶν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν,  
 ἅμ φόνον, ἂν νέκρας, διὰ τ' ἔντεα καὶ μέλαν αἶμα.  
 οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ Τρῶας ἀγήνορας εἶασεν Ἐκτωρ  
 εὔδειν, ἀλλ' ἄμυδις κικλήσκετο πάντας ἀρίστους, 300  
 ὅσσοι ἔσαν Τρῶων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες·  
 τοὺς ὃ γε συγκαλέσας πυκινὴν ἡρτύνετο βουλὴν·  
 “τίς κέν μοι τόδε ἔργον ὑποσχόμενος τελέσειε  
 δῶρῳ ἐπι μέγαλῳ; μισθὸς δέ οἱ ἄρκιος ἔσται·  
 δώσω γὰρ δίφρὸν τε δῶν τ' ἐριαύχενας ἵππους, 305  
 οἳ κεν ἄριστοι ἔωσι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν,

291. παρίσταο Ar. Zen. καὶ αἱ πλείους. || με φύλασσε: πόρε κύδος Zen.; με φύλαττε Par. h. 292. αὖ: ἂν J: ἄρ' Vr. b. || ἥνιν Tyrannio: ἥνιν Ptol. Oroandae. 293. ἀδμήτην PU. || ἥν: τήν PQST. || οὐ πω: οὔποτε J: οὔποθ' R: οὔποτ' U (“the second o covering an ω”). 294. τοι: σοι Q. || περιχεύας GHJQTU Cant. (Harl. a *supr.*). 296. ἐπεὶ οὐν PR. 298. ἂν (ἂν) φόνον GPQ. 299. εἶασεν Ω (incl. A, T.W.A.): εἶας' D Vr. b. 300. ἅμαδς T. 301. ἔσαν: ἔασι DRU: ἥσαν P. 305. γὰρ: γάρ οἱ P. 306. ἄριστοι ἔωσι Ar. GJ Par. c d: ἄριστοι ἔασι PR: ἀριστεύωσι Ω (U has c *supr.* over ὕ), γρ. JR. || αὐτοὺς (καλοὺς Aph.) οἳ φορέουσιν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα Zen. Aph. (cf. 323).

290. πρόφρασσα, also Φ 500 and three times in *Od.*, a fem. of πρόφρων: for the formation see *H. G.* § 114\* (5).

291. For παρίσταο, the reading of Zen. and Ar., compare the imperatives O 475 μάρανο, σ 171 φάο, κ 333 θέο. The usual rule is that the σ is preserved in the imperat. but omitted in the imperf.; *H. G.* p. 4.

292-4=γ 382-4, to which place only they probably belonged originally. The tools for gilding the horns of the sacrifice are there described (432-8). See Helbig *H. E.* p. 267, who points out that the process consisted in beating gold into thin leaves and laying these round the horns—not in anything like casting the gold. Cf. also ζ 232. For ἥνιν see on Z 94. The usual accentuation ἥνιν must be wrong, as the word could not stand here unless the last vowel were long by nature. Sitzler would read

ἥνιδα here and ἥνιδας in Z; but cf. *H. G.* § 116. 3, and note on A 36.

299. εἶασεν: a clear false quantity; but the rhythm is equally impossible if we read εἶασ'. P. Knight's εἶαεν is no doubt right. Heyne's εἶασεν ἀγήνορας “Εκτωρ has the forbidden caesura in the 4th foot. We may, however, admit the possibility that εἶασεν is original, as a false archaism based on the co-existence of ἡτίμασεν and ἡτίμησεν (see on A 11), and φ 297 ἄσεν beside κ 68 ἄσαν (see note on Θ 237).

304. ἄρκιος, *certain*, see note on B 393, and cf. O 502, σ 358. But it must be admitted that in this place the sense *sufficient, ample* (ἀρκεῖν) is more natural; so also Hes. *Opp.* 370 μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένος ἄρκιος ἔστω, and 351, 501, 577. Ap. Rhod. and the later Epic imitative poets seem to have taken it in the same way.

ὅς τις κε τλαίῃ, οἳ τ' αὐτῶι κῦδος ἄροιτο,  
 νηῶν ὠκυπόρων σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔκ τε πυθέσθαι,  
 ἢ ἐφυλάσσονται νῆες θαλὶ ὥς τὸ πάρος περ,  
 ἢ ἤδη χεῖρεσσιν ὑφ' ἡμετέρησι δαμέντες 310  
 φύξιν βουλευούσι μετὰ σφίσιν, οὐδ' ἐθέλουσι  
 νύκτα φυλασσέμεναι, καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες αἰνῶι."

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἳ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἀκὴν ἐγένοντο σιωπῇ.  
 ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δόλων Ἑυμήδεος υἱὸς  
 κήρυκος θείοιο, πολύχρυσος πολύχαλκος· 315

ὃς δὴ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἦν κακός, ἀλλὰ ποδώκης·  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μῶννος ἦν μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτησιν.  
 ὃς ῥα τότε Τρωσὶν τε καὶ Ἑκτορι μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 "Ἑκτορ, ἔμ' ὀτρύνει κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ 320  
 νηῶν ὠκυπόρων σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔκ τε πυθέσθαι.

ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸ σκῆπτρον ἀνάσχεο, καὶ μοι ὁμοσσον  
 ἢ μὲν τοὺς ἵππους τε καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῶι  
 δωσέμεν, οἳ φορέουσιν ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα.  
 σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ οὐχ ἄλιος σκοπὸς ἔσσομαι οὐδ' ἀπὸ δόξης·  
 τόφρα γὰρ ἐς στρατὸν εἶμι διαμπερές, ὅφρ' ἂν ἴκωμαι 325  
 νῇ Ἀγαμεμνονέην, ὅθι που μέλλουσιν ἄριστοι  
 βουλὰς βουλεύειν, ἢ φευγέμεν ἢ μάχεσθαι."

ὥς φάθ', ὁ δ' ἐν χερσὶ σκῆπτρον λάβε καὶ οἳ ὁμοσσεύ·  
 "ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτός, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης,

307. οὔτις P<sup>1</sup> (*supr.* ὅς τις P<sup>2</sup>). 308. ὠκυπόρων PU. || ἐλαεῖν RU. 311.  
 βουλευέουσι J: βουλεύονται G. 312. ἀδηνκότες PRS. 316. ποδώκης G  
 (L *supr.*): ποδώκεις Cant. 317. κασιγνήτοις Zen. 318. Μῦθον ἔειπεν:  
 εἶπε παραστὰς RU. 321. "ἀνάσχεο διὰ τοῦ ο" Ar. (others ἀνάσχειν? More  
 probably ἀνίσχει, when we must read διὰ τοῦ α with Cobet). 322. ἤμην DLT,  
 γρ. Harl. a. 323. φορέουσι ποδώκεα J Par. a f g, γρ. A. 325. εἰς H. 328.  
 ἔφαθ' GL: ἔφε' P.

307. οἳ τ' αὐτῶι κῦδος ἄροιτο is of course parenthetical.

311. φύξιν, a word peculiar to this book; see 398, 447.

312. νύκτα is a temporal accus. only occurs in H. in this book of the *Iliad* (188, 399) and in the *Odyssey*. ἀδηνκότες: cf. 98.

314. For this introduction of a new character cf. E 9. κήρυκος θείοιο, as holding a sacred office, v. A 334, Δ 192. πολύχρυσος, εἰκότως, λαβὼν πέντε θυγατέρων ἔδνα, humorously remarks Schol. T. Bentley conj. πολυχρύσου πολυχάλκου, with some probability.

316. δὴ τοι, Thomas (*J. P.* xxiii. 98)

would read δ' ἦτοι, on the ground that δὴ in H. always has the temporal sense, now.

317. μῶννος, an only son. Zen. read κασιγνήτοις, understanding it to mean the only *survivor* among five brethren.

321. Cf. H 412. Dolon offers to Hector the staff which he is holding as the speaker 'in possession of the house.' See 328. Thus τό means *this*, not *thine*.

324. ἄλιος σκοπός, the phrase ἀλαοσκοπῆν ἔχειν (see 515) suggests that ἀλαός may be the right reading here. ἀπὸ δόξης, far from what you expect. The phrase recurs only in λ 344. Cf. ἀπὸ γνώμης, θυμοῦ (A 562), etc.



- μὴ μὲν τοῖς ἵπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐποχήσεται ἄλλος 330  
 Τρώων, ἀλλὰ σέ φημι διαμπερές ἀγλαΐεσθαι.”  
 ὧς φάτο καὶ ῥ' ἐπίορκον ἐπώμοσε, τὸν δ' ὀρόθουνεν.  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἐβάλλετο καμπύλα τόξα,  
 ἔσσατο δ' ἔκτοσθεν ῥινὸν πολιοῖο λύκοιο, 335  
 κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην, ἔλε δ' ὄξυν ἄκοντα,  
 βῆ δ' ἰέναι ποτὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατοῦ· οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλεν  
 ἐλθὼν ἐκ νηῶν ἀψ' Ἑκτορι μῦθον ἀποίσειν.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν κάλλιφ' ὄμιλον,  
 βῆ ῥ' ἀν' ὁδὸν μεμαῶς· τὸν δὲ φράσατο προσιόντα 340  
 διογενὴς Ὀδυσσεύς, Διομήδεα δὲ προσέειπεν·  
 “οὐτός τοι, Διόμηδες, ἀπὸ στρατοῦ ἔρχεται ἀνὴρ,  
 οὐκ οἶδ', ἣ νήεσσιν ἐπίσκοπος ἡμετέρησιν,  
 ἣ τινὰ συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνηῶτων.  
 ἀλλ' ἐώμεν μιν πρῶτα παρεξελθεῖν πεδίοιο  
 τυτθόν· ἔπειτα δέ κ' αὐτὸν ἐπαΐξαντες ἔλοιμεν 345

332. ἐπεὶ ὄρκον HT. || ἐπώμοσε Ar. AQ<sup>1</sup> Mosc. 3 (and *supr.* H Par. k), γρ. C<sup>2</sup>: ἀπώμοσε(ς)ε(ν) Ω. 333. ὠμοῖν P. 334. ἔκτοσθαι P. || πολιοῖο: πελιοῖο ar. Cram. *Epim.* 334, *Et. Mag.* 680. 336. προτὶ RTU<sup>2</sup>: ἐπὶ A<sup>2</sup> (T.W.A.) HJ Vr. c, Harl. a: γρ. κατὰ Harl. a, γρ. ποτὶ νῆας A<sup>m</sup>, and extra marg. προτὶ νῆας (T.W.A.). 341. τοι: τις Ar. (ὠμολόγουν καὶ αἱ πλείους Did.). 342. ἦ: εἰ A *supr.* 343. ΚΑΤΑΤΕΘΝΗΩΤΩΝ Ar. (J *supr.*) L Lips.<sup>1</sup> Vr. b<sup>2</sup>: ΚΑΤΑΤΕΘΝΕΙΩΤΩΝ Ω. 345. ἔλωμεν A *supr.*

330. This line seems almost like an intentional irony, in view of Hector's coming fate at the heels of Achilles' horses. For the construction of μή with the indic. in an oath cf. O 41 ἴστω νῦν . . μὴ δι' ἐμὴν ἰσότητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων πημαίνει Τρώας. So *Hymn. Merc.* 275-6 ὁμοῦμαι, μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ . . ὑπὶσχομαι, μήτε τιν' ἄλλον ὅπωπα, Theognis 659 ὁμόσαι ὅτι μήποτε πρῆγμα τόδ' ἔσται, Ar. *Aves* 194-5 μὰ γῆν κτλ., μὴ 'γὼ νόημα κομψότερον ἤκουσά πον, *Lys.* 917, *Eccl.* 1000; and a few other examples in *M. and T.* § 686. See also *H. G.* § 358.

332. ἐπώμοσε, apparently swore to his bidding, or added an oath to the original promise (cf. the frequent ἐπὶ δὲ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι). It may be questioned if the ἀπώμοσε of most mss. is not right; the oath he has just sworn is negative, and is therefore properly expressed by ἀπομύναται. The positive promise is only an asseveration, φημί. In o 437, however, ἐπώμνον is clearly needed, though

ἀπώμνον is a well-supported variant. ἐπώμνονι does not imply a false oath as ἐπίορκον does; though here the perjury is not intentional.

335. ἐπὶ κτιδέην: many divided ἐπ' ἱκτιδέην, but, as Ar. remarks, the question is settled by 458. The only form of the subst., however, is ἱκτίς: κτίς seems never to occur. The animal meant is one of the weasel tribe, a polecat or marten. Cf. note on 258.

338. Aristarchos noted that elsewhere in the *Iliad* ὄμιλος means only 'the battle-throng,' the sense of 'assembly' being peculiar to the *Odyssey*.

342. ἐπίσκοπος: see note on 38.

344. παρεξελθεῖν πεδίοιο: to pass by us out upon the plain. Brandreth and von Christ conj. ἀλλά F' ἐώμεν πρῶτα. Rather, if an ancient form is to be imported, ἀλλ' ἐάωμεν πρῶτα. The position of μιν is irregular; *H. G.* p. 338. For the synizesis of ἐάν see on E 256.

καρπαλίμως· εἰ δ' ἄμμε παραφθάνησι πόδεσσιν,  
αἰεὶ μιν ἐπὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατόφι προτιειλεῖν  
ἔγχει ἐπαίσσων, μὴ πως προτὶ ἄστρ ἰλύξῃ.”

ὥς ἄρα φωνήσαντε παρέξ ὁδοῦ ἐν νεκύεσσι  
κλινθήτην· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ὦκα παρέδραμεν ἀφραδίησιν.  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἀπέην ὅσσόν τ' ἐπὶ οὔρα πέλονται  
ἡμιόνων, αἱ γάρ τε βοῶν προφερέστεραὶ εἰσιν  
ἐλκόμεναι νειοῖο βαθείης πηκτὸν ἄροτρον,  
τῷ μὲν ἐπεδραμέτην, ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔστη δοῦπον ἀκούσας·  
ἔλπετο γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀποστρέψοντας ἐταίρους

350

355

346. παραφθάνησι PR<sup>m</sup>: παραφένσι T: παραφθάν(η)σι Ar. (καὶ σχεδὸν αἱ  
πᾶσαι Did.) Ω. 347. μιν: μὲν J (γρ. μιν). || ἐπὶ Ar. [G]PR[S]: προτὶ CDHJU  
Par. b c d e g j k: ποτὶ AQT (supr. ἐπὶ νῆας οὐ ποτὶ νῆας) Harl. a d, King's Par. a f  
h. || ποτιειλεῖν HS: προτὶ Ἰλιον Q. 348. ποτὶ GS. 349. ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδ'  
ἀπίονε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς διουμήνῃς· ἐλεόντες δ' ἑκάτερος παρέξ ὁδοῦ κτλ. Aph.  
("and others," Did.). 351. πέλονται R: φέρονται C. 353. ἐλκόμεναι JR.  
354. ἐπεδραμέτην Ar. CRTU: ἐπίδραμέτην Ω. 355. ἀποστρέψοντας GP.

346. παραφθάνησι with long *a* in *thesi*,  
as I 506, Φ 262, probably from *φθάνω*,  
*H. G.* § 47. The vulg. παραφθαί(η)σι, half  
opt. half subj., is a hybrid monster such as  
one would hardly dare to impute even to  
the author of K. It is usually explained  
as an opt. with -σι added on the analogy  
of the epic subj. -ησι by the commoner  
-ηι. But this is quite unnecessary.

349. φωνήσαντε is curious, as Odys-  
seus only has spoken. Didymos com-  
pares the similar instance Φ 298 ὧς  
εἰπόντε after a speech from one only.  
There seems to be a sort of attraction to  
the number of the principal verb. The  
variant of Aph. was apparently meant  
to evade this difficulty.

351. This phrase must be compared  
with θ 124 ὅσσόν τ' ἐν νειῷ οὔρον πέλει  
ἡμιόνων, τόσσον ὑπεκπροθέων κτλ. An  
ingenious explanation is given by Ridge-  
way in *J. H. S.* vol. vi. He shews that  
the length of a furrow was commonly  
a fixed and recognized standard of  
length; with us it is the *furlong*  
(furrow-long), which was, in fact, the  
length and breadth of the common field,  
theoretically regarded as a square of  
ten acres. Now the unit of area was  
a day's work of plough (γῆρας), as the  
German *Morgen* and Gallic *journal* de-  
note the patches in the common fields,  
and a 'day's work,' or 'daymath' (see *New*  
*English Dict.*) was a local name in Eng-  
land for a measure of about an acre. If  
mules ploughed more swiftly than oxen,

but with the same length of furrow, then  
in a day's work they would plough a  
wider piece of land. The *width* which  
they would thus cover (πέλθρον) is ex-  
pressed by the distance between the  
οὔρα or side limits (whilst τέλσον=end-  
limit, 'headland'); and the οὔρον of  
mules will form an absolute standard  
of distance, as we see that it does in  
θ 124. We may also compare Ψ 431  
δίσκου οὔρα, 523 δίσκουρα. οὔρα is  
generally considered a heteroclit plur.  
of οὔρος=ὄρος, but so far as the Homeric  
evidence goes the old form of the  
singular may have been οὔρον, as Ridge-  
way remarks. ἐπὶ goes with ὅσσον:  
the accent, according to the rule, is  
not thrown back, because τε intervenes.  
Cf. B 616 and note. For the use of  
mules in ploughing cf. Soph. *Ant.* 341.

353. νειοῖο: gen. of movement within  
a space, like πεδίοιο, etc. ΠΗΚΤΟΝ (also  
N 703, ν 32), acc. to Hesiod, *Opp.* 433,  
means the plough made of several parts,  
opposed to the αὐτόγυνον where the body  
was composed of a single suitably shaped  
piece of wood. Hesiod advises that one  
of each sort should be kept in case of  
accident.

355. ἔλπετο does not in itself imply  
that Dolon *hoped* that he was to be  
fetched back; though this is probably  
meant, from the whole description of his  
cowardly nature. ἔλπομαι is often simply  
'to expect,' 'fancy,' even of things which  
are dreaded; e.g. II 281, P 404.

ἐκ Τρώων ἰέναι, πάλιν Ἑκτορος ὀτρύναντος.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἄπεςαν δουρηνεκές ἢ καὶ ἔλασσαν,  
 γνῶ ῥ' ἄνδρας δήιους, λαίψηρά δὲ γούνατ' ἐνώμα  
 φευγέμεναι· τοὶ δ' αἶψα διώκειν ὀρμήθησαν.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε καρχαρόδοντε δῦω κύνε εἰδότε θήρης 360  
 ἢ κεμάδ' ἢ ἐλαγῶν ἐπείγετον ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ  
 χῶρον ἀν' ὑλήενθ', ὁ δέ τε προθέησι μεμηκώς,  
 ὥς τὸν Τυδεΐδης ἦδ' ὁ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 λαοῦ ἀποτμήξαντε διώκετον ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἐμέλλε μιγήσεσθαι φυλάκεσσι 365  
 φεύγων ἐς νῆας, τότε δὴ μένος ἔμβαλ' Ἀθήνη  
 Τυδεΐδῃ, ἵνα μὴ τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων  
 φθαίῃ ἐπευξάμενος βαλέειν, ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος ἔλθοι.

356. ἰέναι: ἰέμεναι J. 357. ἄπεςαν: ἀπέην Harl. a (γρ. ἀπέσαν): ἀπέσαν P. 358. ῥ' om. G: δ' Q: δ' ἄρα S (om. ἄνδρας). || δέ: τε G. 359. αἶψα: γρ. ὦκα A. || ὀρμήθησαν Ar. AH: ὠρμήθησαν Ω. 360. κύνες DPU. || εἰδότε: οἷ τ' ἐπὶ [Plut.] Vit. Hom. 86. 362. ὑλήεντα Ar.? || ὁ δέ τε: ὁ δὲ Ar. Harl. d: ὅ τε Harl. b. || μεμηκώς (R *supr.*) Vr. c Mose. 3: μεμυκώς Mor.: μεμαώς Harl. a (γρ. μεμηκώς). 363. ἦδ' ὁ: ἦδὲ GL. 365. μιγήσεσθαι G. 368. ἔλθῃ(ι) ACPQS.

356. But for the rhythm it would be more natural to put the comma after *πάλιν* with Ar. (τὸ πάλιν συναπτέον τῷ ἀποστρέψοντας An.). But the division of the line into two equal halves is hardly tolerable. Nikanor punctuates after *Τρώων*, but then 355 cannot be construed.

357. *δουρηνεκές*, as we talk of a spear 'carrying' a certain distance (*ἀπ. λεγ.*). Cf. O 358 and note on E 752 *κεντρηνέ- κέας*.

361. *ἐπείγετον* would seem from the following *προθέησι* to be meant for a subjunctive. If so, it is a false archaism, as the subj. with a short vowel is only found in non-thematic tenses. There is of course the alternative possibility that the author of K regarded *προθέη(ι)σι* as an indic. But as both indic. and subj. are used in similes, it does not seem necessary here to assume that both verbs are in the same mood. The rule is, however, for the subjunctive to come first, and the indicative to follow after the *δέ τε*.

362. ὁ τέ σύνδεσμος οὐκ ἦν ἐν τοῖς Ἀριστάρχου, Did. We must either read ἐν ταῖς Ἀρ., the editions of Ar., or understand τὰ Ἀρ. to mean the ὑπομήματα, which were regarded as of inferior

authority. In one or other Ar. must have read *ὑλήεντα*, ὁ δέ, which is probably the best reading, the hiatus as often causing the change. Paech's conjecture (approved by Curtius) *ὑλήεντα, ὅ τε*, though it would fully explain the subjunctive, is not quite like Homer; N 62, ρ 518, which he quotes, are not in point, as the relatives there refer to the main subject of the simile, not to a subordinate action, as here. In any case the passage cannot be brought into complete harmony with Homeric usage.

363. The use of the article ὁ is not Homeric; but cf. B 278. It is easy enough to read *ἦδὲ* for *ἦδ' ὁ*, but it is doubtful if, in this book, the change should be made.

364. *διώκετον*: on this form of the 3rd pers. dual in a historical tense see *H. G.* § 5 ad fin.; Curtius *Vb.* i. 75. The only other instances are N 346, Σ 583; cf. N 301, and notes on Θ 448, Λ 776.

365. *μιγήσεσθαι*: the only instance in Homer of a fut. from the (passive) aor. stem in -η. But it will be seen that the sense here is not passive but middle, *minge with*. There is no passive fut. clearly distinguished from the mid. in H. Cf. on E 653.

368. For *δεύτερος* = *too late*, cf. X 207.

δουρι δ' ἐπαΐσσαν προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
 “ἡέ μὲν, ἡέ σε δουρι κιχήσομαι, οὐδέ σε φημι 370  
 δηρὸν ἐμῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἀλύξειν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον.”  
 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἔγχος ἀφήκεν, ἐκὼν δ' ἡμάρτανε φωτός.  
 δεξιτερὸν δ' ὑπὲρ ὦμον ἐύξου δουρὸς ἀκωκῇ  
 ἐν γαίῃ ἐπάγη· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔστη τάρβησέν τε 375  
 βαμβαίνων, ἄραβος δὲ διὰ στόμα γίνετ' ὀδόντων,  
 χλωρὸς ὑπὸ δείους. τῷ δ' ἀσθμαίνοντε κιχήτην,  
 χειρῶν δ' ἀψάσθην· ὁ δὲ δακρύσας ἔπος ἠύδα·  
 “ζωγρεῖτ', αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐμὲ λύσομαι· ἔστι γὰρ ἔνδον  
 χαλκὸς τε χρυσὸς τε πολύκμητός τε σιδήρος·  
 τῶν κ' ὕμιν χαρίσαιο πατὴρ ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα, 380  
 εἴ κεν ἐμὲ ζῶν πεπύθουτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.”  
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 “θάρσει, μηδέ τί τοι θάνατος καταθύμιος ἔστω·  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον·  
 πῇ δ' οὕτως ἐπὶ νῆας ἀπὸ στρατοῦ ἔρχεαι οἶος 385  
 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, ὅτε θ' εὐδουσι βροτοὶ ἄλλοι;  
 ἦ τινα συλήσων νεκύων κατατεθνηώτων;  
 ἦ σ' Ἐκτωρ προέηκε διασκοπιᾶσθαι ἔκαστα  
 νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς; ἦ σ' αὐτὸν θυμὸς ἀνήκε;”

369. δ' : ε' J. 370. ἡ μένε G. 371. ὑπὸ A *supr.* || ἀλύξαι R. 372.  
 ἐφᾶκεν A *supr.* || ὅτι θέλοντες ζήτημα ποιεῖν μεταγράφοις τὸ ἡμιστίχιον οὕτως·  
 καὶ βάλεν οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτεν, ἐκὼν δ' ἡμάρτανε φωτός An. 373. ἐύξου  
 AGST<sup>1</sup> Vr. b : ἐύξου Ω. 376. ὑπὸ Q : ὑπαὶ Ω (ὑπαὶδδείους T). 380. χ'  
 ὕμιν DGJQT Vr. b : χ' ὕμιν HPU. 384. κατὰλεξον : ἀγόρευσον P, γρ. L.  
 385. πῇ : ποῖ Harl. a, γρ. C : τίφω S : γρ. ποῦ A. || ἔρχεο P. 386. ὀρφναίην :  
 γρ. ἀμβροσίην Vr. b. || ὅ' : γ' G. 387 ἀθ. Ar. Aph. || κατατεθνηώτων Ar.  
 [AC]H (*supr.* ei) P : κατατεθνηώτων Ω. 389. ἔπι : ἀνὰ DJRU Vr. b (*in ras.*). |  
 ἀνήκε : ἀνώγει P.

373. ἐύξου comes apparently from a nom. ἐύξος : cf. δορυξός for δορυξός Ar. *Pax* 447.

375. βαμβαίνων, either *staggering* from βα-ν (βαίνω), like παμφαῖνω from φαν : or *stammering*, uttering inarticulate sounds, an onomatopoeic word like βάρβαρος, *balbus*. Both interpretations were recognized in antiquity, and there is no ground but the taste of the individual for deciding between them. In late Greek the word is used to mean *stammering* only; e.g. Bion *Id.* 4. 9 βαμβαίνει μὲν γλώσσα. ἄραβος . . ὀδόντων is parenthetical.

378–81. See Z 48–50. ἐμέ for ἐμ'

αὐτόν is unusual; but other instances occur, see H 195, Θ 289, Ω 773, π 385, and cf. N 269.

383. κατὰθύμιος, *present to thy spirit*, as P 201; cf. Ω 152 μηδὲ τί οἱ θάνατος μελέτω φρεσί.

384. This is an Odyssean line (thirteen times), recurring once again in this book, and twice in Ω, but not elsewhere in the *Iliad*.

385. δ' here seems to stand for δῆ, which most edd. write. See A 340.

387 was athetized here as wrongly repeated from 343. It is not obviously out of place, though of course the question is included in the last half of 389.



τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Δόλων, ὑπὸ δ' ἔτρεμε γυῖα· 390  
 “πολλῇσιν μ' ἄτησι παρέκ νόον ἤγαγεν Ἐκτωρ,  
 ὅς μοι Πηλεΐδης ἀγανοῦ μώνυχας ἵππους  
 δωσέμεναι κατένευσε καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῶι,  
 ἡνώγει δέ μ' ἰόντα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν  
 ἀνδρῶν δυσμενέων σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν ἔκ τε πυθέσθαι, 395  
 ἢ ἐφυλάσσονται νῆες θοαὶ ὡς τὸ πάρος περ,  
 ἢ ἤδη χεῖρεσσιν ὑφ' ἡμετέρησι δαμέντες  
 φύξιν βουλεύοιτε μετὰ σφίσιν, οὐδ' ἐθέλοιτε  
 νύκτα φυλασσέμεναι, καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες αἰνῶι.”

390. ὑπὸ . . γυῖα : εὐμῆδεος υἱὸς Q. 391. ἤγαγεν : ἤπαφεν Aph.  
 397-9 ἀθ. Ar. (? see below) Aph. 397. ἦ : εἰ Ar. (?) (see Ludwig). 398.  
 βουλεύουσι . . ἐθέλουσι Ar. GP Harl. a b, Par. a<sup>2</sup>, γρ. C<sup>2</sup>, ἐν ἄλλῳ A : βουλεύοισε  
 . . ἐθέλοιτε Par. h : βουλεύονται . . ἐθέλητε Par. j (*supr.* οι). 399. ἀδῆκότες  
 PRS.

391. ἄτησι is so far peculiar here that it is used of 'blinding,' deception, of a purely human origin; ἄτας ἔφη τὰς ἐπὶ κακῶι ὑποσχέσεις, Schol. BT. In every other instance it conveys the idea of some divine or mysterious blindness. **παρέκ νόον** : see on Ω 434.

394. **θοήν** as an epithet of night is not very easy to explain. To an inhabitant of a northern climate the twilight of the south of Europe seems *comparatively* short; but we can hardly suppose, as some have done, that the Aryan immigration, if it came from the North, was sufficiently rapid to allow of such a contrast being felt; nor should we *a priori* have supposed that even in Greece darkness was felt as *absolutely* swift, either in approach or in duration. Nitzsch refers it to the sense 'sharp,' and understands 'the keen night air.' The phrase recurs in 468, Ω 366, 653, μ 284.

395-9 : compare 308-12, whence they are repeated.

398. The critical questions raised by this line are very important. It will be seen that the text involves taking **σφίσιν** = *yourselves*. There is no other case of this in H., the 'free' use of the stem *ssa* being confined to the possessive **ἐός**, **ὅς** : see App. A. καὶ γραπτέον οὕτως (sc. -ουσι) καὶ ἀθετητέον τοὺς τρεῖς στίχους (397-9) εἰ τι χρὴ πιστεῖν Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ διαδεξαμένῳ τὴν σχολὴν (the successor of Aristarchos in the School at Alexandria) ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι πλείονας (sc. more than two) ἐκδόσεως τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως τοῦτο φάσκοντι.

καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει δὲ ἡθετοῦντο, Didymos. ὅτι οὕτως γραπτέον “βουλεύουσι” καὶ “ἐθέλουσι.” τὸ γὰρ “σφίσιν” ἐν τῷ περὶ τινῶν ἐστὶ λόγῳ (sc. belongs to the third person), ἀντὶ τοῦ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἀκόλουθα δεῖ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα, Ariston. Other later scholia quote statements that there was no explanation to be found in the *ὑπομνήματα* of Ar. of the obelos which he put against these lines. Ammonios is further stated to have said that Aristarchos first marked the lines with *στιγμαί*—apparently a sign of hesitation—and afterwards obelized them. The question is an important one from the light which it throws on the tradition of the Aristarchean school. With regard to the reading of the line, it seems to shew that the tradition in favour of the second person was so strong that Ar. was prepared to reject the line altogether rather than read the third. There can be little doubt that the text is original and **σφίσιν** = *ὑμῖν* by a false archaism, the extension to the personal pronoun of the free use still traditionally surviving in the possessive—an extension very common in the later imitative poets. It is a mere accident that this use should in fact be a reversion to the older stage, apparently forgotten in Greek before the Epic period, when the personal pronoun was used as freely as the possessive adjective. There is no serious internal objection to be raised against **βουλεύουσι** and **ἐθέλουσι** : it is natural enough for Dolon to speak in the third person to Odysseus and Dio-

τὸν δ' ἐπιμειδίσας προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς· 400  
 “ ἦ ῥά νύ τοι μεγάλων δῶρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός,  
 ἵππων Λιακίδαο δαΐφρονος· οἱ δ' ἄλεγεινοὶ  
 ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι δαμήμεναι ἢδ' ὀχέεσθαι,  
 ἄλλωι γ' ἢ Ἀχιλῆϊ, τὸν ἀθανάτη τέκε μήτηρ.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἶπε καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον· 405  
 ποῦ νῦν δεῦρο κιὼν λίπες Ἔκτορα ποιμένα λαῶν ;  
 ποῦ δέ οἱ ἔντεα κείται ἀρήϊα, ποῦ δέ οἱ ἵπποι ;  
 πῶς δαὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰρώων φυλακαί τε καὶ εὐναί ;  
 ἄσσά τε μητιόωσι μετὰ σφίσιν, ἢ μεμῶασιν  
 αὖθι μένειν παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀπόπροθεν, ἦε πόλινδε 410  
 ἀψ' ἀναχωρήσουσιν, ἐπεὶ δαμάσαντό γ' Ἀχαιοὺς.”  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Δόλων Ἐυμήδεος υἱός·  
 “ τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω.  
 Ἔκτωρ μὲν μετὰ τοῖσιν, ὅσοι βουληφόροι εἰσὶ,  
 βουλὰς βουλεύει θεῖον παρὰ σήματι Ἴλου, 415  
 νόσφιν ἀπὸ φλοίσβου· φυλακὰς δ' ἅς εἶρεαι, ἦρως,  
 οὐ τις κεκριμένη ῥύεται στρατὸν οὐδὲ φυλάσσει.  
 ὅσσοι μὲν Ἰρώων πυρὸς ἐσχάrai, οἷσιν ἀνάγκη,

400 *om.* R<sup>t</sup>. || δ' *om.* P. 404. γ' *om.* DGQ. 408. δαί Ar. AHLT: δὲ  
 DGU: δῆ R: δέ τε H *supr.*: δ' αἱ CJPQ Harl. a. 409-11 *ἀθ.* Ar. 413.  
 τοι: κοί L Harl. a: δῆ G: καὶ Schol. T. || καταλέξω Ar. Ω: ἀγορεύω DRT,  
 and *ap.* Did. 416. φλοίσβιο QT. || ἡ(ι)ραι GU. 417. κεκριμένος P (oc P<sup>2</sup>?  
*in ras.*). || οὐδὲ: ἠδὲ P. 418. μὲν: γάρ (A *supr.*) DJS (*supr.* μὲν) T.

medes of the other Greeks from whom they are separated; and the indic., not the opt., is the regular Homeric mood in such a phrase. This all emphasizes the improbability of the corruption of the third person to the second, while it makes the converse intelligible.

402-4 = P 76-8.

408. δαί Ar.; others δ' αἱ, which is perhaps preferable. There is no other case in H. of two articles coming together; but in this late book such a consideration is of less weight. δαί is also unknown to H. except in the two equally late passages, α 225 (?), ω 299. The latter instance is very similar to the present, as δαί there, as here, only adds another question to those already asked, and thus loses the tone of surprise which it possesses in Attic. Dintzer would read δ' αὖ, which is certainly more natural.

409-11 were athetized by Ar. as wrongly introduced from 208-10; his

chief argument being that while Dolon answers the other questions he takes no notice of this. ἄσσα also makes a very awkward change from the direct to the dependent question. For this, however, we may compare α 170-1 τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἢδὲ τοκήες; ὀπ- ποίης τ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἀφίκεο. See on 142.

415. For Ilos see T 232, and for his tomb A 166, 372, Ω 349. It is useless to attempt to define its position beyond noting that it was somewhere in the middle of the plain (μέσσον κατὰ πεδίον).

416. φυλακάς: the antecedent attracted to the relative—a very rare use in H. Cf. Virgil's *Urbem quam statuo vestra est*. The other instances are Z 396, Ξ 75, 371.

418. ἐσχάrai: elsewhere an Odyssean word. It is in H. a synonym of ἐστία, and seems here to mean 'hearthst' in the sense of 'families'; the whole clause ὅσσοι . . . ἐσχάrai is thus precisely identical with the phrase ἐφέστιοι ὅσσοι ἔασσι

οἱ δ' ἐγρηγόρθασι φυλασσέμεναί τε κέλονται  
 ἀλλήλοισι· ἀτὰρ αὖτε πολύκλητοι ἐπίκουροι 420  
 εὔδουσι· Τρωσὶν γὰρ ἐπιτραπέουσι φυλάσσειν·  
 οὐ γάρ σφιν παῖδες σχεδὸν εἶται οὐδὲ γυναῖκες."  
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 "πῶς ταρ νῦν, Τρώεσσι μεμιγμένοι ἵπποδάμοισιν  
 εὔδουσι, ἧ ἀπάνευθε; δειπέ μοι, ὄφρα δαείω." 425  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Δόλων Ἑυμήδεος υἱός·  
 "τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω.  
 πρὸς μὲν ἀλὸς Κᾶρες καὶ Παίονες ἀγκυλότοξοι  
 καὶ Λέλεγες καὶ Καύκωνες δίοι τε Πελασγοί,  
 πρὸς Θύμβρης δ' ἔλαχον Λύκιοι Μυσοὶ τ' ἀγέρωχοι 430  
 καὶ Φρύγες ἵππόμαχοι καὶ Μήιονες ἵπποκορύσταί.  
 ἀλλὰ τί ἡ ἐμὲ ταῦτα διεξερέεσθε ἕκαστα;  
 εἰ γὰρ δὴ μέματον Τρώων καταδῦναι ὄμιλον,  
 Θρηῖκες οἷδ' ἀπάνευθε νεήλυδες, ἔσχατοι ἄλλων,  
 ἐν δέ σφιν Ῥήσος βασιλεύς, πᾶς Ἡϊονῆος· 435  
 τοῦ δὴ καλλίστους ἵππους ἴδον ἡδὲ μεγίστους·  
 λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοιοί.

419. οἱ δ' : οἱ γ' G : οἱ τ' JPQTU Vr. b. 420. πολύκλητοί τ' AGHQRTU  
 Harl. a, γρ. J : τηλέκλητοί τ' J. 421. ἐπιτροπέουσι U. 424. ταρ (τ' ἄρ)  
 Lips. Mosc. 3 : γὰρ Ω. || Νῦν : δὴ Δ (*supr.* Νῦν) H Harl. a. 427. καὶ Δρ. Ω :  
 τοι ΔΗQS Bar. Harl. a b d : δὴ G. || ἀτρακέως G. || ἀγορεύω DRTU. 428.  
 ἀργυρότοξοι Cram. *An. Ox.* ii. 458. 429. δοιοί P. 430. δ' om. P. 431.  
 ἵππομάχοι Δρ. P : ἵπποδάμοι Ω. 432. ἐμὲ : με RU : γέ με G : μεῦ H. || ἀλλὰ  
 τίν με διεξερέεσθαι ταῦτα ἕκαστα Mor. Bar. 437. λευκότεροι : ἢ λευκότερους  
 U<sup>2</sup>.

in B 125. The use of ἐσχάρα does not encourage us to understand it of watch-fires. It may possibly allude to a primitive way of raising an army by a levy of a man from every 'hearth'; so that in counting the numbers ἐσχάραι would be equivalent to 'soldiers,' and thus be κατὰ σύνεσιν the antecedent to οἷσιν. For the strange form ἐγρηγόρθασι see note on 67.

428. This is a tolerably complete list of the races which, in the tradition known to us from post-Homeric times, formed the primitive population of the mainland of Greece and the coasts of Asia Minor. The Leleges and Kaukones do not occur in the Catalogue, but are named elsewhere in H., e.g. T 96, 329, as inhabitants of the countries bordering on the Troad. Other Kaukones are found in Elis, γ 366, as Pelasgi and

Leleges are stated to have lived in Greece proper as well as in Asia Minor. Thymbra, a well-known town on the Skamander, is not mentioned again in H.

430. ἀγέρωχοι : see on B 654.

435. According to the tragedy of that name, Rhesos was the son of the river Strymon and a Muse; which means no doubt that he was a local divinity, like Kinyras of Cyprus, who appears in Homer as a king and contemporary of Agamemnon. Probably therefore Ἡϊονεύς is the Strymon, which is not elsewhere mentioned in H. This identification is ancient, and the name looks like a river-name (ἡϊών). There was, moreover, a town Ἡϊώνη on the Strymon.

437. λευκότεροι, probably a nominative of exclamation as in 547; *H. G.* § 163.

ἄρμα δέ οἱ χρυσῶι τε καὶ ἀργύρῳι εὖ ἥσκηται·  
 τεύχεα δὲ χρύσεια πελώρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,  
 ἦλυθ' ἔχων· τὰ μὲν οὐ τι καταθνητοῖσιν ἔοικεν 440  
 ἀνδρεσσιν φορέειν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν νῦν νηυσὶ πελάσσετον ὠκυπόροισιν,  
 ἥ με δῆσαντες λίπετ' αὐτόθι νηλεῖ δεσμῶι,  
 ὄφρα κεν ἔλθητον καὶ πειρηθῆτον ἐμεῖο,  
 ἥε κατ' αἶσαν ἔειπον ἐν ὑμῖν ἦε καὶ οὐκί." 445

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
 "μὴ δὴ μοι φύξιν γε, Δόλων, ἐμβάλλεο θυμῶι,  
 ἐσθλά περ ἀγγείλας, ἐπεὶ ἴκεο χεῖρας ἐς ἀμάς.  
 εἰ μὲν γάρ κέ σε νῦν ἀπολύσομεν ἢ μεθῶμεν,  
 ἦ τε καὶ ὕστερον εἰσθα θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν 450  
 ἢ διοπτεύσων ἢ ἐναντίβιον πολεμίζων·  
 εἰ δέ κ' ἐμῆις ὑπὸ χερσὶ δαμείς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσης,  
 οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα σὺ πῆμά ποτ' ἔσσειαι Ἀργείοισιν."

ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν μιν ἔμελλε γενέλου χειρὶ παχείῃ  
 ἀψάμενος λίσσεσθαι, ὁ δ' αὐχένα μέσσον ἔλασσε 455

438. ἄρμα δέ οἱ: ἄρματα δὲ HP Lips. 439. δὲ: δὴ R. 441. φρονέειν R<sup>1</sup>. 442. μὲν om. TU Mosc. 3. || νῦν om. Cant. Lips. Vr. A. || ναυσὶ P. || πελάσσετον Mosc. 3. 443. χαλκῶι U (supr. δεσμῶι). 444. πειραθῆτον HJR. || ἔμοιο PS. 445. ἥε κατ' Ar. JPR Par. f: ἦ (ἦ) ῥα κατ' Ω. || οὐχί G. 448. ἀπαγγείλας P. || ἐς om. PQ Par. a<sup>2</sup>. || ἀμάς: ἐμάς GHPQ Par. a<sup>2</sup> f h k: μάς T (first letter and breathing nearly erased; probably ἐ): χεῖρας ἐμεῖο ap. Eust. 449. Νῦν: τὰ νῦν P. || ἀπολύσομαι ἢ μεθῶμαι G. 450. ἦσα H<sup>1</sup>P: ἦσα Q: ἦσα U, γρ. H. 451. διοπτεύσειν (S supr.) Vr. b<sup>1</sup>. || ἀντίβιον Eust. || πτολεμίζων DST: πολεμίζων QRU: πτολεμίζων H: πολεμίζειν P: πτολεμίζειν S supr. 452. δαμείς: τυπεῖς (A supr.) RTU Par. b j (γρ. δαμείς), γρ. Vr. b. || ὀλέσσαις Ar.: ὀλέσεις U: ὀλέσας H (supr. H).

439. πελώρια, *prodigious*; the epithet is applied even to heroes who are not in the first rank (e.g. E 842), and implies only the belief in the greater stature of the heroic age as compared with οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν.

442. πελάσσετον may be a future used as a sort of imperative, 'you shall bring me'; Dolon assumes that his captors have undertaken to spare him. Others regard it as an imper. of the mixed aorist, with Curt. *Vb.* ii. 283; Nauck conj. *πελάσσετε* (one MS. giving -*σατον*) which would probably be altered in order to avoid the hiatus.

447. Quite needless difficulties have been raised about the knowledge of Dolon's name which Diomedes and Odysseus possess here and in 478. An

Epic poet is not a realist, like a modern novelist.

448. ἀμάς, *mine?* or *ours?* Cf. Z 414.

453. Monro (*H. G.* pp. 338-9) notes that the position of the enclitic *ποτ'* is irregular and divides the line into equal parts.

454. *ἔμελλε*, *was about to*, should by Homeric usage take the fut. infin. We may doubt whether *λίσκεσθαι* is here meant for a fut., or the author of K followed the later use, which obliterated the distinction of tenses after *μέλλω* (see Platt in *J. P.* xxi. 40, and cf. note on II 46).

455. For this treatment of a would-be suppliant cf. Agamemnon's conduct to Adrestos, Z 37-65, and the sons of



φασγάνωι ἀΐξας, ἀπὸ δ' ἄμφω κέρσε τένοντε·  
 φθεγγομένου δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη κονίησιν ἐμίχθη.  
 τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κτιδέην κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔλοντο  
 καὶ λυκέην καὶ τόξα παλίντονα καὶ δόρυ μακρόν·  
 καὶ τά γ' Ἀθηναίηι ληϊτίδι διὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς 460  
 ὑψόσ' ἀνέσχεθε χειρὶ καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ἦῤα·  
 “χαῖρε, θεά, τοῖσδεσσι· σὲ γὰρ πρώτην ἐν Ὀλύμπωι  
 πάντων ἀθανάτων ἐπιβωσόμεθ'· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖτις  
 πέμψον ἐπὶ Θρηκῶν ἀνδρῶν ἵππους τε καὶ εὐνάς.”  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἐφώνησεν, καὶ ἀπὸ ἔθεν ὑψόσ' αἶερας 465

457. ΦΘΕΓΓΟΜΕΝΗ (H *supr.*) Q, Aristot. *de Part. An.* iii. 10, γρ. Eust. 460.  
 τὰδ' JL: τὰ δ' T. 461. ὑψόσ' H. || ἀνέσχεθε: ἀνέσχεν Cant.: ἀνέσχε PS:  
 γρ. ἀνέσχετο A. || χειρὶ JT (U *supr.*). 462. τοῖσδεσσι: τοῖς, δὴ γε G. 463.  
 ἐπιβωσόμεθ': ἐπιδωσόμεθ' Ar. C (*supr.* βω) Ven. B, Lips.<sup>1</sup>, King's, Par. e (*supr.*  
 β) f (*supr.* β), and *supr.* SU Par. c. || αὖτις C. 464. ἵππους τε: ἐν ἄλλωι  
 ἄγυρὶν τε A. 465. ἄρα φώνησεν RU. || ὑψόσ' and ὑψού Ar. διχῶς.

Antimachos, A 130-47. The ΤΕΝΟΝΤΕ are evidently the two strong bands of muscle which run up the back of the neck, the *ivion* of E 73. See also Δ 521.

457. λέγουσι γάρ τινες (sc. that a head can continue to speak while being cut off) ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο ποιήσαντος “φθεγγομένη δ' ἄρα τοῦ γε κάρη,” ἀλλ' οὐ φθεγγομένου, Aristotle *de Part. Anim.* iii. 10. There was an opinion prevalent in early times that κάρη could be used as a fem. In Theognis 1024 we have κάρηι, but this may possibly be neut. (cf. Att. τῶι κάραι). The later imitative poets frequently allow themselves the variation: Kallimachos, Moschos, and Qu. Smyrnaeus (cf. xi. 58 κάρη δ' ἀπάτερθε κυλινδομένη πεφόρητο, φωνῆς ἱεμένοιο, and xiii. 241 ἀπέκοψε κάρη (sic) . . . 244 ἡ δὲ μέγα μύζονσα κυλινδετο πολλὸν ἐπ' αἶαν). Our mss. (particularly G) frequently have κάρην as a variant for κάρη (acc.); see App. Crit. on Δ 443, Θ 306, K 259, 271, A 261. ΦΘΕΓΓΟΜΕΝΟΥ seems to mean ‘in the midst of his death-shriek,’ as in χ 329, where the line recurs, the victim is not speaking or attempting to speak. But in II 508 φθογγή is used of a dying man's articulate words.

460. ληϊτίδι, only here; else ἀγελείη.

462. τοῖσδεσσι, an obscure form recurring only in *Od.* (5 times), and therefore presumably not early. Herod-

ianos attests the gen. τῶνδεων in Alkaios (fr. 127) τοῖσδεσσι . . . τοῦτο μμούμενος Ἀλκαῖος φησι “τῶνδεων,” ὅπερ τινὲς ἀγνοοῖαι τὰκριβοῦς ἀνέγνωσαν “τῶν δέων” ἢ τῶν δέινα. (This last opinion is shared by Hinrichs *Acol.* 115, who refers -δεσσι to \*δείς=ὁ δέινα, cf. οὐ-δείς.) Thessalian genitives τολνεος and τοῦννεον are found in a Larissaean inser. of the 3rd cent. B.C., and Plutarch (*Alkib.* 33) quotes a line from Kritias (5th cent. B.C.) σφραγὶς δ' ἡμετέρης γλώσσης ἐπὶ τοῖσδεσι κείται. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the tradition is correct. In κ 268 Ludwich's J reads τοῖσιδε for τοῖσδεσι, but this is evidently a corruption into the more familiar form, and does not justify τοῖσινδε here. See van L. *Ench.* p. 265.

463. ἐπιβωσόμεθ': so nearly all mss. This form occurs twice in *Od.* (α 378, β 143), but in the sense ‘to call the gods to help,’ while here it would more naturally mean ‘call upon in thanksgiving.’ Ar. read ἐπιδωσόμεθ’, “ἢ τῶι δώροις τιμῆσομεν,” which is hardly possible. In X 254 ἐπιδόσθαι means to take the gods as witnesses, which does not suit this passage. Ribbeck has suggested ἐπιβωσόμεθ', which certainly gives the best sense. The contraction βωσ- for βοσθ- is common in Herodotos, and is found also in M 337 and the two passages from *Od.*, but is of course late.

θῆκεν ἀνὰ μυρίκην· δέελον δ' ἐπὶ σῆμά τ' ἔθηκε,  
 συμμάρψας δόνακας μυρίκης τ' ἐριθιλέας ὄζους,  
 μὴ λάθοι αὐτίς ἰόντε θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν.  
 τῷ δὲ βάτην προτέρω διὰ τ' ἔντεα καὶ μέλαν αἶμα,  
 αἶψα δ' ἐπὶ Θρηκῶν ἀνδρῶν τέλος ἶξον ἰόντες. 470  
 οἱ δ' εὖδον καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες, ἔντεα δέ σφι  
 καλὰ παρ' αὐτοῖσι χθονὶ κέκλιτο, εὖ κατὰ κόσμον,  
 τριστοιχί· παρὰ δέ σφιν ἐκάστωι διζυγες ἵπποι.  
 Ῥῆσος δ' ἐν μέσῳ εὔδε, παρ' αὐτῷ δ' ὠκέες ἵπποι  
 ἐξ ἐπιδιφριάδος πυμάτης ἱμάσι δέδεντο. 475  
 τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς προπάροιθεν ἰδὼν Διομήδεϊ δεῖξεν·  
 “οὗτός τοι, Διόμηδες, ἀνὴρ, οὗτοι δέ τοι ἵπποι,

466. **μυρίκην** Ar. Ω: μυρίκη *ap. Did.* || **θάλλον** Cant. || **δ'** *om.* Lips. || **εἶμα'** (*om.* τ') PT. 467. **τ'** *om.* T. 468. **αὔεις** C. || **ἰόντες** J. 469. **καὶ μέλαν αἶμα**: *τυνὲς γρ. καὶ παλλὰς ἀθήνη (?) Schol.* T. 470. **ἦσαν** G: ἶσαν Cant. 471. **ἀδδηκότες** PRS. 472. **εὖ**: εὐ καὶ T. 473. **τριστοιχί** DPS (*supr.* εἰ) U (-i *in ras.* ?) Vr. b, γρ. R: τριστοιχεί Ω. 474 *om.* QT<sup>1</sup>. || **εὔδεσκε** G. 475. **ἐξ**: γρ. **ἐξ** Schol. A. 476. **τοὺς** S (*supr.* **ον**). || **διομήδεα** A (*supr.* i).

466. A very obscure line. **δέελον** does not occur again in Greek, except in the gloss of Hesych. δέελος· δεσμός, ἄμμα. The word looks like an older uncontracted form of δῆλος (which recurs only ν 333, and E 2 ἐκδηλος) for δήελος, cf. β 167 εὐδείελος. But if it is an adj. agreeing with **σῆμα**, the position of **τε** is hardly to be explained. Von Christ and others join **δέ τε**, but for this there is no sufficient analogy. Heyne, after Bentley, conj. **δέελον δέ τε σῆμ' ἐπέθηκεν**, but there is no reason why this should have been corrupted. We cannot omit the **τ'**, so as to get the sense *he put up a conspicuous sign*, for the hiatus would be intolerable. (There are only two cases of hiatus in this place, both in ω, 209 and 430, and both easily corrected. In ε 135 read ἡδὲ F' ἔφασκον.) We may follow Hesych. and translate *he put up a bundle and a mark*, i.e. a mark consisting of a bundle. But this is not satisfactory. I suggest as the possible original **θῆκεν, ἀνὰ μυρίκην δὲ ἑλὼν ἐπὶ σῆματ' ἔθηκεν**, *took and set marks on the tamarisk*. This at least involves a minimum of change in the letters (ω for ο, Lips. omits δ). **ἀνὰ μυρίκην** must then be supplied to the first clause from the second. **ἑλὼν** is virtually superfluous like **φέρων** H 304.

470. **τέλος**, *post*, see note on 56.

475. The **ἐπιδιφριάς** is not elsewhere mentioned. It is perhaps the name for the post which stood upright in the front of the ancient chariot, both Greek and Assyrian, and served partly as a support to the driver, partly as the point of attachment of the *ζυγόμεσμον* (see on Ω 266 ff.). **πυμάτης** may then mean 'the bottom,' the portion of the 'post' to which horses would most naturally be tethered. Possibly, however, the **ἐπιδιφριάς** may mean no more than the breastwork of the *δίφρος*, the reins being tied as usual to the *ἀντηξ* which formed part of it. For **ἐξ** there is an old and absurd variant **ἐξ**. **ἱμάσι**, probably *reins*, as Ψ 324; some take it to mean special straps for the purpose.

476. (ἡ διπλῇ) **ὅτι καὶ ἐν Ἰλιάδι νῦν τὸ προπάροιθεν ἐπὶ χρόνου τέταχεν, πρόσθεν ἢ ἰδεῖν τὸν Διομήδην, οὐχ ὡς οἱ χωρίζοντες ἐν Ὀδυσσεῖαι μόνον, ἐν Ἰλιάδι δὲ τοπικῶς An.** This is one of the most interesting of the few recorded arguments of the Chorizontes which we possess. As a matter of fact there are other passages in the *Iliad* in which **προπάροιθε** is apparently used in a temporal, not a local sense: A 734, X 197, while λ 483 seems to be the only case in *Od.*

οὓς νῶϊν πίφαισκε Δόλων, ὃν ἐπέφνομεν ἡμεῖς.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ πρόφερε κρατερὸν μένος· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ  
 ἐστάμεναι μέλεον σὺν τεύχεσιν, ἀλλὰ λυ' ἵππους· 480  
 ἢ ἐσὺ γ' ἄνδρας ἔναιρε, μελήσουσιν δ' ἐμοὶ ἵπποι.”  
 ὣς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἔμπνευσε μένος γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,  
 κτεῖνε δ' ἐπιστροφάδην· τῶν δὲ στόνος ὤρνυτ' αἰκῆς  
 ἄορι θεινομένων, ἐρuthαίνετο δ' αἵματι γαῖα.  
 ὥς δὲ λέων μῆλοισιν ἀσημάντοισιν ἐπέλθων, 485  
 αἴγεσιν ἢ οἴεσσι, κακὰ φρονέων ἐνορούσῃ,  
 ὥς μὲν Θρήϊκας ἄνδρας ἐπώιχετο Τυδέος υἱός,  
 ὄφρα δυῶδεκ' ἔπεφνεν· ἀτὰρ πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ὃν τινα Τυδεΐδης ἄορι πλήξειε παραστάς,  
 τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μετόπισθε λαβὼν ποδὸς ἐξερύσασκε, 490  
 τὰ φρονέων κατὰ θυμόν, ὅπως καλλίτριχες ἵπποι  
 ῥεῖα διέλθοιεν μηδὲ τρομοείατο θυμῷ  
 νεκροῖς ἐμβαίνοντες· ἀήθεσσον γὰρ ἔτ' αὐτῶν.

478. οὓς Ar. Ω: others ὡς? || νῶϊ DU. || πίφασκε GHJPQRU Vr. b. ||  
 πέφνομεν S. 480. ἐστάμεναι R: ἐστάμαι Lips. 481. ἢ κύ γε Eust.: ἢ ἐὺ  
 δ' L. || ἄναιρε JT. 482. ἔμπνευσε RU. 483. πόνος P (γρ. στόνος). 484.  
 ἐρuthαίνετο: φοινίσσεται Schol. Ar. *Pax* 302. 485. ἀσημάντοισιν: γρ. ἀσημάν-  
 τορσι T *man. rec.* (Rhosos?). 486. ἐνορούσῃ U: ἐνορούσει CL: ἐνορούσοι G.  
 488. θυωκαῖδεκ' Q. || αὐτὰρ H. 489. πλήξειε Ar. Ω: ἄλλοι δὲ πλήσακε Did.  
 490. δ' om. T. 493. ἐμβαίνοντες P: ἀμβαίνοντες Ω. || ἀήθεε(c)αν (C *supr.*)  
 GHQR Harl. a. || αὐτὸν Schol. A on E 231.

478. **πίφαισκε**: the long *ι* occurs only here in *this*. (Brandreth conj. ἐπι-  
 φανσκε.) It is, however, often long in *arsi*,  
 e.g. 502. The variation is unexplained.  
 Aeschylus, the only non-Epic author  
 who uses the word, always has *πι*. It  
 will be noticed that wherever the verb  
 occurs there is always a variant *πιφάσκειν*,  
 often, as here, more generally supported  
 than *πιφάσκειν*. Heyne rejects the line  
 as weak and superfluous.

479. **πρόφερε**, *put forth*; cf. Γ 7 ἔριδα  
 προφέρονται, and ζ 92.

480. **μέλεον**, *idle*, useless, II 336.  
 These two lines are closely paraphrased  
 in the *Rhesos* 622-3—

Διμήνδες, ἢ σὺ κτεῖνε Θρήικιον Λέων,  
 ἢ μοι πάρες γε, σοὶ δὲ χρὴ πῶλιν μέλειν.

483-4. Compare Φ 20-1, χ 308, ω 184.  
**ἐπιστροφάδην**, *turning to every side*.

485. **ἀσημάντοισιν**, *unguarded*; com-  
 pare σημάτων = *shepherd*, O 325, and A  
 289.

487. **ἐπώιχετο**, *attacked*, used especi-

ally of a god, cf. A 50, 383, Ω 759, etc.,  
 as we use 'to visit,' with almost the  
 same connotation; cf. E 330, O 279,  
 where, as here, heroes attack with a  
 special inspiration of divine courage and  
 strength. The word is not used any-  
 where of a merely human assault.

489. For the construction of this  
 couplet cf. B 188-9. Note the variant  
*πλήξασκε*.

493. **ἐμβαίνοντες** was conj. by Cobet  
 (*M. C.* 351), and now has ms. support.  
 It is clearly right; cf. Z 65 *λάξ ἐν στήθεσι*  
*βάς*, κ 164 *τῷ δ' ἐγὼ ἐμβαίνων*. *ἀνα-*  
*βαίνειν* always means *to mount, climb*.  
**ἀήθεσσον**, not only *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, but  
 the only instance of a verb in -*εσσω*  
 making -*εσσω* instead of -*ειω* (Curt. *Vb.*  
 i. 368). Hesych. has *ἀήθεσκον*, which  
 is perhaps the right word, though the  
 formation is by no means above sus-  
 picion. **αὐτῶν** is quite ambiguous; it  
 may mean either 'they were not used to  
 corpses,' having only just reached the  
 seat of war; or 'they were not used to

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ βασιλῆα κιχήσατο Τυδέος υἱός,  
 τὸν τρισκαίδεκατον μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα 495  
 ἀσθμαίνοντα· κακὸν γὰρ ὄναρ κεφαλῇφιν ἐπέστη  
 τὴν νύκτ' Οἰνεΐδαο πάϊς, διὰ μῆτιν Ἀθήνης.  
 τόφρα δ' ἄρ' ὁ τλήμων Ὀδυσσεὺς λυέ μώνυχας ἵππους,  
 σὺν δ' ἤειρεν ἱμάσι καὶ ἐξήλυνεν ὀμίλου  
 τόξω ἐπιπλήσων, ἐπεὶ οὐ μάστιγα φαεινὴν 500  
 ποικίλου ἐκ δίφροιο νοήσατο χερσὶν ἐλέσθαι.  
 ροίζησεν δ' ἄρα πιφάυσκων Διομήδεϊ δῶι·  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ μερμήριζε μένων ὅ τι κύντατον ἔρδοι,  
 ἢ ὅ γε δίφρον ἐλών, ὅθι ποικίλα τεύχε' ἔκειτο,  
 ῥυμοῦ ἐξερύοι ἢ ἐκφέρειο ὑψόσ' αἰέρας, 505  
 ἢ ἔτι τῶν πλεόνων Θρηκῶν ἀπὸ θυμὸν ἔλοιτο.

496. ἀσθμαίνοντα Q. || ὑπέστη Q. 497 *ab. Ar., om. Zen. Aph.* 502.  
 ροίζεσεν Bar. || πιφάυσκων GHJPQR. 503. μερμήριζε AQT Vr. A b, Mosc.  
 3. || κύντερον DPSU Harl. a (γρ. τατον), γρ. R<sup>2</sup>. 504. τεύχεα κείτο JP. |  
 ἔκειντο Q. 505. ἐξερύει Q. || ἢ ἐκφέρει Q: ἢ φέροι J: ἢ ἐκφέρει Mosc. 3. |  
 ὑψοῦ P: ὑψοῦ and ὑψός' Ar. διχῶς (cf. 465). 506. ἔτι: ὅγε C. || θρηκῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν D.

Odysseus and Diomedes' as charioteers, cf. E 231; or again it might mean 'O. and D. had no experience of the horses.' In any case the use of αὐτῶν in the weak sense, 'them,' is late; Hoogvliet ingeniously conj. ἀθήσασιν γὰρ αὐτῆς, but in this book there is no need of a change. Schol. A on E 231 quotes the phrase with αὐτῶν (sc. Ὀδυνῆα) for αὐτῶν: but this is probably no more than an error in the ms., and the acc. is indefensible.

496. The idea seems to be that Rhesos is breathing heavily under the influence of an ominous dream which has actually appeared to him, but fails to save him. But κακὸν ὄναρ was taken to mean not an actual dream, but in bitter irony, Diomedes himself, by some rhapsode, who, in order to explain his idea, interpolated the next line. This was accordingly athetized by Ar. and omitted by Zen. and Aph., with justice. The acc. τὴν νύκτα is wrong, for the sense required is not 'all night through,' but 'in the night.' It has been remarked also that Homer is true to nature in making those only appear in dreams who are known to the sleeper, which would not be the case here. The dream is prominent in the *Rhesos*, but there, from dramatic necessity, it appears not to Rhesos, but to the charioteer, in the

form of two wolves leaping on his horses (780 ff.). Οἰνεΐδης is Tydeus, E 813.

499. ἤειρεν: cf. O 680 πίσυρας συναίρεται ἵππους (see note), and the forms συνήρορος θ 99, τετράρορι ν 81, παρήρορος, ξυνωρίς, etc., which prove the existence of αἰρω=bind, harness, though it is probably distinct from αἰρω, raise. See van L. *Ench.* p. 488. Schulze suggests that the two may be identical, harnessing being regarded as hanging the horses to the chariot (Q. E. p. 420).

501. Odysseus, like another islander, Aias (if he is indeed a Salaminian), never fights from a chariot, and hence, perhaps, forgets the whip.

502. ροίζησεν: cf. ι 315 πολλῇ ροίζωι, and II 361. πιφάυσκων, as a signal.

504. ἢ . . ἢ . . ἢ: the (indirect) question is only double, not treble; the second ἢ being subordinate to the first, i.e. ἐξερύοι and ἐκφέρειο are only two variations of the main alternative given by δίφρον ἐλών. For another instance of the lightness of the Homeric chariot see θ 441, though there the wheels are possibly separated from the car, which cannot be the case here.

506. τῶν is an 'article of contrast, more Thracians instead,' Monro, cf. *H. G.* § 260.



ἕως ὃ ταῦθ' ὥρμαινε κατὰ φρένα, τόφρα δ' Ἀθήνη  
ἐγγύθεν ἰσταμένη προσέφη Διομήδεα δῖον·

“ νόστου δὴ μῆσαι, μεγαθύμου Τυδέος υἱέ,  
νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς, μὴ καὶ πεφοβημένος ἔλθης, 510  
μὴ πού τις καὶ Τρώας ἐγείρησιν θεὸς ἄλλος.”

ὥς φάθ', ὃ δὲ ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης,  
καρπαλίμως δ' ἵππων ἐπεβήσετο· κόψε δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς  
τόξωι, τοὶ δ' ἐπέτοντο θαῶς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

οὐδ' ἀλαοσκοπιὴν εἶχ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων, 515  
ὥς ἴδ' Ἀθηναίην μετὰ Τυδέος υἷον ἔπουσαν·

τῇι κοτέων Τρώων κατεδύσετο πουλὺν ὄμιλον,  
ὥρσεν δὲ Θρηικῶν βουληφόρον Ἴπποκόωντα,  
Ῥήσου ἀνεψιὸν ἐσθλόν. ὃ δ' ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνορούσας,

509. μῆσαι U. 510. μὴ κεν L. || ἔλεοις D (?) U. 512. θεᾶς προσφω-  
νησάσης S. 513. ἐπεβήσατο DGJ Harl. b d, and ἄλλοι αρ. Did. 515. ἀλαόν  
σκοπιὴν Zen. : ἀλαοσκοπιὴν (supr. n over c) H : ἀλαός σκοπιὴν A. || ἔχεν Mose.  
3. 517. κατεδύσατο GQRST. || πολὺν DQRT.

510. *πεφοβημένος*, in full flight, in accordance with the usual Homeric use of the word. The second *μῆ* (511) implies fear, and is not so closely connected with *νόστου μῆσαι* as the first *μῆ*, which is virtually final. Cf. A 26-8, H. G. 278 (b). The distinction is, however, only one of the closeness of the connexion of thought; the two uses are originally identical. In any case Naber's conj. *ἦν που* (cf. Ar.'s reading in τ 83) is inadmissible.

513. It is not impossible to take *ἵππων* here in the usual Homeric sense, *chariot*; to assume, that is, that Diomedes has, on the intervention of Athene, adopted one of the first two alternatives in 504-5, and brought out the chariot. The words of 527-8 and 541 are those commonly used of chariot-riding, and the phrase *ἵππων ἐπεβήσετο* here is certainly awkward if taken to mean *he mounted one of the horses* (and, presumably, Odysseus the other). Yet a general view of the passage leads to the conclusion that the two heroes do actually ride on the horses bare-backed—a practice elsewhere known to Homer only in similes (see O 679, ε 371). Otherwise we must suppose that after Athene's warning Diomedes not only carries off the chariot, but that he and Odysseus wait to harness the horses, which is too much to assume *sub silentio*. And *κόψε τόξωι* clearly means that the

whip, which is in the chariot (501), has not been brought. Moreover the author of the *Rhesos* (783 ff.) evidently conceives the two as riding off. This must therefore be included among the marks of lateness in this book.

515. The phrase *ἀλαοσκοπιὴν ἔχειν*, to keep blind-man's-watch, recurs in N 10, Ξ 135, θ 285, Hes. *Theog.* 466; compare also 324 above. There is not much to choose between the text and Zen.'s *ἀλαὸν σκοπιήν*, but *ἀλαὸς σκοπιήν*, the reading of A here, is most unlikely, and indeed hardly translatable. (It is attributed to Ar. by La R. on very insufficient grounds; apparently only because in Schol. A the words *ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει ἀλαὸν σκοπιήν* (An.) are followed by *παροιμακὸν δέ ἐστιν, οὐ τυφλὸς ἐς σκοπιάς*. This has no apparent reference to Ar.; I see in it nothing more recondite than *There is a proverbial saying, 'A blind man won't do for a look-out.'* See La R. *H. T.* p. 184.) The accent of *ἀλαοσκοπιήν* is irregular, but the composition of the word is irreproachable; though its application to Apollo's tardy intervention here is almost comic.

516. *μεεέπουσιν*, directing, lit. 'keeping in hand,' managing; a sense derived immediately from that of *handling*, which seems to be the original signification of *ἔπειν* in Greek (see on Z 321). The active never means 'accompany.'

ὥς ἴδε χῶρον ἐρήμον ὅθ' ἕστασαν ὠκέες ἵπποι, 520  
 ἄνδράς τ' ἀσπαίροντας ἐν ἀργαλέησι φονήσιν,  
 ὦιμωξέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα φίλον τ' ὀνόμηεν ἑταῖρον.  
 Τρώων δὲ κλαγγή τε καὶ ἄσπετος ὦρτο κυδοιμὸς  
 θυνόντων ἄμυδις· θεεύντο δὲ μέρμερα ἔργα, 525  
 ὅσσοι ἄνδρες ῥέξαντες ἔβαν κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας.  
 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἴκανον ὅθι σκοπὸν Ἑκτορος ἔκταν,  
 ἔνθ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν ἔρυξε διίφιλος ὠκέας ἵππους,  
 Τυδεΐδης δὲ χαμᾶζε θορῶν ἔναρα βροτόευντα  
 ἐν χεীরεσσ' Ὀδυσῆϊ τίθει, ἐπεβήσετο δ' ἵππων.  
 μᾶστιξεν δ' ἵππους, τῶ δ' οὐκ ἄκουτε πετέσθην . 530  
 [νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς· τῇ γὰρ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῶι].  
 Νέστωρ δὲ πρῶτος κτύπον αἶε φώνησέν τε·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες,  
 ψεύσομαι ἢ ἔτυμον ἐρέω; κέλεται δέ με θυμός.  
 ἵππων μ' ὠκνύδων ἀμφὶ κτύπος οὐατα βάλλει· 535  
 αἱ γὰρ δὴ Ὀδυσσεὺς τε καὶ ὁ κρατερὸς Διομήδης  
 ὧδ' ἄφαρ ἐκ Τρώων ἐλασαίατο μώνυχας ἵππους.

521. ἀργαλέοις Cant. 522 placed by Zen. before 520. || φίλον δ' T. 526.  
 ἴκοντο G. 527. ἔρυκε QT Vr. b. 529. ὀδυσ(ς)ῆος JRSU. || τίθει: ἐν ἄλλωι  
 δίδου A: ἐτίθει S. || ἐπεβήκατο D c corr. 530. μᾶστιξεν L. || ἵππους:  
 ὀδυσ(ς)εύς (G ?) PQT, ἐν ἄλλωι A. 530-4 om. Jt. 531 om. ACT<sup>t</sup> (add. Rhosós  
 in marg.) U Harl. a. 534 om. Zen. || ἔτυμόν τοι A (with dots over o) GH.  
 535. μ' om. P. 536. γὰρ om. T. || δὴ om. DU.

521. For **ΦΟΝΗΣΙΝ**, *carnage, gore*, cf. O 633, and E 886 *αἰνῆσιν νεκάδεσσιν*.

531 is apparently borrowed from A 520. It is appropriate there, for the Greek horses are naturally glad to get back to their own stables, but there can be no desire on the part of the Thracian steeds to go to the unknown camp. If we refer **θυμῶι**, as is of course possible, to Diomedes' wish to get home, the addition is at least very flat. 530 recurs also in E 768.

534=δ 140, whence Zen. held that the line was borrowed here. The sense is 'Shall I be right or wrong in what I am going to say?' With *κέλεται* we must supply *εἰπείν*, 'speak I must, and take my chance of blundering.' The cautious old man hesitates to risk his reputation for wisdom by prophesying before he knows that Odysseus and Diomedes are returning on captured horses. It has been objected by Nitzsch that *ψεύδεσθαι*

means to say what is false not in the belief that it is true, but knowing it to be false. But there is no ground for this distinction; in E 635 *ψευδόμενοι* implies no more than error, and so T 107 *ψευστήσεις*, where the whole emphasis lies in the fact that Zeus believes himself to have spoken truth; I 115 *ψεύδος* (see note) refers only to the contents and not to the intention of Nestor's words. The case is the same with *ἐπίορκον* in 332 above, where Hector intends to fulfil his oath. There is thus no place for the needlessly subtle and difficult alternative explanation proposed by M. and R. on δ 140.

537. *ὧδε*, *hither*, a sense which Ar. denied in H., but which is required here, M 346, and Σ 392. *ἐλασαίατο*, the mid. is regularly used of driving home spoil (A 674, 682, δ 637, ν 51, the only other places where the mid. occurs in H.). It thus adds a distinct idea to that which would be given by *ἐλάσειαν*.

ἀλλ' αἰνῶς δαίδοικα κατὰ φρένα μή τι πάθωσιν  
Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι ὑπὸ Τρώων ὀρυμαγδοῦ."

οὐ πω πᾶν εἶρητο ἔπος, ὅτ' ἄρ' ἦλυθον αὐτοί. 540

καί ῥ' οἱ μὲν κατέβησαν ἐπὶ χθόνα, τοὶ δὲ χαρέντες  
δεξιῇ ἡσπάζοντο ἔπεσσί τε μελιχίοισι.

πρῶτος δ' ἐξερέεινε Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ·

"εἴπ' ἄγε μ', ὦ πολύαιν' Ὀδυσσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,  
ὅππως τοῦσδ' ἵππους λάβετον· καταδύντες ὅμιλον 545

Τρώων; ἢ τίς σφωε πόρεν θεὸς ἀντιβολήσας;  
αἰνῶς ἀκτίνεσσιν εἰκότες ἡέλιιο.

αἰεὶ μὲν Τρώεσσ' ἐπιμίσσομαι, οὐδέ τί φημι  
μιμνάζειν παρὰ νησί, γέρων περ ἐὼν πολεμιστής·

ἀλλ' οὐ πω τοίους ἵππους ἴδον οὐδὲ νόησα. 550

ἀλλὰ τιν' ὕμ' ὅτ' δόμεναι θεὸν ἀντιάσαντα·

ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ σφῶϊ φιλεῖ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς  
κούρη τ' αἰγιόχοιο Διός, γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη."

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς·

"ὦ Νέστωρ Νηληϊάδῃ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν, 555

ῥεῖα θεὸς γ' ἐθέλων καὶ ἀμείνονας ἡέ περ οἶδε

ἵππους δωρήσαιτ', ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν.

ἵπποι δ' οἶδε, γεραιέ, νεήλυδες, οὓς ἐρεείνεις,

Θρηϊκιοὶ· τὸν δέ σφιν ἄνακτ' ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης

ἔκτανε, πὰρ δ' ἐτάρους δυοκαίδεκα πάντας ἀρίστους. 560

538. μετὰ φρεσὶ Ar. T (γρ. κατὰ φρένα) Par. a f. || πάσοιεν P. 539.  
οἱ ἄριστοι: ὠριστοι Ar. || ὀρυμαγδοῦ C<sup>1</sup>GHJPRU. 540. ἄρ' om. T. 542.  
δεξιῇ S Vr. b A, Mosc. 3. 545. τοῦσδ': τοὺς DJ. || λαβέτην Zen. || κατα-  
δύντες JS: καταδύντ' ἐς P: τινὲς καταδύντες δυϊκῶς Schol. T. 546. τις: τι CH. ||  
σφῶϊ Zen. || θεός: θεῶν U Harl. b, Par. a. 547. εἰκότας S (supr. ec) Vr. b  
A. 548. ἀπαμειβόμεναι Dem. Ixion. 550. τοιοῦσδ' G: τοιοῦτους P. 551.  
θεῶν PQ. 552. σφῶε (σφωε) DJPRSTU. 557. δωρήσαιτο H: δωρήσεται  
P Ambr.: δωρήσεται T. || πολυφέρτερός ἐστιν S. 558. οἱ γε PR. || ἐρεείνεις:  
ἀγορεύεις RU. 559. Θρηϊκιοὶ: Θράκιοι καὶ ἑρακῶι γρ. Harl. a. || τὸν: τῶν  
T (and so lemma). || ἄνακτ' ἀγαθός: ἄνακτα κρατερός Q.

540. Compare the same phrase in π 11, 351.

544. πολύαινε: I 673.

545. λάβετον: Zen. λαβέτην, see O 448.

547. εἰκότες: an interjectional nom., see 437, A 231. It is, however, rather harsh here; van L. conj. εἰκότε as acc.

556. Cf. γ 231 ῥεῖα θεός γ' ἐθέλων καὶ τηλόθεν ἄνδρα σαώσαι, and for the opt.

without *κεν*, H. G. § 299f. ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν recurs in χ 289; in both places we must understand the comp. to mean 'mightier than men.' ἡέ περ οἶδε, sc. εἰσιν, an unusual construction instead of τοῦσδε. Compare, however, Xen. Cyr. v. 2. 28 ἐνὸς δ' ἀνδρὸς πολὺ δυνατωτέρου ἢ ἐγὼ νῖόν. For the commoner assimilation of case see A 260 ἀρεῖσιν ἡέ περ ὑμῖν.

τὸν τρισκαίδέκατον σκοπὸν εἵλομεν ἐγγύθι νηῶν,  
τόν ῥα διοπτῆρα στρατοῦ ἔμμεναι ἡμετέριοι  
"Ἐκτωρ τε προέηκε καὶ ἄλλοι Ἵρῳες ἀγανοί."

ὥς εἰπὼν τάφροιο διήλασε μώνυχας ἵππους  
καρχαλόων· ἅμα δ' ἄλλοι ἴσαν χαίροντες Ἀχαιοί. 565  
οἱ δ' ὅτε Ἵτυδεῖδω κλισίῃν εὐτυκτον ἴκοντο,  
ἵππους μὲν κατέδησαν ἐντμήτοισιν ἱμάσι  
φάτνῃ ἐφ' ἱππείῃ, ὅθι περ Διομήδεος ἵπποι  
ἔστασαν ὠκύποδες μελιηδέα πυρὸν ἔδοντες,  
νηὶ δ' ἐνὶ πρυμνῇ ἔναρα βροτόεντα Δόλωνος 570  
θῆκ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅφρ' ἱρὸν ἐτοίμασσαίαι' Ἀθήνῃ.  
αὐτοὶ δ' ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάσσηι  
ἐσβάντες, κνήμας τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἀμφί τε μηρούς.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σφιν κῦμα θαλάσσης ἰδρῶ πολλὸν  
νύψεν ἀπὸ χρωτὸς καὶ ἀνέψυχθεν φίλον ἦτορ, 575  
ἔς ῥ' ἀσαμίνθους βάντες ἐυξέστας λούσαντο.

561. **τρискаίδέκατον** : τινὲς γρ. τετρακαίδέκατον An. 563. **τε** om. GT.  
566. **ὅτε** : ὅτε δὴ HPQRU. || κλισίῃν τυδεῖδω P. || τυδεῖδω G. 570. **ἐνὶ** :  
ἐν S. 571. **ἄρα** C. || ἱερὸν GJQ Lips. 573. **ἐμβάντες** Vr. A, Mor. Bar:  
(G?). || **ἰδὲ** : ἰδαί R (ἰδὲ ἢ ἡδ' αὖ R<sup>m</sup>) : ἡδὲ G : ἰδ' αὖ L Harl. a : ἡδ' αὖ P. ||  
**λόφους** P. 575. **ἀνάψυχθεν** R<sup>t</sup> : ἀνέψυχε(ν) JPQR<sup>m</sup>T : ἀνέψυχε GH. 576.  
ἐυξέστας QS.

561. **τρискаίδέκατον** follows *δυοκαίδεκα* in natural sequence, though Rhesos, who has been already mentioned, is the thirteenth. The variant *τετρακαίδέκατον* of which Aristonikos speaks is evidently a mere conjecture to evade this small difficulty.

568. **Διομήδεος**, because Odysseus has no steeds ; see on 501.

571. **ἄρα**, *until*. They were perhaps laid aside as a sort of pledge to the goddess of the performance of the vow in 292. It is not clear whether the arms themselves are to be consecrated and are the **ἱρόν** (cf. 460), or whether the word, as elsewhere, means the sacrifice promised in 292-4. The only other case of dedication of an enemy's arms in H. is H 83 *τεύχεα . . . κρεμῶν προτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος*. The idea of 'trophies' properly so called is post-Homeric.

572. Cf. A 621 for the practice of washing off sweat in sea-water. There was probably in Homeric times, as in the present day, a prevalent idea that

'sea-water never gives a cold,' however hot one goes in ; but that it is necessary to be cool before taking a fresh-water bath. Hence the proper precaution is taken before the luxury of the *ἀσάμινθος*. The lengthening of the ε of **ἀπενίζοντο** is due either to the antispastic measure of the word (see App. D), or possibly to the analogy of other words where initial ν represents an older *sn* (*νύος*, *νιφάς*, etc.), which is not the case here.

573. **λόφον**, *the nape of the neck*, oddly interposed between *κνήμαι* and *μηροί*. The proper sense of the word is the ridge of the neck of draught animals ; this seems to be the only place in Greek where it is used of human beings.

576. The **ἀσάμινθος** does not reappear in the *Iliad*, and hardly formed part of a camp-equipage ; certainly not such a huge bath as that of which the remains were found at Tiryns (Schliemann *Tiryns* p. 140). This couplet is purely Odyssean, v. δ 48, ρ 87, § 96.



τὼ δὲ λοεσσαμένω καὶ ἀλειψαμένω λίπ' ἐλαίωι  
 δείπνωι ἐφίζανέτην, ἀπὸ δὲ κρητῆρος Ἀθήνηι  
 πλείου ἀφυσσόμενοι λείβον μελιηδέα οἶνον.

577. ἀλιψαμένω T. 578. κρατῆρος R. || ἀθήνην J. 579. ἀφυσσόμενοι  
 Ar. AR (T *surpr.* ; διὰ τοῦ ο ἀφυσσόμενοι) U Harl. a: ἀφυσσάμενοι Ω.

577. λίπ': the full form is never found in H.; it is probably an old instrum. λίπα for λίπεσα (cf. σάφα for σάφεσα); 'an adverb related to λιπαρός, as κάρτα to καρτερός, λίγα to λιγυρός, etc., meaning "richly," "thickly"' (Monro). The word is also used by Thuk. (λίπα ἀλείψασθαι i. 6, iv. 68) and Hippokrates (ἐλαίωι χρίων λίπα, etc.).

578. It has been remarked that this is the third **δειπνον** which Odysseus has enjoyed during the course of this one night; see I 90, 221. Ar. suggests that it is a breakfast rather than a supper.

579. Cf. F 295. Here, as there, Ar. justly preferred the present participle to the ἀφυσσάμενοι of the majority of MSS.

## A

### INTRODUCTION

IN passing from the tenth book to the eleventh we find ourselves face to face with a striking contrast. While the tenth is so late a composition that it shews little sign of weathering or growth, the eleventh undoubtedly contains some of the oldest work in the *Iliad*; but during a long existence, before the final fixing of its present shape, it has received accretions of several periods, down to the latest, and has doubtless undergone, even in the older parts, internal modifications which are now beyond our power to detect.

The main story of the book—the opening of the general battle, the Greek hopes raised high by the victorious career of Agamemnon, only to be dashed by his wounding, followed by the disabling of Odysseus, Diomedes, and other chieftains, and the retreat of the Greek army to the ships—is so exactly what is required after the quarrel and the promise of Zeus to Thetis in the first book, and the sending of the deceitful Dream in the second, that we clearly have here the continuation of the old story of the Μῆνις. In no place essential to the fabric is there any allusion to what has happened since B—to either of the duels, to Pandaros' violation of the truce, to the exploits of Diomedes, to the previous victory of Hector, to the building of the wall, to the Embassy to Achilles, or to the night expedition of K. If A followed B immediately, no gap would be perceptible.

Without attempting anything like an exhaustive analysis of the book, we may at once indicate two passages at least as of clearly late origin. The first is the opening, 1–55. The extension of the geographical horizon to Cyprus and the Gorgon head mark this part as late, and various difficulties in language and narrative point to the same end. Details are given in the notes.

The other is Nestor's long account of his youthful exploits in 664–762. This lifelike picture of a little border raid is in itself inimitable, and we may well be grateful for it. But yet, if we take it with its context, we are forced to admit that it has no bearing on the situation, and is grotesquely out of place at a moment when Patroklos has refused even to sit down, in order that he may return with all speed to Achilles. It spoils the effect of the other story at the end of the speech, which is essential. The language is notably Odyssean in character, as is pointed out in the notes. The four-horse chariot is a mark of late origin. The author too is clearly ignorant

of the geography of the western Peloponnesos (see note on 756). This ignorance is paralleled by that of the *Odyssey*, where (γ 493-7) Telemachos drives from Pherai to Sparta in a day, regardless of the fact that Taygetos, with its precipitous ravines, never passable for wheels, lies between the two. The story is another of the expansions which the character of the garrulous old man seems to invite whenever he appears on the scene.

A more serious question has been raised as to the whole of the latter part of the book—the wounding of Machaon and Eurypylos, and the sending of Patroklos, with the subsequent scenes between Patroklos and Nestor and Patroklos and Eurypylos. The ground for the doubt lies in the fact that at the beginning of II, when Patroklos returns to Achilles, he says nothing of the errand on which he was sent. That is undoubtedly the case: the words of Patroklos taken by themselves involve no previous communication on the incidents of the Greek defeat, and even gain in force if his proposals spring directly from his unprompted sympathy. And there is a marked weakness in the passage (497-503) which introduces the wounding of Machaon. These lines can, however, be dispensed with, and it can hardly be said that there are such contradictions and obscurities as usually mark the insertion of late additions. The doubts expressed are not unfounded, but they are not proved. At most it may be said that there is a certain mechanical repetition of motives in the introduction of Eurypylos (575-95) which may indicate that he at least has entered the story—in which he is quite subordinate—later, in order to fill up Patroklos' time during the long *τειχομαχία* which now intervenes between Α and II. The wounding of Machaon, if an accretion, must at all events be a tolerably early one.

E. H. Meyer (*Achilleis* p. 42) has further suspected 296 (or 310 ?)-400, the wounding of Diomedes. That hero nowhere else plays any part in the *Mênis*: it was only after the introduction of his *ἀπιστεία* in E that an account of his disabling became necessary in this book. The passage certainly contains a good many expressions which shew a strong affinity with the style of the Diomedea. See notes on the passage.

But the book, however it was developed, has attained a splendid force and vigour, equal to that of E at its best, and superior in variety of scene and mood, with its alternation of battlefield and camp, of rest and action. And here for the first time we learn to know the most attractive personality of the *Iliad*—the gentle Patroklos, hitherto but the shadow of Achilles, but soon to be shewn to us in a very different aspect. Narrative and characterisation are fully worthy of the great climax in the story of the Wrath, and no critical difficulties need disturb the reader's enjoyment.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Α

### Ἄγαμέμνωνος ἀριστεία.

Ἦὼς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγανοῦ Τιθωνοῖο  
 ὄρρνυθ', ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἡδὲ βροτοῖσι·  
 Ζεὺς δ' Ἐριδα προΐαλλε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἀργαλέην, πολέμοιο τέρας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαν. 5  
 στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσσῆος μεγακήτεϊ νηὶ μελαίνῃ,  
 ἥ ῥ' ἐν μεσσήτῳ ἔσκε γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωσσε,  
 ἥ μὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίας Τελαμωνιάδαο  
 ἡδ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλῆος, τοί ῥ' ἔσχατα νῆας εἵσας  
 εἵρυσαν, ἡγορέῃ πύσυννοι καὶ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν·  
 ἔνθα στᾶσ' ἦρσε θεὰ μέγα τε δεινόν τε 10  
 ὄρρι', Ἀχαιοῖσιν δὲ μέγα σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστωι

2. ὄρρυθ' T. || φέροι Q : φέρηι L<sup>2</sup> Lips. Harl. a. 6. ἀμφοτέροισι U. 8.  
 ἔσχατοι PQ (supr. α). 9. ἥρυσαν Q. || καὶ κάρτεϊ : κάρτεϊ τε T.

1-55. The opening shews a considerable proportion (nearly half) of lines which appear in other places, and are probably borrowed or adapted here: 1-2 = ε 1-2; 2 = T 2; 5-9 = Θ 222-6 (but here the lines are at home in A); 11-14, see B 451-4, Ξ 151-2; 16, see B 578; 17-19 = Γ 330-2; 27, cf. E 522; 29, cf. B 45; 36-7, cf. E 739; 37, cf. Γ 342, O 119; 41 = E 743; 42 = Γ 337; 43 = χ 125, cf. Γ 18, 338; 46, cf. H 180; 47-8 = M 84-5; 49 = M 77, cf. Θ 530; 55, cf. A 3.

Tithonos is mentioned again in T 237 as brother of Priam, but there is no mention in Homer of the legend of his immortality of old age, which first appears in *Hymn. Ven.* 218-38. See M. and R. on ε 1. *and note* 18. 42.

4. What the πολέμοιο τέρας, which

Eris holds in her hands, may be, we cannot say. The rainbow is called a τέρας in I. 28 and P 548; but when Homer personifies this it is in the form of the goddess Iris, not of a thing which can be held in the hand. Others explain it as the thunderbolt, comparing K 8. A more likely object is the aegis of Zeus, see E 742. A very similar and equally obscure phrase is E 593 Ἐννῶ . . ἔχουσα κυδοιμὸν (see note there). This personification of the battle-spirits is characteristic of the later Epic period; see Δ 440 (with note) and 37, 73 below.

11. ὄρρη, the war-cry, comes in awkwardly after μέγα τε δεινόν τε, and is hardly an Epic use. It is found in *Hymn. Cer.* 20, and (in the singular) twice in Pindar; otherwise it seems to be almost confined to Attic. Observe



καρδίῃ, ἄλληκτον πολεμίζειν ἡδὲ μάχεσθαι.  
τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένετ' ἢ ἐνέεσθαι  
ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφυρήσιν φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἐβόησεν ἰδὲ ζώννυσθαι ἄνωγεν  
Ἀργείους· ἐν δ' αὐτὸς ἐδύσατο νώροπα χαλκόν.

κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε  
καλάς, ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπισφυρίοις ἀραρυίας·

δεύτερον αὖ θώρηκα περὶ στήθεσιν ἔδυνε,  
τόν ποτέ οἱ Κινύρης δῶκε ξεινῆιον εἶναι.

πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρονδε μέγα κλέος, οὔνεκ' Ἀχαιοὶ  
ἐς Τροίην νήεσσιν ἀναπλεύσεσθαι ἔμελλον·

τοῦνεκά οἱ τὸν δῶκε χαριζόμενος βασιλῆϊ.

τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι δέκα οἶμοι ἔσαν μέλανος κυάνοιο,

12. κραδίη(ι) CDHPQRTU.

P (νέεσθαι P<sup>m</sup>).

Cant. : ἐνδύσατο S : ἐνεδύσατο P. || χαλκῶι S *supr.*

ἐπὶ J.

19. εῶρακα G.

13-14 ἀθ. Ar. Aph., om. Zen.

15. ἐβόησ' Bar. || ἡδὲ GPT<sup>2</sup> (*in ras.*) Bar.

16. ἐδύετο

20. ζυνήιον P.

17. πρῶτον GJP. || περὶ :

22. ἀναπλεύσεσθαι CJ Cant.

the *F* of *Φεκάστωι* neglected. Bentley read *ῶρε* for *ἔμβάλ'*, from B 451; but we have no right to correct the borrower's slips.

13-14 are clearly out of place here, where there is no question of returning home at all, while in B (453-4) they are appropriate. Hence Aph. and Ar. obelized, and Zen. omitted, the couplet. But there is no reason to doubt that it stood here from the first.

20. Kinyras was the great legendary hero of Cyprus, who introduced the worship of Aphrodite to Paphos from Syria; in other words, he represents the prae-Hellenic Phoenician period in the island. He was, however, completely adopted into Hellenic mythology in Pindar's time, *P.* ii. 15, *N.* viii. 18; and in Tyrtaios (12. 6) he is coupled with Midas for his proverbial wealth. (See the abundant refs. in Roscher *Lex.* s.v.) His name is commonly derived from *κίνηρος*, the Phoenician lyre, which he is said to have invented. Later mythographers tell that Agamemnon was wrecked in Cyprus on his way to Troy, and then received this gift; but that is clearly not the idea of the present passage, nor is anything about a visit to Cyprus mentioned in the epitome of the *Kypria*, where we might expect it. With the doubtful exception of the name *Κύπρις* (see on E 330) this is the

only mention of Cyprus in the *Iliad*, though it is more familiar in *Od.* Probably the island only came within the Greek horizon during the great migration period, after the beginning of the Epos; but there is nothing upon which any reasonably probable date can be founded.

21. *Κύπρονδε*: a pregnant expression, the idea of sound *coming* to a place being involved in its being heard there. Cf. Δ 455 *τηλόσε ἐκλυε*. *οὔνεκα*, *that*, expressing the content of the fame he heard. This use is not found again in the *Iliad*, but cf. ε 216, η 300, and several other passages in *Od.* But we can give it the usual meaning *because* (as 54, Δ 11, etc.), if with Brandreth and von Christ we join it with *δῶκε* in the preceding line, putting a comma after *εἶναι* and taking *πεύθετο* . . . *κλέος* as a parenthesis. The following *τοῦνεκα δῶκε* is in favour of this.

22. *ἀναπλεύσεσθαι*: *ana-* implies 'out to sea,' as Z 292 *ἀνήγαγεν*.

24. This is the only detailed description of a breastplate in H. (Ψ 560 ff. is perhaps comparable), and it is specially marked as foreign work. The passage is of course consistent with the late interpolation of breastplates into the Epic texts (see App. B). The *technique* is apparently inlaid metal work, like that of the shield of Achilles in Σ. The

δώδεκα δὲ χρυσοῖο καὶ εἴκοσι κασσιτέροιο· 25  
 κυάνεοι δὲ δράκοντες ὀρωρέχατο προτὶ δειρὴν  
 τρεῖς ἑκάτερθ', ἵρισσιν εἰκότες, ἄς τε Κρονίῳ  
 ἐν νέφει στήριξε τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὥμοισιν βάλετο ξίφος· ἐν δέ οἱ ἦλοι  
 χρύσειοι πάμφαινον, ἀτὰρ περὶ κουλεὸν ἦεν 30  
 ἀργύρεον, χρυσεόισιν ἀορτήρεσσιν ἀρηρός.

26. μερδαλέοι δὲ δράκοντες ἐλειχμώντο Aph. | ὀρωρέχεται Harl. b. ποτὶ  
 CHJPS. 27. ἑκάτερθαι L<sup>1</sup>: ἑκάτεροεν JL<sup>2</sup> SU. || ἵρυσσιν T Ar. Lxx.: ἐρίδουσιν  
 Zen. 28. νέφεσι Vr. b. || νέφει ἐστήριξε ar. Did. 30. αὐτὰρ H.

body is presumably of bronze, in which are inlaid gold, tin, and kyanos in parallel stripes (οἶμοι, lit. *paths*; the word does not recur in this sense). These stripes, we must suppose, are equally divided between the front and back plates. The numbers suggest the following arrangement (Helbig): *gtktgtktgtktgtktg*, where *g*=gold, *t*=tin, *k*=kyanos. This series repeated for the other plate gives the requisite number of stripes. Across these parallel lines curl three snakes 'on either side.' Reichel suggests that such ἀποτρόπαια were not likely to be put on the back; more probably there were three of them curving in parallel lines on right and left of the breastplate. This explains the comparison with rainbows. Platt (*C. R.* x. 378) adds a curious comparison with the 'seven-headed Naga' of Oriental worship, 'where three heads on each side rise up round the central cobra's hood.' It has been pointed out by Helbig and Reichel that neither the parallel stripes nor the decoration with snakes have any analogy in Mykenaeen art; they recall rather the later 'geometric' period; snakes are actually found on vases of the geometric style from Cyprus. The mention of κύανος points to the same island. Lepsius has shown that this word is used in two senses: (1) real *lapis lazuli*, ultramarine, a rare and expensive product; (2) an imitation of it in a glass paste, coloured with salts of copper, a product for which Cyprus, the home of copper in ancient days, was famous. Specimens of such a blue enamel have been found in a frieze at Thyrs (Schuchh. p. 117), the very θρηγὸς κυάνιοι of η 87. κασσίτερος, *tin*, though to us a humble metal, was very rare and costly in early days, and hence appears in the company of gold and

kyanos. It is doubtful whether the pure metal is meant, or an alloy with silver, such as is sometimes produced in smelting silver ore. It appears again in the shield of Achilles (Σ 474, 565, 574), in greaves (Σ 613, Φ 592), on the breastplate of Asteropaios (Ψ 561), and in chariot decoration (Ψ 503). μέλανος seems to be a general epithet of κύανος, in the sense 'dark blue'—the Homeric vocabulary for colours is very poor, and hardly distinguishes more than 'red' and 'dark.' Helbig's suggestion that the stripes were in black enamel and the snakes in blue is improbable (see the full discussions in Helbig *H. E.*<sup>2</sup> 382-4, Reichel p. 92). Notice the irregular hiatus in δέκα οἶμοι: it is hardly to be corrected (δέκ' ἔσαν οἶμοι Brandreth).

26. For the variant of Aph. (v. supra) compare Ar. *Vesp.* 1033 (= Pax 756) ἑκατὸν δὲ κύκλωι κεφαλαὶ κολάκων οἰμωξομένων ἐλειχμώντο | περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. θειρήν, the neck-opening of the cuirass.

27. For ἵρυσσιν Zen. had the remarkable variant ἐρίδουσιν. This is only explicable on the supposition of a complete confusion between *Iris* and *Erīs*: hence E. H. Meyer concludes that *Erīs* in ll. 3, 73, where she acts as messenger of Zeus, herself represents the original Iris. The comparison of snakes to rainbows in *Aen.* v. 87-9 rests on the variegated colour.

28. See 4, P 548. The genitive ἀνορώπων is curious, as we should have expected a dative; but cf. Δ 84 ἀνθρώπων ταμὴς πολέμοιο, and, by what is perhaps more than a coincidence, Φόβος βροτῶν in the lines quoted on 37. It seems to be a sort of ablative use, 'from the side of men,' i.e. in their eyes.

29. ἦλοι, *nails* by which the blade was fastened to the handle; see App. B, ix. Compare B 45 ἀργυρόηλον.

31. ἀορτήρ recurs only in *Od.*, and

ἄν δ' ἔλετ' ἀμφιβρότην πολυδαίδαλον ἀσπίδα θούριν,  
καλήν, ἣν πέρι μὲν κύκλοι δέκα χάλκεοι ἦσαν,  
ἐν δέ οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ ἦσαν εἰκόσι κασσιτέροιο  
λευκοῖ, ἐν δὲ μέσοισιν ἔην μέλανος κυάνοιο. 35  
τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῷ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο

32. ἄν : ἐν C (γρ. ἄν *man. rec.*) P Q. 33-34. ἦσαν . . ἦσαν *ap. Schol. A.*  
35. λευκοῖ : λευκοὶ Ω, εἰσι δὲ οἱ περισπῶσιν, ἵνα γενικὴ γένηται *Schol. A* : λευκοὶ  
γρ. οὐ λευκοῖο *Schol. T.* 36. τῇ δ' : τῇ Q.

not again in classical Greek. In ν 348 (=ρ 198, σ 109) it means the shoulder-strap of a wallet; in λ 609 ἀμφὶ περὶ στήθεσσι δόρτην | χρύσεος ἦν τελαμών it is apparently identical with the τελαμών. It is not easy to see how such a strap could have been of gold, or, as in 39 below, of silver; in the case of Herakles in λ the adj. seems to refer to the decoration there described with such admiration, and something of the sort may be meant here. The plur. is possibly due to the two ends of the baldric attached to the sheath. Van L. understands the word to mean the attachments only, apart from the strap; but these seem too insignificant for separate mention, and this explanation does not suit λ. But see App. B, ix. 4.

32. θούριν is to our ideas a curious epithet for so passive a piece of armour as the shield. But it was here that, to a Greek, the 'point of honour' lay; so that the shield might be taken to personify the martial fury of its bearer; cf. Lucan's *pugnaces cetras* vii. 233. It is clear that the author of these lines is thinking, not of the Mykenaeen shield, but of the later round buckler; so that the epithet ἀμφιβρότη is purely conventional. 'The κύκλοι are probably concentric rings of bronze; the leather backing of the Homeric shield is not mentioned, as with the shield of Achilles. Compare T 280, M 297.

34. The description of the decoration of the shield seems hopeless. The ὀμφαλός is naturally the single boss in the middle of the shield (N 192); it is only by a wrong use of the word that there can have been twenty ὀμφαλοὶ—presumably running round the edge. That they were made of tin shews that the author regarded them as purely decorative, not structural, such as the heads of nails fastening the bronze face on to the backing. At the same time it may be

pointed out that the intaglio, App. B, Fig. 3, shews rims of dots, apparently knobs, running in a circle round the Mykenaeen shield. But how the central boss is to be reconciled with the Gorgon head and the figures of Δεῖμος and Φόβος we cannot say. We must either read τῷ for τῇ in 36, and suppose that the Gorgon head is on the central boss itself, or assume that the two couplets, 34-5 and 36-7, were parallel and independent accounts wrongly combined. In that case it is not easy, or indeed necessary, to say that one is older and the other an interpolation; each has its own difficulties. The only conclusion which seems safe is that the author of the passage is describing things of which he has no clear conception.

35. The reading λευκοῖ for λευκοί, which is attested, though not approved, by the scholia, is highly probable, though not absolutely necessary, as the pause at the end of the first foot may excuse the lengthening; cf. A 39, B 209, E 685, and a few more cases. Though the mss. of H. do not give us any instances of the elision of the gen. in -οιο, yet it is attested for Pindar, Simonides, Archilochos, and Lasos, and is found apparently in an Attic inser. of the 6th cent. (see the collection of instances in Menrad *Contr.* 98, Platt *C. R.* ii. p. 99, van L. *Ench.* p. 201), and is made probable for H. by the number of places where -ov remains long before a vowel (see, however, *H. G.* § 376 (1)). The elision of ἐμεί(ο), σεί(ο), is abundantly attested in Ψ 789, Z 454. There is therefore no reason to doubt that the mss. have here unconsciously preserved a relic of the old form. ἔην, there was one. But the omission of εἰς is strange, as nothing is left for the gen. κυάνοιο to depend upon. Nauck conj. εἰς, a false form, however (see E 603).

36. βλοσυρῶπις should rather be -ώπις,

δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμός τε Φόβος τε.  
 τῆς δ' ἐξ ἀργύρεος τελαμῶν ἦν· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ  
 κυάνεος ἐλέλικτο δράκων, κεφαλαὶ δέ οἱ ἦσαν  
 τρεῖς ἀμφιστρεφέες, ἐνὸς αὐχένος ἐκπεφυυῖαι. 40  
 κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφίφαλον κυνέην θέτο τετραφάληρον  
 ἵππουριν· δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν.  
 εἴλετο δ' ἄλκιμα δοῦρε δύω, κεκορυθμένα χαλκῶι,  
 ὀξέα· τῆλε δὲ χαλκὸς ἀπ' αὐτόφιν οὐρανὸν εἶσω  
 λάμπ· ἐπὶ δ' ἐγδούπησαν Ἀθηναίη τε καὶ Ἥρη, 45  
 τιμῶσαι βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκῆνης.  
 ἡνιόχῳ μὲν ἔπειτα ἑῶι ἐπέτελλεν ἕκαστος  
 ἵππους εὖ κατὰ κόσμον ἐρυκέμεν αὐθ' ἐπὶ τάφρῳι,  
 αὐτοὶ δὲ πρυλέες σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες

38. αὐτοῦ Ar. Ω: αὐτῶ(ι) CH<sup>3</sup>QST, γρ. Did.: αὐτῶν P. 39. ἔσαν Par, j (γρ. ἦσαν). 40. ἀμφιστρεφέες Ar. [AGL]J<sup>2</sup>, γρ. Harl. α: ἀμφιστεφέες Ω. || ἐμπεφυυῖαι J: ἀμπεφυκυῖαι R. 41. ἀμφίφαλον P (ἀμφίφαλον P<sup>m</sup>). 43. δοῦρα Vr. A. 44. αὐτοί P. 45. λάμπετ' R. || ἐγδούπησεν (A supr.) Harl. α: ἐκδούπησαν CP Vr. A: ἐδούπησαν Q. 48. αὐθ': αὐτ' A. || τάφρον P Mosc. B.

as the scansion is only possible if the last syllable is long by nature, which was probably the case; see *H. G.* § 116 (3), and notes on K 292, Σ 357. **ἔστε-φάνωτο**: see E 739, and for the Gorgon head E 741. 'It is clear (see note on the latter passage) that this couplet at least cannot be earlier than the 7th cent.

37. This line, on the other hand, shews that the couplet cannot be later than the 7th cent. or the early part of the 6th. Pausanias, in his description of the chest of Kypselos (v. 19. 4), shews us how the Greeks of that time conceived the personified Φόβος on this very shield; the scene represented is the fight of Agamemnon and Κοῶν over Iphidamas (see below, 248-60): Φόβος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος τῇ ἀσπίδι ἔπεστιν, ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν λέοντος. ἐπιγράμματα δὲ ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ Ἰφιδάμαντος νεκροῦ,

Ἰφιδάμας οὗτός γε, Κῶν περιμάρναται αὐτοῦ.

τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι,

οὗτος μὲν Φόβος ἐστὶ βροτῶν, ὁ δ' ἔχων Ἀγαμέμνωνι.

It is as clear as such testimony can make it that this is a real illustration of

Homer, and that the artist had this line before him, though with the characteristic instinct of a Greek he has simplified the design by leaving out Δεῖμος and the Gorgon. This may compete with the well-known Rhodian *pinax* in the B. M. (see note on P 108) as being the oldest known illustration of a literary text.

39. **ἐλέλικτο**, i.e. *FeFέλικτο* (see A 530, etc.), *twined*. A baldric of silver with a glass decoration is clearly derived from the imagination, not from daily life.

40. **ἀμφιστρεφέες** seems to mean that the two heads at the sides are twisted symmetrically about the third in the middle. The vulg. *ἀμφιστεφέες* was explained from *ἐστεφάνωτο* above, *set as a crown on both sides* (Did.), but is probably a mere blunder.

45. **ἐγδούπησαν**, only here; cf. *ἐρί-γδοπος*. Apparently \*γδοῦπος (=δοῦπος) is related to κτύπος. The verb evidently means *thundered*, though elsewhere this is the prerogative of Zeus alone. The lines are in obvious contradiction to 75-6.

49. **πρυλέες**: see E 744. The word here clearly means *footmen* as opposed to *ιππῆες*.



ρώοντ'· ἄσβεστος δὲ βοή γένηετ' ἡῶθι πρό.  
 φθάν δὲ μεθ' ἱππήων ἐπὶ τάφρῳ κοσμηθέντες,  
 ἱππῆες δ' ὀλίγον μετεκίαθον. ἐν δὲ κυδοιμὸν  
 ὥρσε κακὸν Κρονίδης, κατὰ δ' ὑψόθεν ἦκεν ἑέρας  
 αἵματι μυδαλέας ἐξ αἰθέρος, οὐνεκ' ἔμελλε  
 πολλὰς ἰφθίμους κεφαλὰς Ἀἰδὶ προΐάνφειν.

50

55

Τρῶες δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐπὶ θρωσμίῳ πεδίοιο,  
 Ἑκτορά τ' ἀμφὶ μέγαν καὶ ἀμύμονα Πουλυδάμαντα

51. μεθ' CGHJPQRT (U<sup>1</sup>?) Harl. a : μέγ' Ar. Ω. || τάφρον Mosc. 3. 53.  
 αέρας Lips. 55. πολλὰς δ' T. || κεφαλὰς : γρ. ψυχὰς U (and ap. Did. ?).  
 57. ἔκτορα δ' J. || πολυδάμαντα DJPQU Lips.

50. *ρώοντο*, moved nimbly; so Σ 411 *κνήμαι ῥώνοντο ἀραιαί*, and A 529, Ψ 367, Ω 616, *Scut. Her.* 230. The *ἄσβεστος βοή* is a marked departure from the Homeric conception of the silent march of the Greeks (Γ 8, Δ 429). *ἡῶθι πρό*, before the face of the morning; cf. Γ 3 *οὐρανὸθι πρό*.

51. This line introduces desperate confusion. If either it or 52-5 were away all would be clear; probably we have another instance of a double recension. With the reading of Ar., adopted by most edd., *μέγα* and *ὀλίγον* are irreconcilable; the explanation of Schol. A that *μέγα* is *χρονικόν* and *ὀλίγον* *τοπικόν* explains nothing. With *μεθ'* for *μέν'* we can at least make sense; they (the Greek footmen) were first (before the Trojans) to form line with the charioteers at the trench, and the charioteers went a little behind them—not an unnatural arrangement, so that the chariots might be able to pass freely in the rear from one point of the fighting line to another, as the attack was developed. This, however, involves taking *μετά* with gen. = *with*, a use which is almost entirely avoided not only by H. but by all early Greek poets; see *H. G.* § 196. 1, notes on N 700 (P 149), Φ 458 (Ω 400), and cf. κ 320, π 140. On the other hand *φεύγειν* with gen. (on the analogy of the gen. of comparison, cf. Ψ 444 *φθάνειν ἤ*) is quite unexampled in Greek. On the whole, therefore, it is best to accept in so late a passage the prosy *μεθ'*, just as we accept the trench of which the rest of A knows nothing. The whole of the opening of the book is of a piece.

53. Compare the *αἱματέσσαι ψιάδες*

which bode the death of Sarpedon, II 459. Blood-red rain was a rather favourite portent in Roman annals.

56. With this line at last we seem to be again in the original stream of the oldest part of the poem; it describes the first array of the Trojans for battle after the retirement of Achilles. The phrase *ἑρωσιὸς πεδίοιο* thus gains in significance; it means the point where the plain *springs* or rises to the hills; i.e. the foot of the hill on which Troy is built. This evidently must be the place where the army is set in order for battle. But when Θ had been interpolated, and the Trojans were bivouacking *ἄγχι νεῶν*, the sense of the phrase was lost. Hence the still later rhapsodists to whom we owe K 160 and T 3—the only repetitions of the phrase—took it to mean 'rising ground in the plain,' somewhere near the camp. But this is not like Homer; where he has to speak of a locality in the plain, he gives it a specific name, 'the tomb of Ilos,' 'the mound called Batieia,' or at least 'the oak.' But here there is nothing whatever to specify the locality unless it be taken to mean 'the margin of the plain.' We might as well suppose, if we found such a phrase as *πεδίοιο πείρατα*, that it meant 'the end of something in the plain.' Τρῶες, in the course of the long clause following, is left without a verb; we can supply *κόσμηθεν*, *ὠπλίζοντο*, or the like, from the general sense of the preceding passage. But in all probability this line followed the description of the arming of the Greeks in B (perhaps B 483); a transitional line such as *ὥς οἱ μὲν παρά νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν θωρήσσοντο* (T 1) may probably have been supplanted by the new opening 1-55.

Λινείαν θ', ὅς Τρωσὶ θεὸς ὥς τίετο δῆμῳ,  
 τρεῖς τ' Ἀντηνορίδας, Πόλυβον καὶ Ἀγήνορα δῖον  
 ἦϊθέον τ' Ἀκάμαντ', ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν. 60  
 Ἔκτωρ δ' ἐν πρώτοισι φέρ' ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' εἴσῃν.  
 οἷος δ' ἐκ νεφέων ἀναφαίνεται οὐλῖος ἀστήρ  
 παμφαίνων, τοτὲ δ' αὖτις ἔδν νέφεα σκιάοντα,  
 ὥς Ἐκτωρ ὅτε μὲν τε μετὰ πρώτοισι φάνεσκεν,  
 ἄλλοτε δ' ἐν πυμάτοισι κελεύων· πᾶς δ' ἄρα χαλκῶι 65  
 λάμφ' ὥς τε στεροπὴ πατὴρ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.  
 οἱ δ', ὥς τ' ἀμνητῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν  
 ὄγμον ἐλαύνουσιν ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρουραν  
 πυρῶν ἢ κριθῶν· τὰ δὲ δράγματα ταρφέα πίπτει·  
 ὥς Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες 70  
 δῆιουν, οὐδ' ἔτεροι μυνόντ' ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο.

61. **ῶς** *om.* U. 62. **οὐλῖος**: *τινὲς αὐλῖος An.* 63. **τοτὲ**: ὅτε DU: ὅτῃ  
 R: ποτὲ H. || αἰθῖς CRU Vr. b. || σκοτόεντα Vr. b. 64. **τοτὲ** (τότε) CD<sup>4</sup>PRU:  
 ποτὲ D<sup>2</sup>. || **μὲν τε**: μὲν P: μέντοι DRU: μέν γε Vr. A. 65. **χαλκῶς** J.  
 66. **ὥς τ'** (ὥς Mor.) ἀστεροπὴ GQ Mor. 68. **ἐλαύνουσιν** CDL. 69. **πίπτει** T.

58. Both **Τρωσὶ** and **δῆμῳ** seem to be used in a locative sense, *among the Trojans in their land*. For the hyperbolic **εὐδὸς ὥς** see E 78, and note on H 298.

62. **οὐλῖος**, *deadly*, a by-form of **οἶλος** not recurring in Homer. We find, however, **οἶλος** 'Arys twice in the *Scut. Herc.*, and so Pindar (*O.* ix. 76, xiii. 23, *P.* xii. 8), and Soph. *Aj.* 933. The deadly star must be Seirios, see X 30 **κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται, καὶ τε φέρεי πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν**. The comparison of Hector to Seirios may imply therefore both brightness and terror; though it may be observed that the season when 'the dog-star brings fever' is when it rises with the sun and is therefore invisible. It was perhaps this which gave rise to a curious variant mentioned by Aristonikos, **αὐλῖος, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐσπερίος, πρὸς δὲ αὐλίζεται τὰ ζῶια**. He quotes Kallimachos, **αὐλῖος δὲ θυμὸν εἰσι μετ' ἡελίου**, and so Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1629 **ἀνὰ δ' ἦλυθεν ἀστήρ αὐλῖος, ὅς τ' ἀνέπανσεν δῶξυρός ἀροτῆρας**. Cf. also **ἐπιφάντιος· ὁ ἐωσφόρος ἀστήρ**, Hesych. It has even been proposed to translate **οἶλος** as = **οἶλος** in the sense 'hairy,' i.e. a comet; but this would require an epithet implying length of hair, whereas **οἶλος** signifies curliness.

67. The idea evidently is that the reapers start at the two ends of a field and meet in the middle.

68. **ἐλαύνειν** is used, as often, of carrying out long things in a line, as with **τείχος, τάφρον, ἔρκος**, etc. Compare the picture of the reapers in Σ 550-60. **μάκαρος**: a 217 ὥς δὴ ἐγὼ γ' ὄφελον **μάκαρός νύ τευ ἔμμεναι νῖδός ἀνέρος**. It indicates a king who has a **τέμενος** of his own apart from the common field, and cultivates it by means of hired labourers. The word is almost always applied to gods; in the few other passages where it is used of men it indicates the very height of human happiness (Γ 182, Ω 377, ζ 158, λ 483, ε 306).

69. **κριθῶν**: the rule that the open form **-έων** is written (with synizesis) unless a vowel precedes is arbitrary, and not supported by mss. The contraction is suspicious; but metrical necessity may have introduced it in such forms when **-έων** of the vernacular had begun to supplant the older **-άων** in the poetical language. **δράγματα**: **δάργματα** Hartel (*Hom. Stud.* i. 81), on account of the preceding short syll., comparing **δάρχμη** by **δράχμη**. There is no other case where position before mute and liquid is neglected in this place in the line.

ἴσας δ' ὑσμίνῃ κεφαλὰς ἔχεν, οἱ δὲ λύκοι ὧς  
 θύνον. Ἐρις δ' ἄρ' ἔχαιρε πολύστονος εἰσορόωσα·  
 οἷν γάρ ῥα θεῶν παρετύγχανε μαρναμένοισιν,  
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οὐ σφιν πάρεσαν θεοί, ἀλλὰ ἔκηλοι 75  
 οἷσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι καθεῖατο, ἦχι ἐκάστωι  
 δώματα καλὰ τέτυκτο κατὰ πτύχας Οὐλύμποιο.  
 πάντες δ' ἡιτιόωντο κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα,  
 οὐνεκ' ἄρα Τρώεσσιν ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι.  
 τῶν μὲν ἄρ' οὐκ ἀλέγιζε πατήρ· ὁ δὲ νόσφι λιασθεῖς 80  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνευθε καθέζετο κύδει γαίων,  
 εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
 χαλκοῦ τε στεροπὴν, ὀλλύντάς τ' ὀλλυμένους τε.  
 ὄφρα μὲν ἦως ἦν καὶ ἀέζετο ἱερὸν ἦμαρ,  
 τόφρα μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων βέλε' ἤπτετο, πίπτε δὲ λαός· 85  
 ἦμος δὲ δρυτόμος περ ἀνὴρ ὠπλίσσατο δειπνον  
 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησιν, ἐπεὶ τ' ἐκορέσσατο χεῖρας

72. ὙΣΜΙΝΗ Ar.: others ὙΣΜΙΝΗ. || ἔχεν Ar. [AD]: εἶχεν S (*supr.* on): ἔχον  
 Ω, γρ. Did. 73. ἄρα χαῖρε CPQRU. || εἰσορόωσα Mosc. 3. 74. ἐτύγχανε  
 Q. 76. οἷσιν GPQST, γρ. A: σφοῖσιν Ω (σφίσιν U). 77. πτύχας: στήχας  
 D. || ὀλύμποιο G. 78-83 *ab.* Ar. Aph., *om.* Zen. 82. τε *om.* G. 83. τ'  
 ἀστεροπὴν P. || τ' *om.* T: καὶ P. || ὀλλύντων . . ὀλλυμένων S *supr.* 86.  
 ὀπλίσσατο Q. || δεῖπνον Ar. Ω: δόρπον Zen. GJ Par. c d g j, γρ. R. 87. ἐμ-  
 βήσσησιν D.

72-83. These lines have all the appearance of a later addition from the same hand as 1-55. The last six (78-83) were condemned by all the old critics, and the rest fall into the same category, with the obvious allusion to the sending of Eris in l. 3, and the probable reference to the commands of Zeus to the gods at the beginning of Θ.

72. The idea seems to be that the contest holds the heads of both parties on a level, does not suffer either to go down before the other. Ameis thinks that the ὙΣΜΙΝΗ is personified as a two-headed monster, which keeps its heads, typifying the opposite parties, on a level. However we take the phrase, it is a strange one; the vulg. ὑσμίνῃ . . ἔχον is no better, as οἱ δέ without a change of subject is very awkward.

76. These lines are hardly consistent with the action taken by Hera and Athene in 45. But the contradiction is perhaps not too glaring for the author of 1-55. οἷσιν, *their own*, see App. A.

78-83 ἀθετοῦνται ὅτι ψεύδος: of course

the divine allies of Troy would not blame Zeus for giving their side victory, so that πάντες cannot be right. Besides, it seems that Zeus is still in Olympus, whence the battle-field is invisible; he goes to Ida to look on only in l. 183.

84-5 = Θ 66-7. μάλα goes with ἤπτετο, *hit amain*.

86. περ must go with ἦμος. For δεῖπνον Zen. read δόρπον, which, as Ar. pointed out, meant the meal when the day's work was over, whereas δεῖπνον is the principal meal, commonly taken before a battle, B 381, Θ 53 (see note), T 171. So in ι 311 the Kyklops takes his δεῖπνον before driving the sheep to pasture. It may thus indicate a time considerably before noon; a woodman who only took two full meals a day would hardly wait so long before being tired. ἀέζετο in 84 indicates the early morning, while the day rapidly and sensibly grows hotter. Hence we may suppose the hour indicated to be about nine or ten. We reach noon only in Π 777.

τάμνων δένδρεα μακρά, ἄδος τέ μιν ἵκετο θυμόν,  
 σίτου τε γλυκεροῖο περὶ φρένας ἵμερος αἰρεῖ,  
 τῆμος σφῆι ἀρετῇ Δαναοὶ ῥήξαντο φάλαγγας, 90  
 κεκλόμενοι ἐτάροισι κατὰ στίχας. ἐν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
 πρῶτος ὄρουσ', ἔλε δ' ἄνδρα Βιήνορα ποιμένα λαῶν,  
 αὐτόν, ἔπειτα δ' ἐταῖρον Ὀϊλῆα πληξίππον.  
 ἦ τοι ὅ γ' ἐξ ἵππων κατεπάλμενος ἀντίος ἔσθη·  
 τὸν δ' ἰθὺς μεμαῶτα μετώπιον ὀξείῃ δουρὶ 95  
 νύξ', οὐδὲ στεφάνη δόρυ οἱ σχέθε χαλκοβάρεια,  
 ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῆς ἦλθε καὶ ὀστέου, ἐγκέφαλος δὲ  
 ἔνδον ἅπας πεπάλακτο· δάμασσε δέ μιν μεμαῶτα.  
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν λίπεν αἰθι ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων  
 στήθεσι παμφαίνοντας, ἐπεὶ περιδύσε χιτῶνας· 100  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ βῆ ῥ' Ἴσόν τε καὶ Ἀντιφον ἐξεναρίζων,

88. δένδρεα : γρ. ὄρεα Harl. a. || ἄδος : κόρος Cant. || εἵκετο J (γρ. ἵκετο) T. || ευμῶ P. 90. φάλαγγα Plut. *de aud. Poet.* 6. 91. ἐν CG (S *supr.*) Harl. a : ἐκ D (H *supr.*) JQS<sup>1</sup>TU, γρ. A : ἄν (ἀν) ΔΗ<sup>1</sup>PR. 92. βιήνορα Ar. 94. ἀντίος Zen. Aph. GJ Par. a f j. 96. ῥᾱξ' H (*supr.* νύ). || οἱ cχέεε : ἵcχέεε T. 97. ἐγκέφαλόν δε Ar. Rhod. (*om.* 98). || δέ : γε J (*supr.* δε). 98. πεπάλακτο : γρ. κекίνητο (?) T. 100. περιδύσε P. || χιτῶνα Q. || ἐν τισι ἐπεὶ κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἀπνύρα An. 101. βᾱ ῥ' ἱcόν : βῆricόν Poseidippus : βᾱ ἱcόν Zen. Par. d : βᾱ ῥᾱcόν Par. e : βᾱ ῥicόν G. || ἐξεναρίζων LQR<sup>1</sup> (ἐξεναρίζεν Poseid.).

88. ἄδος occurs only here in Greek. The α agrees with the ordinary scansion of ἄδην (see on E 203, K 98), and the origin of the words is too doubtful to justify us in reading μάκρ', ἄδος (or ἄδδος) with some critics.

94. ὁ γε, Oileus, κατ-επ-άλμενος, leaping down from the chariot against Agamemnon. But see note on Θ 85; Ahrens should read καταπάλμενος here.

96. στεφάνη : see on H 12.

98=M 186, T 400. πεπάλακτο, was scattered over the inside of the helmet.

100. All mss. and Ar. read περιδύσε χιτῶνας : but it is impossible to make good sense of this, as δύω without a preposition indicating removal (ἀποδύω, ἐκδύω) can only mean put on. The compound does not recur till quite late writers (Appianus, Josephus, Athenaeus), whose use of it is evidently founded on the present passage. Povelsen has been bold enough to give the proper meaning to the verb, and explain that Agamemnon puts on the tunics of the dead men, in order to carry them away conveniently! The variant ἐπεὶ κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἀπνύρα gives excellent sense, but

in the face of the consensus of mss. it has a most suspicious resemblance to a mere conjecture. Peppmüller's conj. περὶ λῖσε may be right (cf. II 804) but the verb is not entirely satisfactory. στήθεσι παμφαίνοντας is no doubt an ironical allusion to the common phrase τεύχεσι παμφ., and forms a sort of oxymoron, 'brilliant with—bare breasts.' (So Schneidewin.) Ar., however, took παμφ. with χιτῶνας, and explained 'where he had stripped off the coats of mail glittering on their breasts.' For this sense of χιτῶν we might compare χαλκοχιτῶνες, and see N 439 and App. B, iii. 4. But the order of words is not Homeric, and there is no reason for importing into this place the breast-plate which it seems H. did not know. The reason for Ar's explanation is, no doubt, that he saw no reason why Ag. should strip off a mere article of clothing such as a tunic. But the rending of the tunic is in B 416 evidently regarded as a final mark of triumph. For περιδύσε we really require in fact some strong word answering to δαΐζει there.

101. It will be noticed that there is



υἷε δ'ὡ Πριάμοιο, νόθον καὶ γνήσιον, ἄμφω  
 εἶν ἐνὶ δίφρῳ ἔοντε· ὁ μὲν νόθος ἡνιόχευεν,  
 Ἄντιφος αὖ παρέβασκε περικλυτός· ὦ ποτ' Ἀχιλλεύς  
 Ἰδης ἐν κνημοῖσι δίδη μόσχοισι λύγοισι, 105  
 ποιμαίνοντ' ἐπ' ὅεσσι λαβὼν, καὶ ἔλυσεν ἀποίνων.  
 δὴ τότε γ' Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 τὸν μὲν ὑπὲρ μαζοῖο κατὰ στήθος βάλε δουρί,  
 Ἄντιφον αὖ παρὰ οὖς ἔλασε ξίφει, ἐκ δ' ἔβαλ' ἵππων.  
 σπερχόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τοῖν ἐσύλα τεύχεα καλά, 110  
 γινώσκων· καὶ γάρ σφε πάρος παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσιν  
 εἶδεν, ὅτ' ἔξ Ἰδης ἄγαγεν πόδας ὠκύς Ἀχιλλεύς.  
 ὥς δὲ λέων ἐλάφοιο ταχείης νήπια τέκνα  
 ῥῆϊδίως συνέαξε λαβὼν κρατεροῖσιν ὁδοῦσιν,  
 ἐλθὼν εἰς εὐνὴν, ἀπαλόν τέ σφ' ἦτορ ἀπηύρα· 115  
 ἢ δ' εἴ πέρ τε τύχησι μάλα σχεδόν, οὐ δύναταί σφι  
 χραϊσμεῖν· αὐτὴν γάρ μιν ὑπὸ τρόμος αἰνὸς ἰκάνει·  
 καρπαλίμως δ' ἦξε διὰ δρυμὰ πυκνὰ καὶ ὕλην

102. καὶ: τε καὶ HP. 103. εἶν: ἐν Lips. || ἔοντε Aph. P: ἐόντας Ar. Q.  
 104. δ' αὖ RU. || ὅν ποτ' Zen. Q Ap. Lex.: οὐς ποτ' Eust. 105. κνήμασι G:  
 κνημῆσι Harl. a. || δίδει J. 107 om. T<sup>1</sup>, hab. T<sup>m</sup> (before Rhosos). || δὴ: τῶν  
 S. 108. κατὰ στήθος βάλε: βάλε(ν) χαλκῆρεϊ DJR<sup>1</sup>U Vr. b A. 111.  
 γινώσκων L. 114. συνέαξε R. 117. γὰρ μὲν G.

great doubt as to the first name in this line. Zen.'s βῆ Ἴσον is tempting, as the ῖ is quite otiose; but a name consisting of a simple adj. *Fisos* is unlikely; *Ἴσος*, however, even without the *F*, is equally unknown as a proper name. *Ῥῆσον*, or even *Ῥῖσον* (another unknown name), may be right.

103. *ἔοντε* is clearly preferable to the vulg. *ἔοντας*. The hiatus is permissible in this place, and will account for the reading *ἔοντας*, but would not be likely to be introduced if not original.

104. αὖ, here a conjunction, *but*, answering *μὲν*: 145, P 478, etc. *παρέβασκε*, was *παραβάτης*, the fighting man beside the charioteer. For ὦ Zen. read *ὅν*, so that he must also have read *ε* for *σφε* in 111, or taken the latter for a singular, as in Trag. and Pindar.

105. *δίδη*, from *δίδημι*, a non-thematic form of *δέω*, so μ 54 *διδέντων*. *μόσχοισι* appears to be an adj. = *young*, afterwards specialized as a substantive, 'the young' of the cow = *calf*, or of plants = *young shoot*. But we might take it as a

substantive in apposition with *λύγοισι*, 'with young shoots, even willow withies'; cf. *οὐς κάπρος*, etc.

106. *ἀποίνων*: gen. of price, *H. G.* § 153.

109. αὖ as 104. *παρὰ οὐς*: the hiatus can hardly be right. P. Knight read *παρ' οὐας* (*ὀφας*), Fick *παρὰ οὐας* *ἔλασσε τε*, ἐκ τ' *ἔβαλ' ἵππων*, Nauck *αὐτ' οὐας* *ἔλασε*, on the ground that *οὐας* is the Homeric form. *οὐς* recurs only T 473, μ 200 *ὠσίν*, elsewhere we find only the stem *οὐατ-*.

111. *γινώσκων*, recognizing them, explained by what follows. But Platt, *J. P.* xviii. 133, remarks with much force that the couplet is an extremely prosy addition and would be better away. The contracted *εἶδεν* for *ἔφιδεν* is not an old form. It is irresolvable in *Iliad* only T 292. (*ἔσφιδ'* Brandreth, *ἔφιδ'* van L., *φίδεν* Schulze *Q. E.* 378, with lengthening in the first arsis; see App. D, p. 595.)

115. *ἦτορ*, *breath*, see B 490. *σφ'* of course is *σφε*, accus. as 111.

σπεύδουσ', ἰδρώουσα, κραταιοῦ θηρὸς ὑφ' ὀρμῆς·  
ὥς ἄρα τοῖς οὐ τις δύνατο χραισμήσαι ὄλεθρον 120  
Τρώων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπ' Ἀργείοισι φέβοντο.

αὐτὰρ ὁ Πείσανδρόν τε καὶ Ἴππόλοχον μενεχάρμην,  
υἷας Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος, ὅς ῥα μάλιστα  
χρυσὸν Ἀλεξάνδροιο δεδεγμένος, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,  
οὐκ εἵασχ' Ἑλένην δόμεναι ξανθῷ Μενελάωι, 125  
τοῦ περ δὴ δύο παῖδε λάβε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
εἰν ἐνὶ δίφρῳ ἑόντε, ὁμοῦ δ' ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους·  
ἐκ γάρ σφεας χειρῶν φύγον ἡνία σιγαλόεντα,  
τῷ δὲ κυκηθήτην. ὁ δ' ἐναντίον ὦρτο λέων ὥς  
'Ατρεΐδης· τῷ δ' αὖτ' ἐκ δίφρου γονναζέσθην· 130  
“ζώγρει, Ἀτρέος υἱέ, σὺ δ' ἄξια δέξαι ἄποινα·  
πολλὰ δ' ἐν Ἀντιμάχοιο δόμοις κειμήλια κεῖται,

119. ἰδρώουσα J. || κρατεροῦ CPQT. 123. δαΐφρονος : κακόφρονος Zen.,  
γρ. Lips. 126. λάβε παῖδε δύο Lips. 127. ἑόντε (Aph. ?) L *supr.* : ἐόντας  
Ω. 128. σφῶν G Mosc. 3. || φύγον Ar. Ω : φύγεν T<sup>1</sup> (?; *supr.* : διὰ τοῦ ε φύγεν)  
(Harl. a *supr.*) and ap. Did. 129. κυκηθήτην Q. || ἐναντίον Ar. Ω : others  
ἐναντίος Did. 131. ἀτρώς GRU Harl. a. 132. δ' ἐν : γὰρ J *supr.* || ἀντι-  
μάχοιο δόμοις : ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς DRU Mosc. 3, γρ. Eust. : ἀντιμάχου πατρὸς  
Zen.

120. χραισμήσαι has the construction of ἀμύνειν, cf. A 567.

122. The constr. of the line is partly forgotten during the long parenthesis 123-5, and resumed in a slightly different form in 126.

123. μάλιστα goes with οὐκ εἵασκε, chiefly dissuaded, 124 being a parenthesis. The allusion (see 140) is to the debate following the embassy of Menelaos and Odysseus mentioned in Γ 205 ff. For δαΐφρονος see note on Ω 325.

124. δεδεγμένος, according to the Homeric use, must mean *expecting*, not 'having received.' Cf. Δ 107, etc.

127. ἑόντε : see note on 103. ὁμοῦ δ' ἔχον seems to mean 'they were both trying to drive,' i.e. the charioteer had lost command of the horses and the παραβάτης was trying to help him get them under control, as is explained by the γάρ in 128. So Schol. A. σφεας then really means only one of them, sc. the charioteer who had lost the reins ; but the poet is engaged with the picture of the moment in which both are equally concerned, and does not care to express accurately what has gone before. (Others take ὁμοῦ ἔχον to mean 'they were

accustomed to drive both at once,' and then γάρ 128 must explain λάβε. But apart from the difficulties of such a proceeding, it is hard to see why they should go out to battle at all if neither of them meant to fight.)

129. τῷ δέ, the horses. Cf. Γ 489 κυκῆθησαν δέ οἱ ἵπποι.

130. γονναζέσθην naturally means no more than 'besought,' and does not indicate an attitude which could not have been possible in the diminutive car of the Homeric heroes. Cf. I 583 γοννούμενος. With the ordinary reading Ἀτρεΐδης we have a purely spondaic rhythm, cf. B 544, Ψ 221, ο 334, φ 15, χ 175. The grammarians called such a line δωδεκασύλλαβος (see App. Crit. on E 500). But it is probable that all these cases arise only from the contraction of originally open syllables, and are to be corrected. Here we may read not only Ἀτρεΐδης but δίφρου. (See van L. *Ench.* p. 4, and for the other side Ludwig *Ar.* ii. 314.)

131-5 = Z 46-50, q.v. The short form δόμοις is, however, suspicious, and we ought perhaps to read Ἀντιμάχου πατρὸς with Zen.

χαλκός τε χρυσός τε πολύκμητός τε σίδηρος·  
τῶν κέν τοι χαρίσαιοτο πατὴρ ὑπερείσι' ἄποινα,  
εἰ νῶϊ ζωοὺς πεπύθοιτ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν."

135

ὥς τῷ γε κλαίοντε προσαυδήτην βασιλῆα  
μειλιχίοις ἐπέεσσιν· ἀμείλικτον δ' ὅπ' ἄκουσαν·  
"εἰ μὲν δὴ Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος νίεες ἐστόν,  
ὅς ποτ' ἐνὶ Τρώων ἀγορῇ Μενέλαον ἄνωγεν,  
ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα σὺν ἀντιθέωι Ὀδυσῇ,  
αὐθι κατακτεῖναι μηδ' ἐξέμεν ἄψ ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς,  
νῦν μὲν δὴ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀεικέα τίσετε λῶβην."

140

ἦ καὶ Πείσανδρον μὲν ἄφ' ἵππων ὥσε χαμαῖζε  
δουρὶ βαλὼν πρὸς στήθος· ὁ δ' ὕπτιος οὐδας ἔρεισεν.  
Ἴππόλοχος δ' ἀπόρουσε· τὸν αὖ χαμαὶ ἐξενάριξε,  
χεῖρας ἀπὸ ξίφεϊ τμήξας ἀπὸ τ' αὐχένα κόψας,  
ὄλμον δ' ὥς ἔσσευε κυλίνδεσθαι δι' ὁμίλου.

145

135. ζωῷ Aph. || πεπίθοιτ' U. 136. προσαυδήτην L. 138. θαΐφρονος :  
κακόφρονος Zen. 142. τοῦ : οὐ Zen. : τινὲς cφου Did. 143. ἄφ' : ἐφ' R<sup>1</sup>.  
144. οὐδας ἔρεισεν Ar. P : οὐδεὶ ἐρείσθη Ω. 145. αὐ : δ' αὐ RU. 146.  
τμήξας : πλήξας Ar. and αἱ πλείους. τ' : δ' A *supr.* 147. κυλίνδεσθαι :  
κυλινδόμενος T (*supr.* n over c).

136. The form **προσαυδήτην** is found again in the mss. in X 90. Otherwise this imperf. always has the augment.

137. Cf. Φ 98. The contrast of course is between **ἀ-μείλικ-τον** and **μειλιχ-ίοις**, *they spoke him gently, but heard ungentle answer*.

138. The reading of Zen., **κακόφρονος**, may be right here, in the mouth of Agamemnon, but not in 123 above. For **ἦ** with synizesis we should perhaps read **δ'** (see on A 340), though the mss. here shew no trace of it.

140. **ἀγγελίην ἐλθόντα**, *when he came on an embassy*. See note on Γ 206, and compare Ω 235 **ἐξελθὲν ἐλθόντι**.

141. **ἐξέμεν** (i.e. **ἐξέμεν** 2 aor. infin. of **ἐξίμι**), *to let him go*.

142. **τοῦ πατρός** Ar. ; but Zen. read **οὐ πατρός**, '*your father*,' which is certainly right. See App. A. The other variant, **σφοῦ**, is, as Brugmann remarks, an attempt either to mend the metre, or more probably to 'correct' at least the number, if not the person, of the pronoun.

144. **οὐδας ἔρεισεν**, *pressed the earth*, lay a dead weight upon it. Cf. N 131 = II 215 **ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε**. It must be admitted that this is not a very

natural phrase, but it has the authority of Ar. and P ; the vulg. **οὐδεὶ ἐρείσθη** is at first sight simpler, but does not really give a better sense ; *leant on the ground* is not a good phrase for a man flat on his back. Compare E 309 **ἐρείσατο χεὶρὶ παχεῖνι γαίης**, where the verb is properly used. This seems therefore to be a case for preference of the harder lection. In H 145, however, **οὐδεὶ ἐρείσθη** is the only recorded reading ; the variation may have existed from the earliest days. See also M 192.

145. **ἀπόρουσε**, *leapt down*, to escape. **τὸν αὐ**, but him, see 104. **χαμαί**, opposed to the death of his brother on the chariot.

147. Compare N 204 **ἦκε δέ μιν σφαιρηδὸν ἐλιζάμενος**, Ξ 413 **στρόμβον δ' ὥς ἔσσευε**. **ὄλμος** is explained by Schol. A as **κοῖλος λίθος εἰς ὃν κόπτουσιν ὄσπρια** (pulse) καὶ ἄλλα τινά, i.e. a mortar. The word is used of a *wooden* mortar in Hes. Opp. 423 (cf. Herod. i. 200), and of a kneading trough Ar. *Vesp.* 238. This rather suggests that the meaning here is a round block not of stone but of wood, the *trunk* of a tree, applied, as with us, to the headless and armless body. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* x. 555 *truncumque repentem*

τοὺς μὲν ἔασ', ὁ δ' ὅθι πλεῖσται κλονέοντο φάλαγγες,  
 τῇ ῥ' ἐνόρουσ', ἅμα δ' ἄλλοι ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί.  
 πεζοὶ μὲν πεζοὺς ὄλεκον φεύγοντας ἀνάγκῃ, 150  
 ἵππεῖς δ' ἵππηας, ὑπὸ δέ σφισιν ὦρτο κούρη  
 ἐκ πεδίου, τὴν ὦρσαν ἐρίγδουποι πόδες ἵππων,  
 χαλκῶι δηϊόωντες. ἀτὰρ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 αἶν ἀποκτείνων ἔπετ' Ἀργείοισι κελεύων.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε πῦρ αἰδηλον ἐν ἀξύλῳ ἐμπέσῃ ὕλῃ· 155  
 πάντῃ τ' εἰλυφόων ἄνεμος φέρει, οἱ δέ τε θάμνοι  
 πρόρριζοι πίπτουσιν ἐπειγόμενοι πυρὸς ὀρμῇ·  
 ὧς ἄρ' ὑπ' Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι πῖπτε κάρηνα  
 Τρώων φευγόντων, πολλοὶ δ' ἐριαύχενες ἵπποι  
 κεῖν' ὄχεα κροτάλιζον ἀνὰ πτολέμοιο γεφύρας, 160  
 ἡνιόχους ποθέοντες ἀμύμονας· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ  
 κείατο γύπεσσι πολὺ φίλτεροι ἢ ἀλόχοισιν.  
 Ἔκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεὺς ἔκ τε κούρης  
 ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασῆς ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ·

151. ἱππεῖς: ἱππᾱες DU Harl. d, Par. c g. || ἱππᾱας: ἱππᾱς Par. g: ἱππᾱ\*\*  
 P (ac in ras.). || σφισιν: σφιν GJPR. 152. τὴν ῥ' H. || ὥσαν P<sup>1</sup>. 153.  
 δηϊόοντες G. || αὐτὰρ H. 156. φέροι Mosc. 3, Par. g: γρ. στρέφει Eust. 157.  
 ἐπειγόμενοι Ar. (others ἐπειγομένου?). 158. ὑπ': ἐπ' P. 162. φίλτεροι:  
 φέρτεροι T.

*provolsens.* F' ἔσσειεν Brandreth and van L.

151. The form ἱππεῖς is not Homeric. Lehrs and Brandreth conj. ἱππῆες δ' ἵππηας, ὑπὸ σφισι δ' ὦρτο, which has support in the variant ἱππῆες of several mss. The corruption may be explained from the old ἸΠΠΕΣ wrongly transliterated ἱππεῖς, and the order of σφισι δέ then inverted in order to restore the syllable thus lost. But it must be admitted that some suspicion attaches to 150-2. χαλκῶι δηϊόωντες cannot belong to πόδες ἵππων—it will hardly be maintained that the heroes used horse-shoes of bronze—but must be referred to ἵππηες, the intervening words being a very awkward parenthesis. ἐρίγδουπος is an epithet elsewhere reserved for Zeus, though ἐρίδουπος occurs in Ω and Od. as an epithet of the αἰθουσα, and in Υ 50, κ 515, of rivers.

155. A very similar comparison recurs in T 490-2. Various explanations of ἄζυλος are offered by the scholia. (1) θρωύδης, i.e. full of undergrowth only, with no timber trees. (2) πολύζυλλον,

with 'ἀ- intensive.' (3) *untimbered* in the sense ἀφ' ἧς οὐδεὶς ἐξυλίστατο, *incaduvus*, for which sense Hes. is quoted (fr. 227 Rzach τῇδε γὰρ ἀξυλῇ κατεπύθετο κήλεα (?) νηών). The word is used by Herodotos in the sense of 'timberless,' which is in favour of (1). But Schulze suggests that ἀ=ἅμα, so that ἄζυλος=σύνδενδρος, *thickly wooded*, which seems the most satisfactory (Q. E. p. 497).

156. εἰλυφόων: here and Hes. *Theog.* 692 only; but cf. T 492 εἰλυφάω (with ὕ). If, as seems likely, the word comes from εἰλύνω, it should be *Feilufóων*.

157. ἐπειγόμενοι, cf. Φ 362, *assailed*.

158. κάρηνα, i.e. persons; a periphrastic use. Cf. 309, I 407, and Φ 336.

160. κείν', i.e. *kená*, with accent thrown back on account of the apostrophe. πτολέμοιο γεφύρας: see Δ 371.

162. Ironical, *more delightful to the vultures than to their own wives*. Similar touches of savage humour will be found in 395, 453.

163-4. This action of Zeus seems quite out of place here, and inconsistent with his message in 186 sqq. ὕπαγε is used



Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἔπετο σφεδανὸν Δαναοῖσι κελεύων. 165  
 οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἴλου σῆμα παλαιοῦ Δαρδανίδαο,  
 μέσσον καὶ πεδίον, παρ' ἔρινεον ἑσσεύοντο  
 ἰέμενοι πόλιος· ὁ δὲ κεκληγὼς ἔπετ' αἰεὶ  
 Ἀτρεΐδης, λύθρῳ δὲ παλάσσετο χεῖρας ἀάπτους.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Σκαίᾱς τε πύλας καὶ φηγὸν ἵκοντο, 170  
 ἔνθ' ἄρα δὴ ἵσταντο καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀνέμιμνον.  
 οἱ δ' ἔτι καὶ μέσσον πεδίον φοβέοντο βόες ὥς,  
 ἅς τε λέων ἐφόβησε μολῶν ἐν νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶι  
 πάσας· τῇ δέ τ' ἰὴ ἀναφαίνεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος·  
 τῆς δ' ἐξ αὐχέν' ἔαξε λαβὼν κρατεροῖσιν ὁδοῦσι 175  
 πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δέ θ' αἶμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει·  
 ὥς τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδης ἔφεπε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 αἰὲν ἀποκτείνων τὸν ὀπίστατον, οἱ δὲ φέβοντο·  
 πολλοὶ δὲ πρηνεῖς τε καὶ ὑπτιοὶ ἔκπεσον ἵππων  
 Ἀτρεΐδεω ὑπὸ χερσὶ· περιπρὸ γὰρ ἔγχεϊ θύεν. 180  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τάχ' ἔμελλεν ὑπὸ πτόλιν αἰπὺ τε τεῖχος  
 ἵζεσθαι, τότε δὴ ῥα πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε

165. σφεδανόν Ar. (not σφεδανών? cf. Φ 542) Ω. 167. καππεδίου P.  
 168. πόλιος R: πόλνος U: πόλεως Ω. || αἰεὶ G. 170. τε om. G. || ἵκοντο :  
 ἵκανον H, γρ. Harl. a. 173. ἐν : ἐκ G. 175. δ' om. G. || κρατεροῖσιν P.  
 176. δέ ε' : δέ ε J. 179-80 ἀθ. Ar., om. Zen. : 180 ἀθ. Aph. 180. ἀτρεΐδαο  
 G. || εὐθίεν A. 181. ἐμελλον CGHJPQT Lips. Harl. a, Vr. a<sup>2</sup>.

only here in the sense ἄγε ὑπ(ἐκ) βελέων. The two lines seem to be an addition intended to account for the absence of Hector at this moment. Erhardt would include the whole of 163-215 in this judgment. It was obviously necessary, after Hector's triumphs in Θ, to explain why he does not now meet Agamemnon; in the original Μῆνις he had not yet appeared at all on the scene, so the difficulty was not felt. In that case 163-4 would be an earlier account of Hector's absence, the message of Iris (181-215) a more elaborate and later version.

165. σφεδανόν: only here, II 372, Φ 542 (q.v.). It appears to be cognate in origin and sense with σφόδρα.

166. οἱ δέ, the Trojans. For the tomb of Ilos see K 415; for the fig-tree Z 433, X 145; for the oak-tree (170) E 693.

168. ἰέμενοι (see Δ 138) with the gen. of verbs of 'desiring' and 'aiming'; Ψ 371, 718, etc.; H. G. § 151 c.

169. ἀάπτους: see on A 567.

172. οἱ δέ, others, i.e. stragglers, opposed to the main body.

173. ἀμολγῶι seems to mean 'in the depth of night.' (But see X 317.) The derivation is still doubtful, in spite of numerous conjectures.

174. τῇ ἰῇ: cf. II 173, γ 272, ε 110 ἡ μία, and so the article is used with other numerals almost as a demonstrative, to single out a definite number and contrast them with the larger mass. H. G. § 260 c.

175-6=P 63-4. 178=Θ 342.

179-80 are a very needless repetition of what has already been said several times. πρηνεῖς for πρηνέες is a form which does not occur again. Ar. athetized the couplet *ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Πατρόκλου ἀριστέαν τάξιν ἔχουσι, νῦν δὲ οὐ* (An.). 180 is in fact repeated in II 699, but 179 does not appear elsewhere. Either Aristonikos or his epitomator must have made a mistake.

- Ἴδης ἐν κορυφήισι καθέζετο πιδιέσσης,  
οὐρανόθεν καταβάς· ἔχε δὲ στεροπὴν μετὰ χερσίν.  
Ἴριν δ' ὥτρυνε χρυσόπτερον ἀγγελεύσαν· 185  
“βάσκ' ἴθι, Ἴρι ταχεῖα, τὸν Ἑκτορι μῦθον ἔνισπε.  
ὄφρ' ἂν μὲν κεν ὀραῖ Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν  
θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν ἐναίροντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν,  
τόφρ' ἀναχωρεῖτω, τὸν δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἀνώχθω  
μάρνασθαι δῆιοισι κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην· 190  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κ' ἡ δουρὶ τυπεῖς ἢ βλήμενος ἰῶι  
εἰς ἵππους ἄλεται, τότε οἱ κράτος ἐγγυαλίξω  
κτείνειν, εἰς ὃ κε νῆας ἐυσσέλμους ἀφίκηται  
δύμη τ' ἡέλιος καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ.”  
ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε ποδὴν ὠκέα Ἴρις, 195  
βῆ δὲ κατ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων εἰς Ἴλιον ἱρήν.  
εὖρ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἑκτορα δῖον,  
ἔσταότ' ἐν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασι κολλητοῖσιν·  
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἵσταμένη προσέφη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις·  
“Ἑκτορ υἱὲ Πριάμοιο, Δὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντε, 200  
Ζεὺς με πατὴρ προέηκε τείν τάδε μυθήσασθαι.

183. ἔΝ: ἐκ G. 184. δ' ἄστεροπὴν Ar. (A *supr.*) J[S]T (γρ. καὶ στεροπὴν)  
Harl. d, Par. a f j. 186. φάσκ' ἴθι Lips. || ἐνίσπες A: ἔειπε J. 187. ὄφρ'  
ἄΝ: ὄφρα HPQRT Harl. a. 189. ἀναχωρήτω T. 192. ἐγγυαλίξω R. 194.  
ἔλεοι CR Mosc. 3.

183. ΠΙΔΙΕΣΣΗΣ: only here, = πολυπίδακος. It must come from \*πίδη, of which πίδαξ is a diminutive (cf. πιδάω in Aristotle). Van L. πιδακοέσσης, after Hesych. and Eur. *Andr.* 116.

184. ΟΥΡΑΝΟΘΕΝ, from the summit of Olympus (which, though H. does not identify it with οὐρανός, still, as a mountain, reached into heaven). Here, as in other places, mss. vary between ΔΕ ΣΤΕΡΟΠΗΝ and δ' ἄστεροπὴν. Ar. seems to have held that ἄστεροπή meant not the lightning flash but the 'thunderbolt' as the weapon of Zeus, ὅπερ τινασσόμενον τὴν ἀστραπὴν ἀποτελεῖ (cf. ἄστεροπητής). Both forms of the word are confirmed by the metre, for we have II 298 στεροπηγερέτα, N 242, Ξ 386 ἄστεροπή.

186. ΤΟΝ, *this* (which follows); a very unusual use of the demonstrative ὁ.

187. There are (besides 202 below) five other instances in H. of ἄΝ . . ΚΕΝ together—N 127, Ω 437, ε 361, ζ 259, ι 334, λ 187 (and σ 318 ἦν . . κε). Three of these are in the phrase ὄφρ' ἂν μὲν κε.

The doubts raised by Brandreth, Fick, and van Leeuwen as to the right of ἂν to stand in the text of Homer are naturally intensified when the word is thus purely tautological, and stands out of its proper order (ὄφρ' ἂν μὲν for ὄφρα μὲν ἂν, H. G. §§ 362 ad fin., 365). Nauck writes ἦος (Brandreth εἰος) for ὄφρ' ἂν: in the other cases easier corrections are possible. See also App. D (c 2). If the text is to stand, the line must be of very late date.

189. ἄΛΛΟΝ has the last syll. lengthened by position in the 4th thesis, against the rule.

194. ἱΕΡΟΝ: see notes on A 366, H 282, and p. 592. This promise is not fulfilled, for Patroklos utterly routs the Trojans on the same day. These two lines with 208-9, or at least 194, 209, are probably borrowed from P 454-5, where they are more in place, for they are thereafter accomplished to the letter.

200. υἱέ: see A 459 for the scansion.

201. ΤΕΪΝ = σοί, a form which occurs

ὄφρ' ἂν μὲν κεν ὀράῃς Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιμένα λαῶν  
θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν ἐναίροντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν,  
τόφρ' ὑπόεικε μάχης, τὸν δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἄνωχθι  
μάρνασθαι δήιοισι κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην.

205

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κ' ἦ δουρὶ τυπεῖς ἢ βλήμενος ἰῶι  
εἰς ἵππους ἄλεται, τότε τοι κράτος ἐγγυαλίξει  
κτείνειν, εἰς ὃ κε νῆας ἐυσσέλμους ἀφίκηαι  
δύηι τ' ἡέλιος καὶ ἐπὶ κνέφας ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ."

ἦ μὲν ἄρ' ὥς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη πόδας ὠκέα Ἴρις,  
Ἔκτωρ δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμᾶζε,  
πάλλων δ' ὀξέα δοῦρα κατὰ στρατὸν ὠιχετο πάντη  
ὀτρύνων μαχέσασθαι, ἔγειρε δὲ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν.

210

οἱ δ' ἐλελίχθησαν καὶ ἐναντίοι ἔσαν Ἀχαιῶν,  
Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φάλαγγας,  
ἀρτύνθη δὲ μάχῃ, στὰν δ' ἀντίοι· ἐν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
πρῶτος ὄρουσ', ἔθελεν δὲ πολλὴν προμάχεσθαι ἀπάντων.

215

ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, μούσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,  
ὅς τις δὴ πρῶτος Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀντίος ἦλθεν  
ἢ αὐτῶν Τρώων ἢ ἐκλειτῶν ἐπικούρων.

220

202. ὄφρ' ἂν : ὄφρα Q Harl. a. 203. ἀναίροντα Lips. 204. ἀπόεικε Vr. A.  
207. εἰς : ἐς Q. || τοι : κοι C<sup>2</sup>GP Harl. a, Vr. A : οἱ C<sup>1</sup>QT Lips. || ἐγγυαλίξει J :  
ἐγγυαλίξω H. 209. ἔλθοι CR Mosc. 3. 210. ἀπέβη κτλ. : ἀπεβήκατο  
μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον G. 212. δοῦρε Harl. a. 213. μαχέεσθαι P Harl. a :  
μάχεσθαι S. || αἰνὴν : αἰπὴν U. 214. ἐναντίον J. 215. δ' ἐτέρωθεν :  
ἐν τισι [δὲ] καὶ αὐτοὶ A. 216. ἐν : ἐκ CDHPU Harl. a : ἂν Q. 219. ἀντίος  
Zen. Aph. Ω : ἀντίον Ar. (A *supr.*) PS Vr. b<sup>2</sup>, Harl. b<sup>1</sup>, Par. a. 220. ἢ ἐ : ἢ καὶ  
G. || κλειτῶν JQT.

elsewhere only in *Od.* The form is 'Doric,' according to Schol. A, and the analogous *ἔν αὐτῶι* is found in the Gortynian inscr. But its occurrence in H. (and *ἔν αὐτῶι* in Hes. *frag.* 31 Rzach) is a proof that it was not solely Doric; *ἐν* is in fact found in Boeotian. The termination is probably formed by analogy from the -ν of *ἡμῶν, ὑμῶν* (Brugm. *Gr.* ii. p. 821).

202-9=187-94, *mutatis mutandis*.

214. *ἐλελίχθησαν*: read δὲ *Fe*λίχθησαν, *wheeled round*. See A 530.

216. *μάχῃ* seems to be used here in a concrete sense, as in old English, of the embattled hosts: *the battle was ranged in order*, i.e. the lines were re-formed. Cf. M 43, O 303. It will be noticed that from *ἐν δ' Ἀγαμέμνων* to 220 the expressions used would naturally apply

only to the opening of the battle (cf. 91-2, and note *πρῶτος* in 219). Erhardt suggests that we have here what was originally a parallel *ἀριστεια* to that beginning with 91-2. It would seem more reasonable, on Erhardt's theory of the addition of 163-215, or rather of 181-215 only (see on 163-4), to suppose that a few lines had been added here from existing material (compare 218-9 with Ξ 508-9, 218=B 484) in order to effect the return to the original story.

218. This appeal to the Muses (cf. B 484) fitly introduces what is really the turning-point of the poem. For now begins, with the wounding of Agamemnon, the disastrous rout of the Greeks which prevails upon Achilles to relax his anger and send Patroklos to the rescue.

Ἴφιδάμας Ἀντηνορίδης ἥς τε μέγας τε,  
 ὃς τράφη ἐν Θρήικῃ ἐριβόλακι, μητέρι μῆλων·  
 Κισσεὺς τὸν γ' ἔθρεψε δόμοις ἐνι τυτθὸν ἐόντα  
 μητροπάτωρ, ὃς τίκτε Θεανὸ καλλιπάρηιον·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἦβης ἐρικυδέος ἵκετο μέτρον,  
 αὐτοῦ μιν κατέρυκε, δίδου δ' ὃ γε θυγατέρα ἦν·  
 γήμας δ' ἐκ θαλάμοιο μετὰ κλέος ἵκετ' Ἀχαιῶν  
 σὺν δυοκαίδεκα νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, αἵ οἱ ἔποντο.  
 τὰς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐν Περκώτῃ λίπε νῆας εἵσας,  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ πεζὸς ἐὼν εἰς Ἴλιον εἰληλούθει·  
 ὃς ῥα τότε Ἀτρεΐδῳ Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀντίος ἦλθεν.  
 οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ σχεδὸν ἦσαν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν ἰόντες,  
 Ἀτρεΐδης μὲν ἄμαρτε, παρὰ δέ οἱ ἐτράπετ' ἔγχος,  
 Ἴφιδάμας δὲ κατὰ ζώνην θώρηκος ἔνερθε

225

229

222. ἔΝ : ἐνὶ P Lips. || ἐράκη J Harl. a. || μῆλῶν : θηρῶν Zen. 223.  
 ΚΙΣΣΕΥΣ J (γρ. ΚΙΣΣΑC) (R *supr.*) S: ΚΙΣΣΑC Ω. || ΤὸΝ Γ' : ΤΟΝΔ' JR. || ἔνερεψε Mor.  
 226. αὐτῷ Harl. a (γρ. τοῦ). 229. περκώπῃ J. 230. ἐὼν : ἰὼν (A *supr.*  
 H *supr.*) Harl. b, Par. h, Ar. διχῶs. 231. ἀτρεΐδαο P<sup>1</sup> (-eo P<sup>2</sup>) R. | ἀντίον (A  
*supr.*) P Harl. a<sup>1</sup>. 233. παρὰ : παρ DQRU. 234. θώρακος GR Harl. a.

221. The name is introduced *asyndetically*, just as in A 9.

222. τράφῃ ἐν should be τράφεν ἐν or τράφ' ἐνί, see on B 661. ἐνί in P may be a relic of the correct reading.

223. Κισσεύς, though poorly attested here, is the form adopted by the later myth; Κισσῆς could only be a non-Homeric contracted form for Κισσέας, cf. Ερμῆς.

224. μητροπάτωρ: it will be seen that Iphidamas thus married his maternal aunt (as did Diomedes, E 412), the sister of his mother Theano, the priestess of Athene in Troy, and wife of Antenor (Z 298).

225. ἐρικυδέος, either because it gives a youth the power of attaining martial glory, or more simply because it is the heyday of life. Cf. Mimn. 5. 5 ἡβη τιμήσσα.

226. αὐτοῦ μιν κατέρυκε, his grandfather *tried* (imperf.) *to keep him at home* (lit. there where he was). δίδου, *gave him in marriage* (for a consideration; see 243-5); the imperf. indicates that δίδου is subordinate, = 'by giving' (see H. G. § 71).

227. ἐκ θαλάμοιο, straight from the

bridal chamber. μετὰ κλέος Ἀχ., 'after the fame of the Achaeans,' i.e. he went in the direction whence came the rumour of their expedition, as though to find it out. Cf. l. 21, and N 364.

229. Perkote, a town on the Hellespont in the N. of the Troad; B 835, O 548. As he came from the E. of Thrace across the Propontis, this would be the nearest point to Troy that he could reach; for the Greeks held the mouth of the Hellespont.

233. Schol. A remarks that this is the only instance in the *Iliad* of a single combat where the warrior who has the first cast and misses his shot still wins in the end.

234. ζώνην, *waist*, as B 479. θώρηκος ἔνερθε is usually explained *at the lower part of the breastplate*, a sense which the words will not bear. They can only mean 'beneath the *thorax*'; but it is not easy to see what sense θώρηξ has. It is certainly not a breastplate, for the blow hits the belt, which would go over the lower part of a cuirass. Reichel takes it to mean 'under his armour,' i.e. the shield ('under his guard,' we might say); but see App. B, iii. 3.



νύξ', ἐπὶ δ' αὐτὸς ἔρεισε βαρείῃ χειρὶ πιθήσας· 235  
 οὐδ' ἔτορε ζωστήρα παναίολον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὶν  
 ἀργύρῳ ἀντομένη μόλιβος ὥς ἐτράπετ' αἰχμῇ.  
 καὶ τό γε χειρὶ λαβὼν εὐρὺ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων  
 ἔλκ' ἐπὶ οἷ μεμαῶς ὥς τε λῖς, ἐκ δ' ἄρα χειρὸς 240  
 σπάσσατο· τὸν δ' ἄορι πλῆξ' αὐχένα, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα.  
 ὥς ὁ μὲν αὖθι πεσὼν κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνου  
 οἰκτρός, ἀπὸ μνηστῆς ἀλόχου, ἀστοῖσιν ἀρήγων,  
 κουριδῆς, ἧς οὐ τι χάριν ἶδε, πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκε·  
 πρῶθ' ἑκάτον βοῦς δῶκεν, ἔπειτα δὲ χίλι' ὑπέστη, 245  
 αἶγας ὁμοῦ καὶ ὄϊς, τὰ οἱ ἄσπετα ποιμαίνοντο.  
 δὴ τότε γ' Ἀτρεΐδης Ἀγαμέμνων ἐξεΐαριξε,  
 βῆ δὲ φέρων ἀν' ὄμιλον Ἀχαιῶν τεύχεα καλὰ.  
 τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε Κῶων ἀριδείκετος ἀνδρῶν,  
 πρεσβυγενὴς Ἀντηνορίδης, κρατερόν ῥά ἐ πένθος 250  
 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκάλυψε κασιγνήτοιο πεσόντος.  
 στῇ δ' εὐράξ σὺν δουρὶ λαθὼν Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον,

235. ἔρεισε: ἔρυκε P. 237. μόλιβδος Q (R *supr.*) T: μόλυβδος G<sup>2</sup> Vr. A.  
 238. τό γε: τότε D<sup>1</sup>J. || εὐρυκλείων J. 242. ἀλόχοιο C. 243. ἶδε: οἶδε  
 CH. 245. ὄϊας C. 250. πεσόντας J.

235 = P 48. αὐτὸς ἐπέρεισε, i.e. he threw the weight of his whole *body* into the blow, following up his heavy hand.

236. ἔτορε: this form only here; see note on K 267.

237. μόλιβδος: *lead*, named only here; but cf. Ω 80 *μολυβδαίνη*—both times in similes only, as though the poet were aware that the metal was unknown in the heroic age.

238. τό γε, as though ἔγχος or δόρυ, instead of αἰχμῇ, had preceded. The spear being thus caught, Ag. is able to grasp it and drag it towards himself out of Iphidamas' hand. μεμαῶς, *furious* as a lion. Schol. A refers to the legend that wounded lions attempt to tear the spears from the huntsmen's hands.

241. χάλκεον ὕπνον, as though the sleep of death bound a man with bands that he could not break; Virgil's *ferreus somnus*, *Aen.* x. 745.

242. οἰκτρός, an exclamation, like *νήπιος*, *σχήτλιος*. ἀπό, *far* away. ἀστοῖσιν: he was a Trojan, as the son of Antenor, though he had been brought up in Thrace. The word recurs only ν 192.

243. κουριδῆς: see A 114. χάριν: he

saw no return for the *ἔδνα*, or price he had paid to the father for his bride. This passage very clearly shows that marriage was a bargain. See I 146. πολλὰ δέ, i.e. *although* he had paid a large price.

244. πρῶτα, as an immediate payment; ἔπειτα, in instalments from the increase of his herds. Observe χίλια in neut. agreeing κατὰ σύνεσιν only with βοῦς, αἶγας and ὄϊς, perhaps from the general idea of μῆλα or κάρηνα (I 407, Ψ 260) which covers all. See on E 140.

246. ρ': F' Brandreth and van L.

248. ἀριδείκετος (except here and Ξ 320 only in *Od.*), *conspicuous*, 'exalted among men.'

249. πρεσβυγενής, therefore the elder brother of Iphidamas.

250. ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐκάλυψε, as though grief threw a mist over his eyes; a metaphor very naturally suggested by rising tears, P 591, Σ 22, etc. κασιγ. πεσόντος may be gen. after πένθος, but it can hardly be distinguished from a gen. absolute, and is in fact a transitional form; cf. *H. G.* § 246.

251. στῇ εὐράς (O 541), *he came up* (A 197) *on one side*. It looks as though

νύξε δέ μιν κατὰ χεῖρα μέσσην, ἀγκῶνος ἔνερθεν,  
 ἀντικρὺν δὲ διέσχε φαεινοῦ δουρὸς ἀκκῇ.  
 ῥίγησεν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων·  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἀπέληγε μάχης ἡδὲ πτολέμοιο, 255  
 ἀλλ' ἐπόρουσε Κόωνι ἔχων ἀνεμοτρεφὲς ἔγχος.  
 ἦ τοι ὁ Ἴφιδάμαντα κασίγνητον καὶ ὄπατρον  
 ἔλκε ποδὸς μεμαῶς, καὶ αὐτεῖ πάντας ἀρίστους·  
 τὸν δ' ἔλκοντ' ἄν' ὄμιλον ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης  
 οὔτησε ξυστῶι χαλκῆρεϊ, λῦσε δὲ γυῖα· 260  
 τοῖο δ' ἐπ' Ἴφιδάμαντι κάρη ἀπέκοψε παραστάς.  
 ἔνθ' Ἀντήνορος νῆες ὑπ' Ἀτρεΐδῃ βασιλῆϊ  
 πότμον ἀναπλήσαντες ἔδυν δόμον Αἰῖδος εἰσω.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν  
 ἔγχει τ' ἄορι τε μεγάλοισι τε χερμαδίοισιν, 265  
 ὄφρα οἱ αἰμ' ἔτι θερμὸν ἀνήνοθεν ἐξ ὠτειλῆς.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἔλκος ἐτέρσεται, παύσατο δ' αἶμα,  
 ὀξείαι δ' ὀδύναι δύνον μένος Ἀτρεΐδαο.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ὠδίνουσαν ἔχῃ βέλος ὀξὺ γυναικά,  
 δριμύ, τό τε προῖεῖσι μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι, 270

252. ἀγκῶνος R. || ὑπερθεῖν (γρ. ἔνερθεν) JT. 254. δ' (A *supr.*) RU: τ' Ω.  
 255. ἡδὲ: οὐδὲ P. || πολέμοιο S. 257. ὁ om. C Lips. 258. ἀρίστους:  
 εἰταίρους T, γρ. Harl. a. 261. κάρην G *supr.* 263. ἔδυν: ἔβαν CPQST  
 Lips. 267. ἐτέρσατο G<sup>2</sup>. 269. ἔχει Q. 270. τε: τοι C: γε J Harl. a,  
 Vr. A. || μογοστόκον J.

εἰράξ were a naval expression, on the  
 'broadside.' For the form cf. θ 371  
 μουνάξ; the termination is perhaps an  
 instrumental form conn. with -άκis of  
 πολλάκis, etc.

252. χεῖρα, the forearm, as often.

253. διέσχε, passed right through; E 100, etc.

256. ἀνεμοτρεφές, 'a spear of grain  
 storm-strengthened on a windy site'  
 (Tennyson). The buffeting of the  
 winds toughened the grain of the wood.  
 Cf. P 55 with note. The word is applied  
 to a wave in O 625.

257. ὄπατρον (also M 371), son of the  
 same father. For the ὁ- cf. note on  
 B 765 ὀτρυχας οἰέτας. κασίγνητον is a  
 general term covering fraternity on either  
 side, and is specialized by the addition  
 of ὄπατρον.

259. τόν, Koön: οὔτησε, sc. Ἀγα-  
 μέμνων.

263. ἔδυν, plur. like ἔβαν, στάν (l.  
 216), φθάν (51), etc.

264. ἐπεπωλεῖτο, ranged in hostile  
 sense. It is also used of a general re-  
 viewing his army, Δ 231, etc.

266. So long as the hot blood still  
 gushed from the wound, before painful  
 inflammation had set in. ἀν-ήνοσ-εν,  
 a redupl. form from ἀνθ- = ἀνθ-, see  
 on B 219 ἐπενήνοθε. For the use of the  
 word cf. ἐπανθῆν, which is quite common  
 in later Greek, from Herod. down, in the  
 sense to appear on the surface, see Lex.

267. ἐτέρσεται, began (imperf.) to dry.

268. δέ marks the apodosis.

269. βέλος ἔχῃ, metaphorically, 'fear  
 took hold upon them and pain as of a  
 woman in travail.' Compare also Θ 513  
 βέλος πέσσειν, in the sense of wound,  
 and Pind. N. i. 48 ἐκ δ' ἄρ' ἄτλατον βέλος  
 πλάξε γυναικάs in a different sense, but  
 perhaps with a reminiscence. The pangs  
 are here personified as darts shot into  
 the body, just as in the phrase πένθει  
 βεβολήατο (I 3) of mental anguish.

270. μογοστόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι, both words

Ἥρης θυγατέρες πικρὰς ὠδύνας ἔχουσαι,  
ὥς ὀξεῖ' ὀδύναι δύνον μένος Ἀτρεΐδαο.  
ἐς δίφρον δ' ἀνόρουσε καὶ ἡνίοχῳ ἐπέτελλε  
νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῆσιςιν ἐλαυνέμεν· ἦχθετο γὰρ κῆρ.  
ἦυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον Δαναοῖσι γεγωνώς·

275

“ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες,  
ὕμεις μὲν νῦν νηυσὶν ἀμύνετε ποιντοπόροισι  
φύλοπιν ἀργαλήην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐμὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς  
εἶασε Τρώεσσι πανημέριον πολεμίζειν.”

ὧς ἔφαθ', ἡνίοχος δ' ἵμασεν καλλίτριχας ἵππους  
νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς, τὼ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην·  
ἄφρεον δὲ στήθεα, ραίνοντο δὲ νέρθε κοινίη,  
τειρόμενον βασιλῆα μάχης ἀπάνευθε φέροντες.

280

Ἔκτωρ δ' ὥς ἐνόησ' Ἀγαμέμνονα νόσφι κίοντα,  
Τρῳσὶ τε καὶ Λυκίοισιν ἐκέκλετο μακρὸν αὔσας·

285

“Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Δάρδανοι ἀγχιμαχῆται,  
ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θοῦριδος ἀλκῆς.

271. θυγατέρας D. || ὠδύναις: ὀδύναις P: ὠδύναις Q. 272. ὀξεῖαι DR.  
273. δίφρον τ' J. 274. ἐλαύνειν ADJRTU. || γὰρ: δὲ Harl. a. 277. μὲν:  
περ P. || Νῦν om. DQT. 280. φάθ' DU. 281. ἀέκοντε J Harl. a, Lips.:  
ἄκοντε Ω. 282. ραίνετο Q. 283. φέροντε RS. 284. ἐνόησε(ν) JP.  
287. δὲ om. P. || οὐρύριδος: οὐρ man. 2 in ras. P.

of doubtful origin. The first is generally derived from *μόγος*, and explained 'helping in *painful labour*.' But this does not explain the *σ*, which is probably the relic of an acc. plur., cf. A 238 *δικασ-πόλος*; hence lit. *pangs - generating* (Brugm. *Gr.* i. 173). L. Meyer divides *μογο-στόκος* and explains *pung-staying* (root *stak*, a secondary of *sta*?). *Εἰλέσθαι* (plur. here and T 119 only; sing. II 187, T 103, τ 188), according to the old explanation 'the comers,' i.e. the goddesses that come in the hour of need; compare the forms Ἑλευθώ, Εἰλύθαια, Εἰλύθαια. Fäsi explains it as a personification of 'the woman's time that is come,' comparing John xvi. 21 *ἦλθεν ἡ ὥρα αὐτῆς*. Schulze has a full discussion of the word in *Q. E.* 259 ff. He also derives from the same root, but in a causal sense, *they that make the child come forth*. Fick connects with *ελευθερος* the goddesses that *liberate* from pangs.

271. Ἥρης, because she presides over marriage. ἔχουσai, *having in charge*, or

perhaps, continuing the material conception of the preceding lines, *holding in their hands*.

272. ὀξεῖ', i.e. ὀξεῖαι, an elision which nowhere else occurs. Bentley conj. ὀξεῖ' ὀδύνῃ δύνειν, which does not suit 268. It is a question whether this line should not be omitted, a comma being put at the end of 268 and δ' in 269 being dropped. See Cobet *M. C.* p. 375.

277. Observe how Agamemnon, as usual, gives way to despondency at the first reverse, and thinks only of danger to the ships, although he has hitherto been driving the Trojans right up to their city. Cf. I 27, Ξ 65-80. The variant *περ* for *μὲν* is more forcible, and is very likely right.

282. The double synzesis here is intolerable. Various conjectures have been proposed: *στήθεα δ' ἀφραον* (Nauck), *ἀφρεῖτην* (von Christ), *ἡφρίζον* (van L.; cf. Soph. *El.* 719).

284. Hector recognizes the moment at which Zeus has promised him victory (191).

οἶχετ' ἀνὴρ ὤριστος, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγ' εὖχος ἔδωκε  
 Ζεὺς Κρονίδης· ἀλλ' ἰθὺς ἐλαύνετε μώνυχας ἵππους  
 ἰφθίμων Δαναῶν, ἵν' ὑπέρτερον εὖχος ἄρσηθε." 290

ὥς εἰπὼν ὥτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε πού τις θηρητὴρ κύνας ἀργιόδοντας  
 σεύημι ἐπ' ἀγροτέρῳι συὶ καπρίῳι ἢ ἐλέοντι,  
 ὥς ἐπ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν σεύε Τρώας μεγαθύμους  
 Ἐκτωρ Πριαμίδης, βροτολογίῳ ἴσος Ἀρηϊ. 295  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐν πρώτοισι μέγα φρονέων ἐβεβήκει,  
 ἐν δ' ἔπεσ' ὑσμῖνι ὑπεραεῖ ἴσος ἀέλλῃ,  
 ἢ τε καθαλλομένη ἰοειδέα πόντον ὀρίνει.

ἐνθα τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον ἐξενάριζεν  
 Ἐκτωρ Πριαμίδης, ὅτε οἱ Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν; 300  
 Ἀσαῖον μὲν πρῶτα καὶ Αὐτόνοον καὶ Ὀπίτην  
 καὶ Δόλοπα Κλυτίδην καὶ Ὀφέλτιον ἠδ' Ἀγέλαον  
 Αἴσυμνόν τ' Ὠρόν τε καὶ Ἰππόνοον μενεχάρμην.  
 τοὺς ἄρ' ὃ γ' ἡγεμόνας Δαναῶν ἔλεν, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 πληθύν· ὥς δ' ὁπότε νέφεα Ζέφυρος στυφελίξει 305  
 ἀργεστῶ Νότιοι, βαθείη λαίλαπι τύπτων,

290. ὑπέρτεροι Ar. || ἄρῃτε U. 291. ὥτρυνε: ὤτρυνε P. 292. θηρητὴρ H. 293. σεύει C. || κάρπω(ι) J (S *supr.*) Vr. A, Mosc. 3. 294. ἐπ': μετ' R. 297. ὑπεραεῖ: ἐν τισι γρ. ὑπὲρ οὐρεος Δι. 298. ὀρίνοι T. 299. ὕστερον P. 300. ὅτε . . ἔδωκεν: βροτολογίῳ ἴσος Ἀρηϊ A (γρ. as text). 301. ἀσσαῖον GLRS. 305. ὥς δ' JRU: ὥς Ω. || ὁπότε ἂν H. || ζέφυρος νέφεα PQS. || στυφελίζει P: στυφελίζει CR.

288. ὤριστος (= ὁ ἄριστος): see note on Z 260. Here P. Knight conj. ὄχ' ἄριστος, Brandr. ὁς ἄριστος (cf. H 50, N 313). μέγα: see on E 285.

290. ὑπέρτερον forms part of the predicate, 'that ye may obtain your boast *in victory*,' or perhaps '*exalted above the boast of the Greeks*.' Cf. M 437, O 491 κῦδος ὑπέρτερον = *glory of victory*. But Ar. read ὑπέρτεροι.

292. πού is nowhere else used in this way in a simile. ἀργιόδοντας is elsewhere used only of boars.

297. ὑπεραεῖ, *blowing from on high*, cf. ξ 253 ἀκραεῖ; an expression very natural to men who were accustomed to the sudden squalls which 'leap down' upon coasting ships beneath the steep shores of Thrace and the Greek islands.

298. ἰοειδέα, *blue* (or rather perhaps *dark*), like violets. The word occurs elsewhere only in *Od.*

299. For the question cf. II 692; it is a rhetorical figure analogous to the apostrophe of 218, and indicates that such a vast number were slain that it is no easy matter to name them.

305. Bentley's ὥς δ', which now has ms. support, is decidedly preferable to the vulg. ὥς with comma after πληθύν—a far less Homeric way of introducing a long simile.

306. ἀργεστῶ: here and Φ 334 an epithet of Νότος, *bringing white clouds*, apparently. Cf. Horace's *albus Notus*, which generally brings clouds, though it often *deterget nubila caelo*. Hector is compared to a gale suddenly springing up from a fresh quarter and driving away the clouds which previously covered the sky. Thus the gen. Νότιοι means '*brought by the S. wind*,' like B 397 κύματα παντοίων ἀνέμων. In Hes. *Theog.* 379 Ἀργέστης is the name of an easterly



πολλὸν δὲ τρόφι κῦμα κυλινδεται, ὑψόσε δ' ἄχνη  
σκίδνεται ἐξ ἀνέμοιο πολυπλάγκτοιο ἰωῆς·

ὥς ἄρα πυκνὰ κάρηνα ὑφ' Ἑκτορι δάμνατο λαῶν.

ἐνθά κε λοιγὸς ἔην καὶ ἀμήχανα ἔργα γένοντο,

310

καὶ νύ κεν ἐν νήεσσι πέσον φεύγοντες Ἀχαιοί,

εἰ μὴ Τυδεΐδῃ Διομήδεϊ κέκλετ' Ὀδυσσεύς·

“Τυδεΐδῃ, τί παθόντε λελάσμεθα θούριδος αἰκῆς;

ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρο, πέπον, παρ' ἐμ' ἵστασο· δὴ γὰρ ἔλεγχος

ἔσσεται, εἴ κεν νῆας ἔλῃ κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ.”

315

τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·

“ἦ τοι ἐγὼ μενέω καὶ τλήσομαι· ἀλλὰ μίνυνθα

ἡμέων ἔσσεται ἦδος, ἐπεὶ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς

Τρῳσὶν δὴ βόλεται δοῦναι κράτος ἡέ περ ἡμῖν.”

307. πολλόν τε P. 308. πολυπλάγκτοιο DGHQR<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup>. 309. κάρηνα PR: καρήνας Ω. || δάμνατο P. 310. ἔργ' ἐγένοντο P. || γένοιτο S (*supr.* N). 312. om. R<sup>1</sup>. 315. αἶ κε C. || ἔλοι P. || εἴ κεν . . ἔκτωρ: τινὲς εἴ κεν τρῶες <ἀγαυοὶ Ludw.> νῆας ἔλῳσι ἐπεὶ καὶ τρῳαὶ δὴ βούλεται (*sic*: not βέλεται) Schol. T. 316. After this *add.* διογενὲς λαερτιάδῃ πολυμήχαν' ὀδυσεῦ JRT<sup>m</sup> (Rhodos). 317. στήσομαι QT (*supr.* τλήσομαι γρ.) (Harl. a *supr.*). 318. εἶδος G. 319. τρῳαὶν δὴ: τρῳαὶν Par. c: τρῳαί γε G: τρῳαὶ δὲ Bar. Mor. || βόλεται Ar. AR<sup>1</sup>: βούλῃται Par. d: βούλεται ἄν Mor. Bar.: βούλεται Ω.

wind, in other later writers of a NW. wind (Seaton in *C. R.* iii. p. 220). βαθείην perhaps means *lofty*, reaching from earth to sky; cf. note on E 142. But Nauck conj. βαρείην.

307. τρόφι, *big*; lit. 'nourished to full size.' So τροφόντα O 621, γ 290 (where La R. would read τροφόντο as if = τρέφοντο), and more explicitly ἀνεμοτρεφές O 625; compare Lat. *altus* from *alo*. πολλόν is predicative, *in multitudes*.

308. πολύπλαγκτος occurs elsewhere only in *Od.* of wanderers tossed about from shore to shore. Here it may be transitive, *scattering*; the 'wandering wind' is hardly a Homeric thought. *ἰωῆς*: Δ 276.

309. κάρηνα is preferable to the vulg. καρήναθ', for κάρηνα (only the plur. occurs in H.) is always used in the metaphorical sense: (1) *individuals*, I 407, Δ 158, 500, Ψ 260, and νεκῶν ἀμεινὰ κάρηνα in *Od.*; (2) summits of mountains, towers of cities (B 117=I 24). On the other hand, κάρη and all its cases is used only in the literal sense, except in T 5 κρατὸς ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο. The change from κάρηνα to καρήναθ' is very natural, on account both of the hiatus and of the Attic use of κάρη.

310. This line gives an expanded form of the idiomatic *λοιγία ἔργα* A 518, etc.

311. Cf. I 235; the phrase πέσον is here clearly used of the fugitives, not of the assailants.

313. τί παθόντε, 'what has come upon us that we have forgotten?' The expression is an Atticism, and recurs only in the probably post-Homeric ω 106.

314. πέπον: B 235. ἔλεγχος, *disgrace*, else only in plur. ἐλέγχεα, which (except in φ 329, 333) is used only of persons; see Δ 242. Outside H. the word seems to occur only in Pind. *N.* iii. 15. The link with the common ἔλεγχος (masc.) is given in the phrase I 522 μῦθον ἐλέγχεης, *bring to naught*.

318. 'Only for a little while will there be any profit of us,' i.e. we shall not be able to give any lasting pleasure to our friends. Cf. Σ' 80 ἀλλὰ τί μοι τῶν ἡδῶς; ἐπεὶ κτλ. So A 576, etc. ἡδος occurs only in this phrase with ἐπεὶ. The F is neglected; Bentley *ἔσται*, but with bad rhythm.

319. βόλεται (a 234, π 387), a form occurring only here in *Il.* The root βολ- is used to form the present stem without the usual strengthening. τῶν βολόμενον occurs in an Arkadian inscr.,

ἦ καὶ Θυμβραῖον μὲν ἀφ' ἵππων ὥσε χαμαῖζε 320  
 δουρὶ βαλὼν κατὰ μαζὸν ἀριστερόν, αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς  
 ἀντίθεον θεράποντα Μολλίονα τοῖο ἀνακτος.  
 τοὺς μὲν ἔπειτ' εἶσαν, ἐπεὶ πολέμου ἀπέπαυσαν·  
 τὼ δ' ἀν' ὄμιλον ἰόντε κυδοίμεον, ὥς ὅτε κῆπρῳ  
 ἐν κυσὶ θηρευτῆσι μέγα φρονέοντε πέσητον· 325  
 ὥς ὄλεκον Ἰρῶας πάλιν ὀρμένῳ· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ  
 ἀσπασίως φεύγοντες ἀνέπνεον Ἐκτορα δῖον.  
 ἔνθ' ἐλέτην δίφρὸν τε καὶ ἀνέρε δῆμου ἀρίστῳ,  
 υἷε δ'ὲ Μέροπος Περκωσίου, ὃς περὶ πάντων  
 ἦιδεε μαντοσύνας, οὐδὲ οὖς παῖδας ἔασκε 330  
 στείχειν ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα· τὼ δέ οἱ οὐ τι  
 πειθέσθην· κῆρες γὰρ ἄγον μέλανος θανάτοιο.  
 τοὺς μὲν Τυδείδης δουρικλειτὸς Διομήδης  
 θυμοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς κεκαδὼν κλυτὰ τεύχε' ἀπήύρα,  
 Ἴππόδαμον δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ Ὑπείροχον ἐξενάριξεν. 335  
 ἔνθά σφιν κατὰ ἴσα μάχην ἐτάνυσσε Κρονίων  
 ἐξ Ἰδης καθορῶν· τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐνάριζον.  
 ἦ τοι Τυδέος υἱὸς Ἀγαστροφον οὐτάσε δουρὶ  
 Παιονίδην ἥρωα κατ' ἰσχίον· οὐδέ οἱ ἵπποι

323. εἶα<sup>σεν</sup> DHPU<sup>1</sup> Lips. || ἀπέπαυ<sup>σεν</sup> DHU<sup>1</sup>. 325. θηρευτῆρ<sup>σι</sup> Par. c; Ar.  
 διχῶς (cf M 41). || πέσοι<sup>τον</sup> P. 330. ἦιδεε· οἶδεν H. || οὐδὲ οὖς Cant.: ἠδὲ  
 εἰς J: οὐδὲ εἰς Lips. Mor. Vr. b: οὐδ' εἰς Ω. 331. ἔς· εἰς DRU.  
 Οὐ τι: οὐτοι U<sup>1</sup>. 332. μέλανος G. 333. δουρικλειτὸς (δουρὶ κλυτὸς) A  
 (supr. ei) CDQRU Vr. b. 335. ἱππόδαμον D. || ἐξενάριξεν· ἀνείλεν RU.  
 337. τοὶ δ': οἳ δ' GHJPQ: οἱ δ' T: οἱ δ' LS. 339. οὐδέ οἱ H Par. k: οὐδὲ  
 γάρ οἱ Par. c g: ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδὲ γάρ A: οὐ γάρ οἱ Ω.

Collitz 1222. 24. See H. G. § 30. Τρωσὶ  
 κράτος δοῦναι πολὺ βούλεται Brandreth.  
 The verb is followed by **ἡέ** because it  
 expresses *preference*; see A 117, γ 232.

322. **τοῖο ἀνακτος**, so γ 388, φ 62,  
*of him, the lord*. Compare **τοῖο γέροντος**  
 I 469, and H. G. § 261. 3 (a).

324. **κυδοίμεον**, made havoc *of it* (the  
 throng); for the word is transitive in O 136,  
 and does not recur elsewhere in Greek.

326. **πάλιν ὀρμένῳ**, *rallying* (from  
 flight). Ar. read **παλινορμένῳ** in one  
 word like **παλιμπαλγθέντας** in A 59.

327. The order of the words is **ἀσπ.**  
**ἀνέπνεον, φεύγ.** Ἐκτορα.

328. **ἐλέτην** is applied to **δίφρῳ** and  
**ἀνέρε** by a sort of zeugma: *captured* the  
 chariot and *slew* the warriors; the verb  
 suits both clauses, but in slightly different  
 senses. The latter is the regular use of

**αἰρέω** in battle-scenes, the notion of  
*catching, capturing* passing into that of  
*overcoming*, and that again into *slaying*.  
 See Jebb on Soph. *Trach.* 352 **Εἰρυντόν**  
**θ' ἔλοι, τήν θ' ὑψίπυργον Οἰχαλίαν**. **δήμου**  
**ἀρίστῳ**, chiefs in their local community,  
 Αἰαῖος, as we see from B 828-34 (**δῆμον**  
**Ἀπαισοῦ**), where their names, Adrestos  
 and Amphios, are given, and 329-32 are  
 repeated.

334. **κεκαδὼν**, *depriving them*; so  
 φ 153 **κεκαδήσει**. The word may be  
 connected with **χάζομαι** so far as the  
 sense goes (a causal aorist, *making them*  
*give up*, like **λελαχεῖν**); if this is so, the  
 proper form would be **κεχαδών**. See note  
 on Δ 497 **κεκαδόντο**.

336. **μάχην ἐτάνυσε**: see note on  
 H 102.

339. The vulg. **οὐ γάρ οἱ** is evidently

ἐγγὺς ἔσαν προφυγεῖν, ἀάσατο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ. 340  
 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ θεράπων ἀπάνευθ' ἔχεν, αὐτὰρ ὁ πεζὸς  
 θύνε διὰ προμάχων, εἰὼς φίλον ὤλεσε θυμόν.  
 Ἔκτωρ δ' ὅξυν ὀνόησε κατὰ στίχας, ὥρτο δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 κεκληγῶς· ἅμα δὲ Τρώων εἶποντο φάλαγγες.  
 τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ῥίγησε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης, 345  
 αἶψα δ' Ὀδυσσεῖα προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἑόντα·  
 “νῶϊν δὴ τόδε πῆμα κυλίνδεται, ὄβριμος Ἔκτωρ·  
 ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ στέωμεν καὶ ἀλεξώμεσθα μένοντες.”  
 ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀμπεπαλὼν προῖει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,  
 καὶ βάλεν, οὐδ' ἀφάμαρτε, τιτυσκόμενος κεφαλῇφιν, 350  
 ἄκρην κακὴν κόρυθα· πλάγχθη δ' ἀπὸ χαλκόφιν χαλκός,  
 οὐδ' ἔκετο χροῖα καλόν· ἐρύκακε γὰρ τρυφάλεια  
 τρίπτυχος αὐλῶπις, τήν οἱ πόρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.  
 Ἔκτωρ δ' ὦκ' ἀπέλεθρον ἀνέδραμε, μῖκτο δ' ὀμίλῳ.

341. ἀπάνευθεν P. || ἔχει Lips. 342. εἰὼς: οἶος H<sup>1</sup>. 345. ῥίγησε: ἐρίγησε HS (-ηρε): ἐνόησε CJT King's Par. a c<sup>1</sup> e f g j, γρ. A and Eust.: γρ. ῥίγησε JT (man. rec.) Par. a. 347. δὴ: δὲ J. || τόδε: τό \*e R (r R<sup>2</sup> in ras.). || ὄβριμος CHJ. || ἔκτωρ: ἄρης T (supr. ἔκτωρ). 348. στέωμεν Q Mosc. 3, Eust.: σταίωμεν CJ Vr. A. || ἀλεξώμεσθα CDGHJPRQU. || μένοντες Zen. 351. πλάχην R Lips.: πλάγην P (supr. χ): πλάγχθη J. 354. ὦκα πέλεθρον J (πέλεθρον διάστημα (supr. μέτρον) ρ' εἴκοσι ποδῶν J<sup>m</sup>) PU Vr. b: ὦκ' ἀπέλαθρον G.

a conflation of two old variants, either of which might be accepted, οὐδὲ οἱ and οὐδὲ γάρ: the intermediate step οὐδὲ γάρ οἱ has left traces in mss.

340. ἀάσατο here indicates only extreme folly, without connotation of moral offence; unless indeed it be implied that his joining the πρόμαχοι was an act of culpable presumption. Cf. K 391 ἄτησι, and, for the form, Θ 237.

347. πῆμα, *this bane*; so νέφος is applied, by a sort of personification, to Hector, P 243. κυλίνδεται, like a wave, cf. 307, ε 296. The metaphorical sense occurs only with πῆμα, see P 99, 688, β 163, θ 81.

348. στέωμεν: a late Ionic form apparently for σταίωμεν, but the shortening of the α is irregular (cf., however, μυγέωσι, ἀφ-έ-γι). Perhaps we should read σταίωμεν at once, as an original (not a contracted) form. See note on A 129, and Mulvany in *C. R.* x. 26.

350. κεφαλῇφιν here seems to be a locative, and to shew that the common gen. after verbs of aiming is also to be regarded as local. χαλκόφιν in the next line is clearly used as an ablative; but

it is a question if this use does not also go back to a locative sense; compare Arkadian ἐξ and ἀπό with dat. The forms in -φιν(ν) may then all be reduced to either a local or an instrumental sense, with the exception of a few false archaisms (see *H. G.* §§ 154-8).

353. τρίπτυχος: perhaps, like the cap in K 261, it is of leather, with a felt lining inside, and the metal covering without. αὐλῶπις, τρυφάλεια, see App. B, vii. 2, 7.

354. ἀπέλεθρον, an *unmeasured*, i.e. very great, distance; as in E 245 ἵν' ἀπέλεθρον ἔχοντε, H 269. We are at liberty to divide the words ὦκα πέλεθρον, and so Tzetzes read them, in the sense 'he ran back the distance of a πέλεθρον.' This is preferred by Ridgeway (*J. H. S.* vi. 325) on the ground that πέλεθρον is properly a measure of distance; and that it became a measure of area only in combination with the unit 'furrow-length' (see on K 351), as representing the unit distance between the οὐρα, i.e. the breadth of a piece of ground which a team could plough in a day's work. This suits the other passages (Φ 407, λ 577) in which

στή δὲ γυνὴ ἔριπὼν καὶ ἐρείσατο χειρὶ παχείῃ 355  
 γαίης· ἀμφὶ δὲ ὅσσε κελαινὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν.  
 ὄφρα δὲ Τυδεΐδης μετὰ δούρατος ὦιχετ' ἐρωὴν  
 τῆλε διὰ προμάχων, ὅθι οἱ καταείσατο γαίης,  
 τόφρ' Ἑκτωρ ἄμπνυτο, καὶ ἄψ ἐς δίφρον ὀρούσας  
 ἐξέλασ' ἐς πληθὺν καὶ ὑλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν. 360  
 δουρὶ δ' ἐπαΐσσων προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
 “ἐξ αὖ νῦν ἔφυγες θάνατον, κύον· ἦ τέ τοι ἄγχι  
 ἦλθε κακόν· νῦν αὐτέ σ' ἐρύσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
 ὦι μέλλεις εὐχεσθαι ἰὼν ἐς δοῦπον ἀκόντων.  
 ἦ θὴν σ' ἐξανύω γε καὶ ὕστερον ἀντιβολήσας, 365  
 εἴ πού τις καὶ ἐμοί γε θεῶν ἐπιτάρροθός ἐστι.  
 νῦν αὖ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιείσομαι, ὅν κε κιχέω.”  
 ἦ καὶ Παιονίδην δουρικλυτὸν ἐξενάριζεν.  
 αὐτὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑλένης πόσις ἠγκόμοιο,  
 Τυδεΐδῃ ἐπι τόξα τιταίνεται, ποιμένι λαῶν, 370  
 στήλῃ κεκλιμένος ἀνδροκμήτῳ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ  
 Ἴλου Δαρδανίδαο, παλαιοῦ δημογέροντος.

356 ἀθ. Ar. Aph., om. Zen. 357. δόρατος CP Lips. 358. γαίῃ(ι) C King's  
 Lips. 359. ἐς: εἰς J. 363. νῦν δ' C. || c' om. P. 366. ἦ που G Harl. a. ||  
 ἐστι: ἔλθοι Par. b (ἦ ἔλθοι U *supr.*): ἐν ἄλλωι εἴη A. 367. δ' αὖ D. 368.  
 ἐξενάριζεν Ar. AT: ἐξενάριζε(ν) Zen. Ω. 371. κεκλιμένος: ἦ τετραμμένος  
 U *supr.* || ἐργῶι C (γρ. τύμβῳ *man. rec.*).

πέλεθρον occurs; in both of these it is better to take it as a measure of length than as one of area. Either reading is therefore possible, but the analogy of ἴν' ἀπέλεθρον strongly supports the adjectival form.

355-6 = E 309-10; the second line was condemned by the critics on the ground that the results are too serious for a comparatively unsuccessful blow.

357. μετὰ δούρατος ἐρωήν, 'after,' i.e. in the direction of, the flight of his spear, to pick it up again.

358. καταείσατο: for the verb see Δ 138. γαίης, local, as in 356, *sped down upon the earth*; cf. N 504 αἰχμῇ . . . κατὰ γαίης ὦιχετο. This is more Homeric than the alternative of making it a partitive gen. after ὄθι.

359. ἄμπνυτο, *came to* from his faint; see on E 697.

364. μέλλεις, ironical, 'to whom no doubt you pray.' See A 564.

365. ἐξανύω, future; exactly our idiomatic 'I will finish, dispatch thee.'

366. ἐπιτάρροθος: see E 808. 362-7 are also found *verbatim* in T 449-54, where the violent language of 362 seems more in keeping with the uncontrollable passion of Achilles than here with the always moderate temper of Diomed. In T, moreover, the words ἐρύσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων have a special significance, for there Apollo has actually carried Hector safe out of the battle; here he has done no more than give the helmet—a very indirect sort of aid (353). Hence Fick would reject 361-8 here, while E. H. Meyer takes the lines as an indication of the later origin of the whole episode of Diomedes (see *Introd.*).

368. ἐξενάριζεν, so Ar., 'continued the despoiling' of P., which task Hector had interrupted, 342; Zen. ἐξενάριζεν, but the aor. is obviously less suitable; his continued attention to the corpse explains how Paris got his opportunity. So αἴνυτο 374, 'was in the act of stripping off.'

371. For the tomb of Ilos see 166;



ἦ τοι ὁ μὲν θώρηκα Ἀγαστρόφου ἰφθίμοιο  
 αἶνυτ' ἀπὸ στήθεσφι παναίολον ἀσπίδα τ' ὤμων  
 καὶ κόρυθα βριαρὴν· ὁ δὲ τόξου πῆχυν ἀνεΐλκε 375  
 καὶ βάλεν, οὐδ' ἄρα μιν ἄλιον βέλος ἔκφυγε χειρός,  
 ταρσὸν δεξιτεροῖο ποδός· διὰ δ' ἀμπερές ἰὸς  
 ἐν γαίῃ κατέπηκτο. ὁ δὲ μάλα ἥδὺν γελάσας  
 ἐκ λόχου ἀμπήδησε καὶ εὐχόμενος ἔπος ἤυδα·  
 “βέβληαι, οὐδ' ἄλιον βέλος ἔκφυγεν· ὥς ὄφελόν τοι 380  
 νείατον ἐς κενεῶνα βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἐλέσθαι·  
 οὕτω κεν καὶ Τρῶες ἀνέπνευσαν κακότητος,  
 οἳ τέ σε πεφρίκασι λέονθ' ὥς μηκάδες αἶγες.”  
 τὸν δ' οὐ ταρβήσας προσέφη κρατερὸς Διομήδης·  
 “τοξότα, λωβητῆρ, κέραι ἀγλαέ, παρθενοπίπα, 385

374. ὤμων P. 375. ἀνεΐλκε(ν) Ω (incl. A, T.W.A.): ἀνῆλκε Par. d (ἀνελκε Ar. ?). 376. ἔκπεσε P (ἔκφυγε P<sup>m</sup>). 377. διὰ δ' ἀμπερές: διαμπερές GHPQ. 380. βέβληαι J *supr.*: βέβλη' H. || ὄφελόν P (R *supr.*). || τοι: γε Vr. A. 381. ἐς: εἰς Bar. || ἐλέσθαι: ὀλέσσαι H Par. k, and *ap.* Eust.: ὀλέσσαι Q. 382. καὶ om. GPT. 385. κέρ' (C *supr.*) T: καίρ C<sup>l</sup>. || παρθενοπίπα P: τινές παρθενοπία Schol. A.

ἀνδροκμήτωι, 'artificial,' distinguishes the barrow from any accidental mounds on the plain.

372. ἄμμογέροντος, *elder of the community*, see I 149. Πῖος is in the direct royal line (I 232) and is the eponym of Ilios. The name thus indicates the identity of royalty with the patriarchate of the village-community.

373. There is no question here that **εῶρηκα** means *breastplate*; Reichel would therefore expel 373-5 as added for the purpose of introducing this piece of armour, noting that had Agastrophos worn a breastplate we should have expected to hear of it when he was wounded *κατ' ἰσχίον*, 339.

375. **πᾶχυν**: see φ 419 τόν (δυστόν) ῥ' ἐπὶ πῆχει ἐλὼν ἔλκεν νευρὴν γλυφίδας τε, from which it is clear that the word indicates the (metallic ?) handle by which the bow is held. See App. B, x.

376. οὐδὲ . . . χειρός is parenthetical, **βάλεν** going with **ταρσόν**. For **μιν** Bentley conj. *Foi* as Ξ 407, X 292; the gen. also occurs in E 18, II 480.

377. **ταρσόν**, apparently the flat of the foot (so only here and 388). In ι 219 *ταρσοί* are explained as hurdles or wickerwork shelves, so called from *τέρσειν*, because they are used for drying

cheeses upon. Perhaps the foot was thought to have some resemblance to these.

380. **βέβληαι**: rather *βέβλη'*, though we may possibly scan or write the η as ε: cf. note on I 408.

381. **νείατον**: cf. note on E 539 *νείαιρη*.

385. **τοξότα**: only here in H. (but Ψ 850 *τοξευτής*); it is a word of contempt (see on Δ 242) as opposed to the hoplite who meets his foe *ἀντίβιον σὺν τεύχεσι*. **λωβητῆρ**: cf. B 275, Ω 239. It has been disputed from ancient times whether we should read **κέραι** or **κέρα** (*κέραα*? or *κέραε*, dual acc.?), and there is nothing to decide the point; nor does it make any difference. The *horn* is generally taken to mean 'the bow of horn'; but Ar. explained it as a mode of dressing the hair, *εἰς κέρατος τρόπον ἀνεπλέκοντο οἱ ἀρχαῖοι*. This interpretation, strange though it may seem, is completely established by Helbig *H. E.*<sup>2</sup> p. 241. He gives a curious archaic illustration of the spirally curled locks which received this name. The old lexica shew that this explanation was always generally received. Cf. schol. on ω 81, οἱ νεώτεροι *κέρας τὴν συμπλοκὴν τῶν τριχῶν ὁμοίαν κέρατι· τὸν κερτοπλάστην ᾗδε Ἰλαῦκον, Ἀρχίλοχος*, and ὀρθοκέρως

εἰ μὲν δὴ ἀντίβιον σὺν τεύχεσι πειρηθείης,  
οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμησι βιὸς καὶ ταρφέες ἰοί·  
νῦν δέ μ' ἐπιγράψας ταρσὸν ποδὸς εὔχεται αὐτως.  
οὐκ ἀλέγω, ὥς εἴ με γυνὴ βάλοι ἢ πᾶϊς ἄφρων·  
κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλκιδος οὐτιδανοῖο. 390  
ἦ τ' ἄλλως ὑπ' ἐμεῖο, καὶ εἴ κ' ὀλίγον περ ἐπαύρηι,  
ὄξυ βέλος πέλεται, καὶ ἀκήριον αἶψα τίθησι·  
τοῦ δὲ γυναικὸς μὲν τ' ἀμφίδρυφοί εἰσι παρειαί,  
παῖδες τ' ὀρφανικοί· ὁ δέ θ' αἵματι γαῖαν ἐρεύθων  
πύθεται, οἶωνοι δὲ περὶ πλέες ἡὲ γυναικες." 395  
ὥς φάτο, τοῦ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἐγγύθεν ἔλθων  
ἔστη πρόσθ'· ὁ δ' ὄπισθε καθεζόμενος βέλος ὠκὺ  
ἐκ ποδὸς εἶλκε, ὀδύνη δὲ διὰ χροὸς ἦλθ' ἀλεγεινὴ.  
ἐς δίφρον δ' ἀνόρουσε καὶ ἡμιόχῳ ἐπέτελλε  
νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρήσιν ἐλαυνέμεν· ἤχθετο γὰρ κῆρ. 400

386. πειραθείης R. 387. τοί: τι Q. 388. ταρσῶι Ar. *Lex.* 55. 24. 389.  
βάλοι J: βάληι Suidas i. 1, 196. 391. ἐμοῖο GHQS. || ἐπαύροι L: ἐν τισιν  
ἐπαύρω A. 392. αἶψα: ἄνδρα Ar. 393. μὲν τ': μέντοι G: μὲν HJT  
King's. 394. παῖδες δ' A (*supr.* τ) J (ἄε) U. 396. περικλυτὸς R. 397.  
ὠκὺ: γρ. ὄξυ J Eust. 399. ἐπέτελλε: γρ. ἐκέλευσε Harl. a. 400. ἐλαύνειν  
HPRU. || ἤχθετο γὰρ κῆρ: ὠκέας ἵππους J Par. a f j, γρ. A.

φρίκη quoted by Pollux from Soph. and explained ὀρθόβριξ. So Juvenal xiii. 165 *madido torquentem cornua cirro*. ἀγλαέ thus receives its proper sense, *fine, brilliant*. At the same time the proximity of τοξόδα suggests that there may have been an intentional ambiguity. For Paris' hair cf. Γ 55 ἥ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος. For παρθενοπίπα, *ogler of girls*, cf. τ 67 ὀπιπεύσεις δὲ γυναικας.

387. For the opt. in protasis followed by subj. see note on Γ 54. For the subj. as an emphatic future with or without ἄν (κεν) cf. 431-3, and *H. G.* § 276 b. Observe the singular χραίσμησι agreeing with the nearer only of two subjects, A 255, Γ 327, etc.

389. οὐκ ἀλέγω, ὥς εἰ, *I care as little* (lit. *I am heedless*) as *though a woman were to hit me*.

390. κωφόν has the primitive sense *beaten*, from κόπτω, *ob-tusus*, lit. 'beaten back.' Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 290 κωφὰ καὶ παλαιά' ἔπη, *Aj.* 911 ὁ πάντα κωφός.

391. ἄλλως . . πέλεται, 'in a very different way does my spear prove its edge.' The use of ἄλλως in the very similar Γ 99 (see next note) is different; compare note on I 699. Here it means

'differently from the weaklings.' This line gives a clear case of εἴ κε with subj. in a general sense=*whenever*, cf. Γ 25, M 302, where, however, the generality is limited by its use in a simile, since the poet has a special instance vividly before him. In A 166 (where see note), λ 159 the late form ἦν is wrong. There seems to be no other clear case of εἴ κε except in reference to some particular expected event (*M. and T.* § 468, *H. G.* § 292 b).

392. With ὄξυ βέλος πέλεται cf. Γ 99 καὶ δ' ἄλλως τοῦ γ' ἰθὺ βέλος πέτετ', οὐδ' ἀπολήγει. As ἰθὺ there must form part of the predicate, it is better to take ὄξυ here in the same way, though πέλεται is not merely = ἐστίν. It is probably through a reminiscence of Γ that Eust. quotes in one place πέτεται: that verb obviously suits ἰθὺ but not ὄξυ. ἀκήριον, *lifeless*, see on H 100. αἶψα: so mss., Ar. *ἀνδρα*, which is much less forcible.

393. ἀμφίδρυφοι: see B 700.

394. ἐρεύσων: so Σ 329.

395. Compare 162 γύπεσσαν πολὺ φίλτεροι ἢ ἀλόχοισιν; and, for the comparative πλέες, B 129.

399-400=273-4.

οἴωθ' ὃν Ὀδυσσεὺς δουρικλυτός, οὐδὲ τις αὐτῷ  
 Ἀργείων παρέμεινεν, ἐπεὶ φόβος ἔλλαβε πάντας·  
 ὀχθήσας δ' ἄρα εἶπε πρὸς ὃν μεγαλήτορα θυμόν·  
 “ὦ μοι ἐγὼ, τί πάθω; μέγα μὲν κακόν, αἶ κε φέβωμαι  
 πληθύν ταρβήσας, τὸ δὲ ρίγιον, αἶ κεν ἁλώω 405  
 μῶνος· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Δαναοὺς ἐφόβησε Κρονίων.  
 ἀλλὰ τί ἦ μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός;  
 οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποίχονται πολέμοιο,  
 ὃς δέ κ' ἀριστεύησι μάχῃ ἐνι, τὸν δὲ μάλα χρεὼ  
 ἐστάμεναι κρατερῶς· ἦ τ' ἔβλητ' ἦ τ' ἔβαλ' ἄλλον.” 410  
 ἕως ὃ ταῦθ' ὄρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν,  
 τόφρα δ' ἐπὶ Τρώων στίχες ἤλυθον ἀσπιστάων,  
 ἔλσαν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι, μετὰ σφίσι πῆμα τιθέντες.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτε κάπριον ἀμφὶ κύνες θαλεροὶ τ' αἰζηοὶ

404. μὲν: γρ. κεν Harl. a.	406. δαναοὺς: γρ. λαοὺς Harl. a.	408.
ἀπέχονται U.	409. χρεῶ GL.	410. ἦ τ' . . ἦ τ': εἶ τ' . . εἶ τ' J Harl. a.
411. εἴως H <sup>2</sup> .    ὄρμαινε Mor.	412. τόφρ' R (om. θ').	413. τιθέντες:
δὲ ἔλσαν Zen.		

403. This verse occurs seven times in *Il.* and four times in *Od.* (all in ε). In the whole of *H.* there are only nineteen other passages where the *F* of *Fós* is neglected, and eight of these can be easily emended. Forty-five passages absolutely require the *F*, and over 170 admit of it (Knös p. 215). It seems strange that this formula, which must be an old one, should afford so large a proportion of the violations. Emendation is easy (*Feῖπε Feón*—rather *Feῖπεν ἐFόν*—Bentley, ἀρ' ἔφη Heyne, *Feῖπε δ' ἀρ' ὀχθήσας*, or *ποτὶ* for *πρὸς ὄν*, van L., *ποτὶ* for *πρὸς ὄν* Brandreth) but indefensible. The line is in fact the strongest support for Usener's theory that the last syllable of the (dactylic) 3rd foot was originally an *anacrusis* for the second half of the line, and common in quantity. See note on B 400. But it must not be forgotten that we have an equally startling violation of *F* in what seems to be an equally old formula, ὥς εἰπὼν ὥτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμόν ἐκάστων.

404. τί πάσω, *what is to become of me?* So ε 465, but not elsewhere in *H.* Cf. note on 313 τί παθόντε, and *M. and T.* § 290.

407. Except in X 385 (where see note) this line always occurs in a speech

introduced by the formal 403 (see P 97, Φ 562, X 122).

408. ἀποίχονται seems to be a general expression: *cowards are off in a moment* (this being given by the perf. sense of οἴχεσθαι), while a brave man proves his courage by standing his ground. If we take it as a special reference to the Greeks, and to Diomed in particular, the general sentiment of 409-10 comes in rather awkwardly.

410. The punctuation of the text, where the disjunctive clauses are taken independently ('he can but slay or be slain') is that approved by Nikanor. Others put a comma after κρατερῶς and make them subordinate, 'whether he is slain or slays.' In that case it would be better to write εἶ τ' . . εἶ τ'.

413. *They penned him in their midst, bringing a bane* (cf. 347) *among themselves.* For τιθέντες Zenod. read δὲ ἔλσαν, an expression which by no means gains in force what it loses in Homeric simplicity. Still it gives the right sense; Ar. wrongly understood it to mean 'bringing destruction to Odysseus in their midst.'

414. κάπριον is governed by ἀμφί: prepositions of more prosodical value than two short syllables do not, according to the traditional rule, throw

σεύονται· ὁ δέ τ' εἶσι βαθείης ἐκ ξυλόχοιο 415  
 θήγων λευκὸν ὀδόντα μετὰ γναμπτήσιν γένυσσιν,  
 ἄμφι δέ τ' αἴσσουνται, ὑπαὶ δέ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων  
 γίνεται· οἱ δὲ μένουσιν ἄφαρ δεινὸν περ ἔοντα·  
 ὥς ῥα τότε ἄμφ' Ὀδυσῆα διίφιλον ἐσσεύοντο  
 Τρῶες· ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμύμονα Δηϊοπίτην 420  
 οὔτασεν ὦμον ὑπερθεὺς ἐπάλμενος ὀξείῃ δουρί,  
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Θόωνα καὶ Ἐννομον ἐξενάριξε.  
 Χερσιδάμαντα δ' ἔπειτα, καθ' ἵππων αἴσσουντα,  
 δουρὶ κατὰ πρότμησιν ὑπ' ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης  
 νύξεν· ὁ δ' ἐν κονίησιν πεσὼν ἔλε γαίαν ἀγοστῶι. 425  
 τοὺς μὲν ἔασ', ὁ δ' ἄρ' Ἴππασίδην Χάροπ' οὔτασε δουρί,  
 αὐτοκασίγνητον ἐνηγενέος Σώκοιο.

415. σεύονται CGH. 416. γναμπτοῖσι CHLQ Harl. a, Lips. (*supr.* A):  
 γναπτῆσι T: γναπτοῖσι PR Mor. Bar. 417. δέ τ' [D]RU: δὲ χαίτ' Q: τ' CST:  
 τε Ω. || αἴσσουντα P (*supr.* αι). || κόμπος: γρ. κτύπος Harl. a. 418. γίγνεται GL.  
 419. ὀδυσσῆϊ G. 420. μὲν om. G. || δηϊοπῆδην P. 421. ὑπερθε(ν) μετὰλ-  
 μενος HPRST Harl. a, Par. a b d f h k, Vr. b, Mosc. 3, γρ. A. || ἐπάλμενος  
 J. || δουρί: γρ. χαλκῶι A. 422. ἔννομον: εὔνομον R: ὄρμενον C: ὄρ-  
 μενον Lips. 423. χερσὶ. δάμαντα J: πούλυδάμαντα Q. || αἴσαντα A (γρ. καὶ  
 αἴσσουντα) D, γρ. Harl. a. 424. πρότμησιν Ar. (see Ludw.) Ω: πρότμησιν  
*supr.* τ over c T, apparently all by *man.* 1: the variant alluded to in the corrupt  
 scholia was probably πρότμησιν rather than πρόσμησιν or πρότμητιν.

the accent back when they follow their noun.

415. σεύονται (aor. subj., see on 549), sc. *μιν*, give chase to him. For the variant *σεύονται* see on K 183.

416. The ancient legend was that the boar prepared for battle by whetting his teeth upon smooth rocks.

417. ὑπαί, *thereat*, in the midst of all this is heard the gnashing of his teeth. Cf. θ 380 πολλὸς ὑπὸ κόμπος ὀρώρει. δέ τ': δέ F' Brandreth.

418. ἄφαρ, i.e. without hesitation. Cf. N 814 ἄφαρ δέ τε χεῖρες ἀμύνειν εἰσὶ καὶ ἡμῖν. But it is by no means easy to bring all the Homeric uses of ἄφαρ under the sense *quickly*; here and in P 417, for instance, it might be taken to emphasize the following adj. like French *fort* or *bien*, where the adverb has lost its individuality and sunk to a mere *very*. The origin of the word is quite unknown.

424. πρότμησιν, apparently *the cut place* (cf. A 235 τομή) *in front*, i.e. the navel. The word recurs only in Quintus Smyrnaeus. There was some variant, but the scholia are contra-

dictory, and it is not easy to say what it was. Photios *Lex.* has πρότμησιν· ὀμφαλόν.

425. ἀγοστῶι, a word which occurs only a few times, always in this line in Homer (N 508, 520, Ξ 452, P 315), and occasionally in later poets (Theokr. xvii. 129; Ap. Rhod. iii. 120 μάργος Ἐρως λαίης ὑποίσχανε χεῖρὸς ἀγοστῶν). Benfey refers it to root *a(n)g*, to squeeze, so that it means 'in his grasp.' Ap. Rhodius seems to take it for the *palin* of the hand.

427. ἐνηγενέος, an obviously wrong form, as the -η- cannot be explained. ἡνυγενέος (P. Knight) is condemned by the rule that ἡνυ- is found in compounds only under the stress of absolute metrical necessity. This allows the nom. ἡνυγενῆς (*Hymn. Ven.* 94) but not the gen., for *εὐνυγενέος* is a possible form. See note on H 41. But no doubt the right form is *εὐνυγενέος*, *wealthy*, which was a variant read by Rhianos and Aph. on Ψ 81, where see note. This is regularly formed from *ἀφενος*. The corruption is a very early one, for we find *εὐνυγενέος* in *Hymn. Ven.* 229, where the sense is clearly *noble*.



τῶι δ' ἐπαλεξήσων Σῶκος κίεν, ἰσόθεος φῶς,  
 στῇ δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰὼν καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 “ὦ Ὀδυσσεῦ πολυάινε, δόλων ἅτ' ἠδὲ πόνοιο,  
 σήμερον ἡ δοιοῖσιν ἐπεύξεαι Ἰππασίδησι,  
 τοιῶδ' ἄνδρε κατακτείνας καὶ τεύχε' ἀπούρας,  
 ἢ κεν ἐμῶι ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπείς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσης.”  
 ὧς εἰπὼν οὔτησε κατ' ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' εἴσῃν·  
 διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε φαεινῆς ὄβριμον ἔγχος,  
 καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαιδάλου ἡρήρειστο,  
 πάντα δ' ἀπὸ πλευρῶν χροά ἐργαθεν, οὐδὲ τ' ἔασε  
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη μιχθήμεναι ἔγκασι φωτός.  
 γνῶ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὃ οἱ οὔ τι βέλος κατὰ καίριον ἦλθεν,  
 ἄψ δ' ἀναχωρήσας Σῶκον πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 “ἂ δειλ', ἡ μάλα δὴ σε κιχάνεται αἰπὺς ὀλεθρος.  
 ἦ τοι μὲν ἔμ' ἔπαυσας ἐπὶ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι,

430

435

440

430. ἄτ': αὐτ' Mosc. 3. 431. ἰππασίδησι: γρ. ἰπασίδην A. 432. ἀπ-  
 ἡύρας U (h in ras.). 433. ὀλέσσεις DSU. 434. οὔτασε P. 435. ὄβριμον  
 CHP. 436. ἡρήρειστο HT<sup>1</sup>: ἡρείρειστο P<sup>1</sup>. 437. χροά Zen. Ω: χροός Ar.  
 (διχῶς T): χρὸ' ἐέργαθεν P. 438. ἀθήνη GPT. 439. ὃ οἱ: ὅτι C. || βέλος  
 Zen. Ω: τέλος Ar. A (see below). 441. ἄ: ὦ P. || δειλέ Ar. (ἐκ πλήρους).  
 442. μὲν: μέν ρ' DJRU.

430. πολυάινε: see I 673. ἄτ', for  
 ἄσατε, *insatiate* (ἀ-σα-τος). Ar. used the  
 phrase as an argument against the chori-  
 zontes, as it is in the *Odyssey* that the  
 cunning of Odysseus is described. Sokos  
 speaks in admiration, not in blame.

432. Ar. noted that τεύχε' ἀπούρας  
 is inappropriate, as Odysseus is too hard  
 pressed to think of despoiling the  
 corpses. This is very true; but Fick  
 remarks that we should read θυμὸν  
 ἀπούρας, which may have been altered  
 on account of θυμὸν in the next line;  
 the older Epic style took no offence at  
 such iteration.

433. For κεν in the second clause  
 only compare X 110. It seems to have  
 no function unless to emphasize the clause  
 as containing what Sokos really means.

437. For χροά Ar., if the scholia are  
 to be believed, read χροός, which can  
 at best only mean 'stripped everything  
 off the flesh of his ribs'! πλευρῶν  
 neuter, as Δ 468, not a contracted fem.  
 οὐδέ τ': οὐδέ F' Brandreth and van L.

439. αἱ Ἀριστάρχου οὕτως τέλος, καὶ  
 σχεδὸν ἅπασαι· ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ κατὰ καίριον  
 τέλος ἦλθεν ἢ πληγῇ, οὐκ εἰς καίριον τόπον

ἐτελευτα. Ζηνόδοτος δὲ γράφει βέλος,  
 κακῶς· οὐ βέβληται γάρ, ἀλλ' ἐκ χειρὸς  
 ἐπέπληγε. (λέγει δὲ τέλος τὸ τῆς ζωῆς.)  
 Our mss. agree with Zen., with the  
 exception of A. There is no doubt that  
 βέλος gives the best sense, the dart  
 lighted not on a fatal spot (for this, the  
 regular use of καίριον, see note on Δ 185,  
 where the phrase is very similar, οὐκ ἐν  
 καίρῳ δὲν πάγη βέλος). It seems that  
 Ar. laid too much weight on his canon  
 that βέλος could never be used of a  
 weapon used with a thrust; it is only  
 natural that the word should be applied  
 generically to the spear, which was  
 sometimes cast and sometimes held in  
 the hand, without reference to the  
 particular case in question. If we  
 accept τέλος, we may read either κατὰ  
 καίριον, the spear 'came not to a fatal  
 end' of its journey, or κατακαίριον, 'a  
 fatal end came not to him,' which seems  
 to be meant by the concluding words of  
 the scholion cited; cf. the phrase 451  
 τέλος θανάτοιο. Both of these are perhaps  
 barely possible, but very strained, and  
 decidedly less Homeric in expression  
 than the vulgate.

σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐνθάδε φημὶ φόνον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν  
ἥματι τῶιδ' ἔσσεσθαι, ἐμῶι δ' ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντα  
εὖχος ἐμοὶ δώσειν, ψυχὴν δ' Ἀϊδί κλυτοπόλῳι." 445

ἦ, καὶ ὁ μὲν φύγαδ' αὖτις ὑποστρέψας ἐβεβήκει,  
τῶι δὲ μεταστρεφθέντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πῆξεν  
ὤμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσε.  
δούπησεν δὲ πεσών· ὁ δ' ἐπέυξατο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·

"ὦ Σῶχ', Ἰππάσου νιὲ δαΐφρονος ἵπποδάμοιο, 450

φθῆ σε τέλος θανάτοιο κιχήμενον, οὐδ' ὑπάλυξας.

ἂ δεῖλ', οὐ μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ

ὅσσε καθαιρήσουσι θανόντί περ, ἀλλ' οἰωνοὶ

ὤμησται ἐρύουσι, περὶ πτερὰ πυκνὰ βαλόντες·

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κε θάνω, κτεριοῦσί με δῖοι Ἀχαιοί." 455

ὥς εἰπὼν Σώκοιο δαΐφρονος ὄβριμον ἔγχος

ἔξω τε χροὸς εἴλκε καὶ ἀσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης·

αἶμα δέ οἱ σπασθέντος ἀνέσσυτο, κῆδε δὲ θυμόν.

Τρῶες δὲ μεγάθυμοι ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἶμ' Ὀδυσῆος,

444. δ' om. LQ. || δαμέντε P: δαμέντι DGU Lips. 446. αὖτις CR. 447.  
μεταστραφέντι J. 448. μεσσηγὺ T. 450. ὦ σῶκε Ar. Q: ὦ σῶκ' P: ὦς  
ῶχ' T<sup>1</sup>. 451. τέλος: βέλος Zen. 452. ἂ . . σοί: δύσμορος, οὐκ ἄρα  
τῶι Plut. Cons. ad Ap. 445. 454. ἐρύουσι GH<sup>2</sup>S. || πυκνὰ: μακρὰ H. 455.  
ἐπεὶ: ἔμ' εἴ Ar. Bar. Mor. (and "unus Vindob." Heyne: G?). 456. ὄβριμον  
CH. 457. τε: τ' ἐκ C: δ' ἐκ Ven. B. || ἔλκε Ar. P. 458. οἶ: οὐ Zen. ||  
ἀπέσσυτο Bar. 459. δέ: δ' αὐ P Harl. a, Vr. b, Mosc. 3. || ἐπεὶ: ὅπως A  
(γρ. ἐπεὶ) DGQT; γρ. Vr. b, Par. a: ὅταν Bar.

445. See on E 654.

450. Ar. read ὦ Σῶκε, "ἐκ πλήρους,"  
evidently to avoid confusion with ὦς ῶχ',  
thus quickly, which is found in T, and is  
a possible, though prosy, arrangement  
of the letters.

451. τέλος θανάτοιο, 'the end of  
(consisting in) death has been too quick  
in catching you' (ce is governed by  
κιχήμενον). Here also Zen. read βέλος,  
but he is not supported by our mss.,  
and the phrase βέλος θανάτοιο is not  
Homeric.

453. καθαιρήσουσι, draw down, close  
thine eyes. So λ 426, ω 296.

454. ἐρύουσι, future. πυκνὰ, either  
a proleptic predicate, 'so as to be thick,'  
i.e. in dense flocks; or more simply,  
'thickly feathered,' a mere epithet.  
ὠμησται, lit. raw-eating, from root ἐδ  
with the common lengthening in com-  
position; cf. ρ 170 δείπν-ησ-τος.

455. For ἐπεὶ Ar. read ἔμ', εἴ, which  
has the advantage of giving the required

antithesis between σοί γε and ἐμέ, but  
involves either the intolerable repetition  
of με, or Spitzner's conj. κτεριοῦσί γε,  
where the γε is absolutely otiose. All  
that is required is to read κτεριοῦσ' ἐμέ,  
(or rather κτερίσουσ' ἐμέ? But cf. ἀεικῶ,  
κομῶ). ἐπεὶ κε is obviously more suit-  
able than εἴ κε.

457. χροός, his own flesh, where  
Sokos' spear still remained, as the next  
line shews.

458. σπασθέντος, sc. ἔγχος. But there  
is no other clear case in H. of a participle  
thus standing in the gen. abs. without  
a noun. In Σ 606 and in δ 19 the  
right reading is ἐξάρχοντες, not -τος,  
and τ 159 ἀσχαλαί δὲ πάϊς βίοντον  
κατεδόντων is analogous to phrases like  
γνώχωμένοιο. Hence Zen. read οὐ for  
οἶ: as Heyne remarks, it should at least  
have been τοῦ. κῆδε δὲ θυμόν, of purely  
physical pain like ἤχθετο κῆρ, 274, 400,  
etc.

459. ἐπεὶ is to be preferred to ὅπως,

κεκλόμενοι καθ' ὅμιλον ἐπ' αὐτῶι πάντες ἔβησαν.  
αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἐξοπίσω ἀνεχάζετο, αὖε δ' ἐταίρους.  
τρὶς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἦυσεν, ὅσον κεφαλὴ χάδε φωτός,  
τρὶς δ' αἶεν ἰάχοντος ἀρηϊφίλος Μενέλαος.  
αἶψα δ' ἄρ' Αἴαντα προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἔοντα·

“ Αἴαν διογενὲς Τελαμώνιε, κοίρανε λαῶν,  
ἀμφι μ' Ὀδυσσῆος ταλασίφρονος ἵκετ' αὐτῇ,  
τῶι ἰκέλη ὥς εἴ ἐ βιώιατο μῶνον ἔοντα  
Τρῶες ἀποτμήξαντες ἐνὶ κρατερῇι ὑσμίνῃ·  
ἀλλ' ἵομεν καθ' ὅμιλον· ἀλεξέμεναι γὰρ ἄμεινον.  
δεῖδω μὴ τι πάθῃσις ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι μονωθείς,  
ἐσθλὸς ἔων, μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ Δαναοῖσι γένηται.”

ὧς εἰπὼν ὁ μὲν ἦρχ', ὁ δ' ἄμ' ἔσπετο ἰσόθεος φῶς.  
εὗρον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα διίφιλον· ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν  
Τρῶες ἔπονθ' ὥς εἴ τε δαφοινοὶ θῶες ὄρεσφιν  
ἀμφ' ἔλαφον κεραδὸν βεβλημένον, ὃν τ' ἔβαλ' ἀνὴρ  
ἰῶι ἀπὸ νευρῆς· τὸν μὲν τ' ἥλυξε πόδεσσι

462. χάδετο T. 466. ἵκετ' αὐτῇ Ar. [H]PR Par. a f: ἵκετο φωνῇ Ω  
467. βιώιατο Vr. b, Mosc. 3. 470. πάθῃσι μετὰ GHJ (πάθῃ) T Harl. a, Mosc.  
3, γρ. A. 472. ἦρχεν ὅδ' ἄμ' ἔπετο J. || ἄμ' om. Q. 473. εὗρεν HT. ||  
αὐτῶι(i) (A *supr.*) J. 474. δαφεινοὶ G. 475. τ': ρ' G.

which is used as a temporal conj. only in the phrase ὅπως ἴδον (*ἴδεν*), M 208, γ 373, χ 22. The change may have been made to avoid the apparent hiatus.

461. αὖε, also N 477, T 48, 51 (cf. αὖδῃ); elsewhere the stem is αὔ- (*ἡὔσε*, αὐτή, αὐτει, etc.). Bentley's ἀνεχάζετ', αὖσε is of course condemned by the forbidden caesura.

462. ὅσον, lit. 'as loud as the man's head could hold'; Fäsi compares the French *crier à pleine tête*. See also II 77 αὐδήσαντος ἐχθρῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς. φωτός virtually means 'his,' as in 438.

467. τῶι (neuter) represents by anticipation the following clause with ὧς εἴ. So X 410 τῶι δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον, ὡς εἴ, κτλ. βιώιατο, for βιαίοιατο, which Fick reads, omitting εἰ.

470. μονωθείς is isolated in form as well as sense; for there is no other instance in H. of the Attic *mónos* (Epic *moûnos* always). The couplet may have come into the text at a late date, for 469 forms a very effective conclusion. ἐνὶ Τρώεσσιν οἰώθεις van L. (cf. Z 1, A

401) with *οἰ* shortened as in οἶος N 275, Σ 105, and twice in *Od.*

471. ποθή, *regret*, cf. Ξ 368, P 690. It would not be un-Homeric to say that he, Odysseus, 'may become a great regret' (i.e. great loss), cf. the use of χάσμα (K 193, etc.), but it is perhaps better, as well as more obvious, to translate *there may be great regret*.

474. ἔπονθ' is the unanimous reading of the mss. and scholia, but it is certainly wrong. ἔπον is absolutely required by the sense; cf. 483 below, where the influence of this line has actually brought the impossible ἔποντο into several mss. The corruption is clearly due to the greater familiarity of the mid. combined with a wish to mend the metre. The correction is due to Heyne and P. Knight. The compound ἀμφέπων means to *beset* by surrounding, as ἐφέπων to *drive* by pursuit. So 483, and cf. γ 118 εἰνέτες γάρ σφιν κακὰ ράπτομεν ἀμφιέποντες, of the siege of Troy (*J. P.* xiv. 239). ἀμφιέπessθαι occurs only once in Greek, Qu. Sm. i. 47, in the correct sense *accompanied round about*.

φεύγων, ὅφρ' αἶμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸν γε δαμάσσεται ὠκύς ὀϊστός,  
 ὠμοφάγοι μιν θῶες ἐν οὔρεσι δαρδύπτουσιν  
 ἐν νέμει σκιερῶι· ἐπὶ τε λῖν ἦγαγε δαίμων 480  
 σίντην· θῶες μὲν τε διέτρεσαν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δάπτει·  
 ὥς ῥα τότε ἄμφ' Ὀδυσῆα δαΐφρονα ποικιλομήτην  
 Τρῶες ἔπον πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι, αὐτὰρ ὁ γ' ἦρως  
 αἰσσω ὦι ἔγχει ἀμύνετο νηλεὲς ἦμαρ.  
 Αἴας δ' ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε φέρων σάκος ἥτε πύργον, 485  
 στῇ δὲ παρέξ· Τρῶες δὲ διέτρεσαν ἄλλυδις ἄλλος.  
 ἦ τοι τὸν Μενέλαος ἀρήϊος ἔξαγ' ὀμίλου  
 χειρὸς ἔχων, εἴως θεράπων σχεδὸν ἦλασεν ἵππους·  
 Αἴας δὲ Τρῶεσσιν ἐπάλμενος εἴλε Δόρυκλον  
 Πριαμίδην, νόθον υἱόν, ἔπειτα δὲ Πάνδοκον οὔτα, 490  
 οὔτα δὲ Λύσανδρον καὶ Πύρασον ἠδὲ Πυλάρτην.  
 ὥς δ' ὁπότε πλήθων ποταμὸς πεδίουδε κάτεισι  
 χειμάρρους κατ' ὄρεσφιν, ὀπαζόμενος Διὸς ὄμβρωι,  
 πολλὰς δὲ δρυὺς ἀζαλέας, πολλὰς δέ τε πεύκας  
 ἐσφέρεται, πολλὸν δέ τ' ἀφυσγετὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλει, 495  
 ὥς ἔφεπε κλονέων πεδίου τότε φαίδιμος Αἴας,

477. ὀρώρει D. 478. ἐπεὶ δὴ: ἐπειδὴν PR. || Τὸν γε: τόνδε H. || ὠκύς:  
 πικρὸς DQ. 480. σκιερῶι: γλαφυρῶι Zen. 482. ποικιλομήτην RU Mose. 3:  
 ποικιλομήτιν G: ποικιλομήτιν L<sup>1</sup>Q. 483. ἔποντο D (P *supr.*) QRTU. 484.  
 ἀμύνειν D: ἀμύνεται PR. 485. After this *add.* χάλκεον ἑπταβόειον, ὃ οἱ  
 τύχιος κάμε τεύχων (= H 220) G. 488. ἔχων: ἐλὼν T. 492. Κάτεισι:  
 θίηται Zen. 495. Δέ τ': δ' C. || Βάλλει R (H *in ras. man.* 1). 496. τό\*ε T  
 (T *in ras.*).

477. **ΛΙΑΡὸν**, sc. *ἔη*, with the same sense as in 266, 'while the blood flows warm from the wound.' Cf. A 547.

478. **ΔΑΜÁΣΣΕΤΑΙ**, aor. subj., when the arrow has had its full effect upon him.

480. **Λῖν** (or *λῖν*, as Ar. accented) does not recur; some would read *λῖν'(α)*, but the form *λίσων* (cf. on E 782) is against this.

481. **ΔΙÉΤΡΕΣΑΝ**, scatter in terror. **ὁ**, the lion begins to rend in his turn.

482. **ἈΜΦΙ . . ἔΠΟΝ**: see 474.

486. **ΣΤᾷ ΠΑΡÉΞ**, stood forth beside him. Cf. ε 439 *νῆγε παρέξ, swam along the shore*. But the phrase is unusual and the sense of -έξ obscure; Paley ingeniously conjectures *παράξ*, like 251 *εὐράξ*, q.v.

488. **ΘΕΡÁΠΩΝ**, i.e. of Menelaos. Odysseus, coming from mountainous Ithaka, has no horse nor chariot.

490. **Υἱόν**: we must understand *Πριάμω* from *Πριαμίδης*, the expression being rather tautological.

493. **ὈΠΑΖόμενος**, driven on from behind; used somewhat like a passive to *ἐφέπειν* in the sense *διώκειν*, see E 91, 334, Θ 341, and Eur. *El.* 1192 *ὥσπας ἀπὸ γὰς*. The other use of *ὀπάζειν*, to make to accompany, is more like a causal to *ἑπείσθαι*. Nauck conj. *ἀεζόμενος*, a mere guess. **ΧΕΙΜÁΡΡΟΥΣ** is here an adjective; cf. note on E 88.

494. **ΑΖΑΛÉΑΣ**, dead trees, either fallen accidentally by the side, or felled and left to dry.

495. **ΕΣΦÉΡΕΤΑΙ**, draws into its current. **ΑΦΥΣΓΕΤόν**, ἀπ. λεγ., probably 'drift wood' or 'mud.' The origin of the word is obscure; possibly it is conn. with *ἀφύσσειν*.

496. Compare X 188 *Ἐκτορα δ' ἀσπερ-*



δαΐζων ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας. οὐδέ πω Ἐκτωρ  
 πεύθετ', ἐπεὶ ῥα μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ μάρνατο πάσης,  
 ὄχθας παρ ποταμοῖο Σκαμάνδρου, τῇ ῥα μάλιστα  
 ἀνδρῶν πίπτε κάρηνα, βοῇ δ' ἄσβεστος ὀρώρει 500  
 Νέστορά τ' ἀμφὶ μέγαν καὶ ἀρήϊον Ἴδομενῆα.  
 Ἐκτωρ μὲν μετὰ τοῖσιν ὁμίλει μέρμερα ῥέζων  
 ἔγχεϊ θ' ἵπποσύνῃ τε, νέων δ' ἀλάπαζε φάλαγγας·  
 οὐδ' ἄν πω χάζοντο κελεύθου δίοι Ἀχαιοί,  
 εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἑλένης πόσις ἠυκόμοιο, 505  
 παύσεν ἀριστεύοντα Μαχάονα ποιμένα λαῶν,

499. καμάνδρου L Harl. a (*p. ras.*). 500. ἄσβεστος : ἄσπετος PR. 503.  
 ἀλάπαζε (G<sup>1</sup>?) Harl. a (ze Harl. a<sup>m</sup>), Mor. : ἀλάπαθνε S. 504. ἄν : ἄρ T<sup>1</sup>? ||  
 πω : που PRT. || After this line Pap. ζ adds another ending ]νουπερ.

χῆς κλονέων ἔφεπ' ὡκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς. The peculiarity of the present line is that πεδῖον takes the place of the flying foe, which is elsewhere the object of ἐφέπειν and κλονέειν alike. It seems that we must understand 'drove the plain, making havoc,' πεδῖον standing for the men and horses of which it is full. So we have in ι 121 κυνηγέται . . . κορυφὰς ὀρέων ἐφέποντες, just as we speak of 'driving a wood' when we mean driving the game found there. It must, however, be admitted that Barnes's conj. *κάτα* for τότε makes the phrase much simpler. It is not possible to take πεδῖον by itself, of extension over, = *along the plain*. Cf. on 714 below.

497. δαΐζων: for the *ā* see App. D(c1). Brandreth conj. δηΐζων.

498. The 'left of the battle' can hardly be from a Greek point of view here, as the river is regularly on the Greek right, i.e. to the W. of the battlefield. But in details such as this it is useless to look for exact accuracy. See E 355, N 765, P 116. There is, however, something awkward in the sudden shifting of the centre of interest, as we have been led to believe that the hottest of the fight was about Aias, and are now suddenly told that it was on the opposite wing. Indeed the words of Kebriones in 523-30 directly contradict μάλιστα in 499. Most modern critics have therefore pronounced for the omission of 497-503 at least, with more or less of the context. Fick, omitting 489-503 (the first eight lines with hardly sufficient reason), suggests

Ἀτρεΐδης for Ἴδομενέυς in 510, as Menelaos has not left the field, but only entrusted Odysseus to his *θεράπων*. This would remove all cause of offence; 504 comes much more naturally after the stubborn resistance of Aias than after the account of Hector's ravages. These difficulties all have to be taken into consideration in deciding whether the wounding of Machaon, which the passage introduces, may not be subsequent to the original Μῆνις. (See *Intro.* to the book.)

502. ὁμίλει is an oxymoron, for it properly indicates friendly association; E 86, 834. So *δαριστός*, 'dalliance,' is used of war, N 291, P 228 (Monro).

503. νέων, a curious expression; it can hardly be meant to oppose the aged Nestor and elderly (N 361, 485) Idomeneus to their more youthful soldiers. Ar. read νεῶν, the battalions belonging to the ships, which certainly is a desperate resource. Surely the original reading must have been νέον, *afresh*, after the temporary rally; cf. Δ 332, O 240.

504. There has been no satisfactory restoration of the new line in the papyrus; Ludwich's οὐδ' εἶσαν πολέμοιο πεφυζότες οὐλομένου περ can hardly be right.

506. It is not quite clear whether παύσεν and ἀριστεύοντα go closely together, *stopped from doing deeds of valour*, or more loosely *stopped* (from battle) *while doing deeds of valour*. In favour of the latter is the construction *ἐπανσας μάχεσθαι* in 442, while the former seems a natural correlative to the

ἰῶι τριγλώχινι βαλὼν κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον.  
 τῷ ῥα περιδδισαν μένεα πνείοντες Ἀχαιοί,  
 μή πῶς μιν πολέμοιο μετακλινθέντος ἔλοιεν.  
 αὐτίκα δ' Ἰδομενεὺς προσεφώνεε Νέστορα δῖον· 510  
 “ὦ Νέστορ Νηληϊάδῃ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ἄγρει, σὼν ὀχέων ἐπιβήσεο, παρ δὲ Μαχάων  
 βαίνεται, ἐς νῆας δὲ τάχιστ' ἔχε μώνυχας ἵππους·  
 ἱητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων  
 ἰοὺς τ' ἐκτάμνειν ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσειν.” 515  
 ὧς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἀπίθησε Γερήνιος ἱππότης Νέστωρ.  
 αὐτίκα δ' ὦν ὀχέων ἐπεβήσετο, παρ δὲ Μαχάων  
 βαῖν', Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱὸς ἀμύμονος ἱητῆρος·  
 μάλιστα δ' ἵππους, τῶ δ' οὐκ ἀέκοντε πετέσθην  
 νῆας ἔπι γλαφυράς· τῇ γὰρ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ. 520  
 Κεβριόνης δὲ Τρῶας ὀρινομένους ἐνόησεν  
 “Ἔκτορι παρβεβαώς, καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·  
 “Ἔκτορ, νῶϊ μὲν ἐνθάδ' ὀμιλέομεν Δαναοῖσιν

508. περιδείσαν P: περιῖσαν R. || πνέοντες GP. 509. μετακλιθέντος A  
 (T.W.A.; *supr.* ε over ο) CHQR Lips.: μετακλιθέντες U<sup>1</sup> (N add. U<sup>2</sup>): ἴτες Pap. ζ.  
 || After this Pap. ζ adds a line ending ]χηλοῖντο. 511. In Pap. ζ this line ends  
 ]αν. 514-5. For these two lines Pap. ζ has four, ending ]ανοῖο, ]λων, ]αλλους,  
 ]καπασσων. 515 *ἀθ.* Ar. Aph., *om.* Zen. 517. ἐπεβήσατο GHP: ἐπὴνβήσατο  
 Q. 519. ἵππους ACDU, γρ. Harl. a: ἑλάαν Ω, γρ. AU. || ἀέκοντε J Lips.:  
 ἀκοντε Ω. 520 in Pap. ζ begins with ωσσ.

construction of the middle with the  
 participle (X 502, etc.), though the act.  
 is not elsewhere used in this way.

509. μετακλιθέντος, apparently a  
 metaphor from a scale-beam. Cf. Ξ 510  
 ἔκλινε μάχην, and the simple Τρῶας δ'  
 ἔκλιναν Δαναοί E 37. The additional  
 line is completed by Menrad Τρῶες ὑπέρ-  
 θυμοι καὶ ἀπ' ὤμων (ἀπὸ κλυτὰ Robert)  
 τεύχη ἔλουντο. In 511 ]αν is possibly a  
 mere error for -ων.

514. Van L. suggests for the frag-  
 mentary lines of the Papyrus <καὶ μιν  
 ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι τίθει, ξρσαι δὲ φό>νοιο.  
 <ἱητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος  
 ἄλ>λων· <εἰς γὰρ ἐπιστάμενος πολλοὺς  
 ἐσάωσε καὶ> ἄλλους, <ἰοὺς τ' ἐκτάμνων  
 ἐπὶ τ' ἥπια φάρμα>κα πάσσειν. This  
 probably gives the general sense. But  
 as ]ανοῖο is now read in the first line we  
 must supply something like καὶ μιν ἀπὸ  
 πολέμοιο θοῶς ἄγε πεικεῖανόιο.

515. ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἡ ἐξ-  
 ἀριθμησις· μειοῖ γὰρ (it degrades the

leech) εἰ μόνον ἰοὺς ἐκτάμνειν καὶ φαρμα-  
 κεῦεν οἶδεν. καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης προηθέτει·  
 Ζηνῶδοτος δὲ οὐδὲ ἔγραψεν. This objec-  
 tion, though approved by most modern  
 edd., hardly seems sufficient to condemn  
 the line, which fairly represents the  
 primitive stage of Homeric medicine.

520. The third letter of the added line  
 in the Papyrus is doubtful; van L.'s  
 ὧς οἱ μὲν μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο  
 is very probable.

522. παρβεβαώς, standing beside as  
 charioteer, and clearly not in the later  
 sense of παραβάτης, 'fighter.' It must  
 be remarked that Hector's approach  
 seems to have no effect whatever on the  
 fight; he is not mentioned again, and  
 the retreat of Aias is finally ascribed to  
 Zeus. Hence it is not without reason  
 that many critics reject the present pass-  
 age (521-43). It contains many unusual  
 expressions, and the following lines re-  
 curring elsewhere suggest borrowing:  
 531=ε 380, 533=P 458, 534-7=T 499-  
 502, 540-1=264-5.

ἐσχατῇμ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι  
 Τρῶες ὀρίνουνται ἐπιμίξ, ἵπποί τε καὶ αὐτοί. 525  
 Αἴας δὲ κλονέει Τελαμώνιος· εὖ δέ μιν ἔγνω·  
 εὐρὺν γὰρ ἄμφ' ὥμοισιν ἔχει σάκος. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς  
 κείσ' ἵππους τε καὶ ἄρμ' ἰθύνομεν, ἔνθα μάλιστα  
 ἱππῆες πέζοι τε κακὴν ἔριδα προβαλόντες  
 ἀλλήλους ὀλέκουσι, βοὴ δ' ἄσβεστος ὄρωρεν." 530  
 ὧς ἄρα φωνήσας ἵμασεν καλλίτριχας ἵππους  
 μάστιγι λιγυρῇ· τοὶ δὲ πληγῆς αἶοντες  
 ῥίμφ' ἔφερον θοὸν ἄρμα μετὰ Τρῶας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς,  
 στείβοντες νέκυάς τε καὶ ἀσπίδας· αἵματι δ' ἄξων  
 νέρθεν ἅπας πεπάλακτο καὶ ἄντυγες αἰ περὶ δίφρον, 535  
 ἄς ἄρ' ἀφ' ἱππέων ὀπλέων ῥαθάμυγγες ἔβαλλον  
 αἶ τ' ἀπ' ἐπισσώτρων. ὁ δὲ ἵετο δύναι ὄμιλον  
 ἀνδρόμεον ῥῆξαι τε μετάλμενος· ἐν δὲ κυδοιμὸν  
 ἦκε κακὸν Δαναοῖσι, μίνυνθα δὲ χάζετο δουρός.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεπωλεῖτο στίχας ἀνδρῶν 540

525. αὐτοί: ἄνδρες PR: ἄλλοι C<sup>1</sup>. 528. κεῖς': κεῖθ' Zen., Lips. (Pap. ζ'). || τε om. PR. || ἄρματ' CG(J<sup>1</sup>)QSU Vr. A: ἄρματα D: ἄρμα J (p. ras.). 529 in Pap. ζ begins κουροῖτ. 530 om. Pap. ζ. || ἄσπετος PR. || ὀρώρει DH (supr. ε) TU Lips. 535. περὶ: παρὰ Mor. 537. ὀπικώτρων T<sup>1</sup> (see on E 725). 538. τε Ar. Ω: δὲ ap. Did. (and A supr.). 539. δουρί Ar. PQR.

525. Cf. Φ 16, Ψ 242.

529. προβαλόντες, a curious expression with ἔριδα, but compare Γ 7 ἔριδα προφέρονται. The idea seems to be 'throwing into the midst' between the contending armies. The most likely restoration of the Pap. in 529 (530 being omitted) is van L.'s κοῦροί τε ἱππῆές τε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρονται. Writing ἐκ πλήρους instead of elision is common enough.

532. αἶοντες, according to Curtius (*Et.* no. 586), is here used in the primitive meaning of root *av*, to perceive, feel, without limitation to the sense of hearing. But λιγυρῇ, 'whistling,' may be more than a mere *epith. ornans*, and mean that the very sound of the descending lash is enough for the high-spirited horses.

535. αἶ περὶ δίφρον, sc. ἦσαν, see *H. G.* § 271; this is better than the usual reading αἶ, which implies a much later use of the article. So in 537 αἶ τε is '(those) which were thrown up by the tires.'

538. ὀπλέων with synizesis is a late

form (ἀφ' ὀπλῶν ἵππων is suggested by van L.).

537. ὄμιλον ἀνδρόμεον, the human throng, a curious phrase not found again; ἀνδρόμεος is elsewhere applied only to human flesh or blood.

539. μίνυνθα χάζετο δουρός, another strange expression, apparently *he refrained but a little while from the spear*, i.e. he gave his spear but little rest, meaning that he gave it none at all (*litotes*). Others understand *he drew away but a short distance from the spear*, i.e. he never kept far from the enemy while driving along the line, or according to others again 'he did not give way when he had thrown his spear, but followed it up at once.' None of these explanations is satisfactory. Ar. read δουρί, without any apparent gain.

540-2 seem designed to harmonize the obvious difficulty that after the pompous description of Hector's prowess the retreat of Aias is attributed to other reasons. 543 is not given by any of our MSS., and has been introduced into the text from quotations only, no two

ἔγχε' τ' ἄορί τε μεγάλοισι τε χερμαδίοισιν,  
 Αἴαντος δ' ἄλείεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο. 542  
 Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Αἴανθ' ὑψίζυγος ἐν φόβον ὥρσε· 544  
 στῇ δὲ ταφών, ὅπιθεν δὲ σάκος βάλεν ἑπταβόειον, 545  
 τρέσσε δὲ παπτήνας ἐφ' ὀμίλου, θηρὶ ἐοικώς,  
 ἐντροπαλιζόμενος, ὀλίγον γόνυ γουνὸς ἀμείβων.  
 ὥς δ' αἴθωνα λέοντα βοῶν ἀπὸ μεσσαύλοιο  
 ἐσσεύοντο κύνες τε καὶ ἀνέρες ἀγροῖῳται,

541 *om.* R<sup>1</sup>. 542. After this line editors since Wolf insert  
 Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμεσᾶσ', ὅτ' ἀμείνοισι φωτὶ μάχοιτο 543  
 from quotations (with 542) in Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 9 (νεμεσᾶσ'), [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.*  
 cxxxii., Plut. *de aud. Poetis* 24 c (Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμεᾶ, ἂν ἀμ. φ. μ.); and without  
 context *ibid.* 36 a Ζεὺς γάρ τοι νεμεᾶσι, ὅτ' ἀμ. φ. μάχοιτο. 544. αἴαντι P R:  
 αἴαντα Q. || ὑψήγορος R (ὑψίζυγος R<sup>m</sup>). || ἐν: ἐς G. 545 *om.* H. || ὅπισσε(ν)  
 GQT. || βάλεν *om.* P: ἔετο L. 546. δι' ὀμίλου Aph. 548-57 *ad.* Zen.  
 549. ἐσσεύαντο Ar. ? (see below).

of which quite agree together. It is inconsistent with the promise of Zeus to Hector, as well as with the next line, and is moreover hardly to be translated; it should mean 'Zeus was wroth, whenever he fought with a better man,' which does not make sense. Even if we can get out of it the sense 'Zeus was indignant that he should fight,' the reason for this emotion remains inexplicable. But considering the character of the preceding lines, we are hardly justified in rejecting 540-2(-3) by themselves, as most critics do.

544. Αἴανθ', sc. Αἴαντι. φόβον, against the canon of Ar., seems here clearly to mean *fear*, not *flight*, which begins only with τρέσσε.

545. ὅπισθεν βάλεν, swung round so as to hang (by the τελαμών) in such a way as to protect his back while retreating. This is probably the manoeuvre expressed by Θ 94 μετὰ νῶτα βαλὼν (see note).

546. τρέσσε as usual implies the actual movement of flight, and is to be taken with ἐφ' ὀμίλου, in the direction of the throng (of his friends). For this use of ἐπὶ with gen. see Γ 5, Ψ 374, H. G. § 200. 3. Aph. read δι' ὀμίλου, through the throng of the enemy. παπτήνας indicates a searching look to find the best course.

547. Slowly changing knee for knee; i.e. retreating slowly, *pedetentim*; cf. ἐπὶ σκέλος ἀνάγειν in the same sense, Aristoph. *Av.* 383, Eur. *Ph.* 1400.

548-57. This simile is repeated almost

verbatim in P 657-66. It is very appropriate, and it is with little reason that most editors, following Zen., reject it here. There is nothing to cause offence in the immediate sequence of two similes. The point lies in the reluctant retreat, 555 τετηρότι θυμῷ.

549. ἐσσεύοντο, thematic aor.; an imperf. is of course not admissible in a simile. οὕτως διὰ τοῦ ο ἐσσεύοντο Did.; but in O 272, where the line is repeated, Ἀρίσταρχος ἐσσεύαντο διὰ τοῦ α καὶ ἅπασαι. It is not likely that Ar. differed in the two places, so that we cannot say what his real reading was. Editors write ἐσσεύαντο, which is of course unobjectionable; but in the face of the co-existence in the tradition of double forms such as ἐβήσσετο, ἐδύσσετο, etc., beside -σατο there is no need to desert the unanimous tradition of mss. here and in O. It may indeed be questioned if a pres. stem σεύω is not as much a figment for Homer as ἀλεύομαι (see on E 444). The forms ἐσσενα, ἐσσντο, on the analogy of ἔχενα, κέχνητο, point to a pres. \*σέ(F)-ω, which could become σεν- only in the sigmatic forms; ἐσσενα = ἐσσεF-σα, etc. (cf. Eust. 62. 42 τὸ δὲ σός [e.g. δορυ-σός] . . ἀπὸ τοῦ σέω τὸ ὄρω ὃ προσλήψει τοῦ υ γίνεται σέω). There seems to be no instance of pres. σεύω earlier than Ap. Rhod. (ii. 296 σενέμεν: fut. ?), and the forms referred to the imperf. may nearly all be aorists. Beside ἐπισσένεσθαι (-έσθαι) or -έσθε, O 347, we find only ἐσσεύοντο, ἐπ-, μετ-



οἳ τέ μιν οὐκ εἰώσι βοῶν ἐκ πῖαρ ἐλέσθαι 550  
 πάννουχοι ἐγρήσσοντες· ὁ δὲ κρειῶν ἐρατίζων  
 ἰθύνει, ἀλλ' οὐ τι πρήσσει· θαμέες γὰρ ἄκοντες  
 ἀντίον αἴσσουσι θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν,  
 καιόμεναί τε δεταί, τὰς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ·  
 ῥῶθεν δ' ἀπονόσφιν ἔβη τετιηότι θυμῶι· 555  
 ὥς Αἴας τότ' ἀπὸ Τρώων τετιημένος ἦτορ  
 ῥῆε, πόλλ' ἀέκων· περὶ γὰρ διέ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ὄνος παρ' ἄρουραν ἰὼν ἐβίησατο παῖδας  
 νωθής, ὧι δὴ πολλὰ περὶ ρόπαλ' ἀμφὶς ἐάγη,

551. ΠΑΝΝΥΧΟΝ Mor.: παν(ν)ύχοιο PQR.

552. ἰούνει R. || πράσχι G.

553. ΑΝΤΙΟΝ Ar. Ω: ἀντίοι AHS Harl. d.

555. ΤΕΤΥΚΟΤΙ J: τετικότι Lips.

557. ΑΚΕΩΝ JR (ἀέκων R<sup>m</sup>).

εσσεύοντο (15 times), σεύε(ν), ἔσσευε(ν) (10 times). But in Σ 575, X 146, the imperf. is required by the sense. Here we may compare κατεβήσεται used as imperf. in κ 107; see *H. G.* § 41. Note that in H. the σ of this verb is invariably doubled, except when initial. Hence Zen.'s ἐξεσύθη in E 293 is an impossible form. The variation between the trans. and intrans. sense is found in the mid. of non-thematic aor. as well as with ἐσσεύοντο, e.g. T 148. σεύονται, which may be referred to either aor., is trans. in Γ 26 and probably intrans. in Δ 415 (cf. 419).

550. πῖαρ recurs again (besides P 659) in ι 135 μάλα πῖαρ ὑπ' οὔδας, and also in *Ηγμν. Ar.* 60, *Ηγμν. Ven.* 30. It seems more natural in ι 135 to take it as an adjective, than as a substantive with Buttmann. The form πῖαρ with fem. πείρα will be analogous to μάκαρ, μάκαιρα. Hesych. and Ap. *Lex.* explain πῖαρ by λιπαρόν, and Solon, 36. 21, has πῖαρ ἐξέλῃ γάλα, 'rich cream.' (See F. G. Allinson in *A. J. P.* i. 458.) The difficulty here, if we wish to understand it as meaning 'to pick out a fat one from the kine,' is that the neuter is very harsh immediately after βοῶν. We may, however, compare the instances given in the note on E 140 ἐρήμα. On the other hand, the substantival use is possible in all cases, and simpler here (see L. and S. s.v.), the 'cream of the herd.'

552. ἰούει, charges; see Z 2.

554. δεταί, bundles of twigs (δέω, to bind), fagots; hence torch in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1361. τρεῖ, evidently a mistake for τρεῖ (so Heyne), which is required by the metre.

558. The picture in this famous simile is that of an ass driven by boys along a high road, and turning for a while into the standing crops (this is always the meaning of ΛΗΪΟΝ) at the side; so Aias, though he is obliged to retreat, takes his own time. It is noteworthy that the ass is nowhere else mentioned in H., though the mule, ἡμίονος, is of course familiar (see note on B 851). Moreover, the knowledge of the animal is here confined to the simile, and is not attributed to the heroes. Even Hesiod does not name him. In connexion with this it is worth mentioning that there seems to have been in Greece, as among the Jews, a religious scruple about the breeding of mules, for it was forbidden in Elis; see Herod. iv. 30 and Paus. v. 5. 2 with Frazer's note. Yet, oddly enough, it is precisely in Elis that we hear of mule-foals in δ 635. ἐβίησατο, is more than a match for.

559. νωθός, apparently from νη- and ὀθομαι, indifferent. ἐάγη: the quantity of the ā has caused great difficulty, as elsewhere the aor. always has ᾶ (7 times in H.). κατὰγείη, Aristoph. *Ach.* 944, and similar forms in Attic arise from contraction (κατὰ-ᾶγ.). ἀάγες, λ 575, is the common lengthening in compounds. The analogy of ἐώρων, ἐάλων—see on E 487—adduced in *H. G.* § 67 (3) seems inadequate; ἐπλήγη is more to the point, but is itself unexplained. Hence numerous conjectures have been made, of which Bekker's ἀμφὶς ἐφάγη (rather ἀμφὶ φεφάγη) has been generally accepted. But the perf., as Monro remarks (*H. G.* § 42), must mean *are in a broken state* (see Hes. *Opp.* 534 οὐ τ' ἐπὶ νῶτα ἔαγε),

κείρει τ' εἰσελθὼν βαθὺν λήϊον· οἱ δέ τε παῖδες 560  
τύπτουσιν ῥοπάλοισι· βίη δέ τε νηπίη αὐτῶν·  
σπουδῇ τ' ἐξήλασαν, ἐπεὶ τ' ἐκορέσσατο φορβῆς·  
ὥς τὸτ' ἔπειτ' Αἴαντα μέγαν, Τελαμώνιον υἱόν,  
Τρῶες ὑπέρθυμοι τηλέκλειτοί τ' ἐπίκουροι  
νύσσοντες ξυστοῖσι μέσον σάκος αἰὲν ἔποντο· 565  
Αἴας δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν μνησάσκετο θούριδος ἀλκῆς  
αὐτὶς ὑποστρεφθεὶς, καὶ ἐρητύσασκε φάλαγγας  
Τρώων ἵπποδάμων, ὅτε δὲ τρωπάσκετο φεύγειν.  
πάντας δὲ προέεργε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας ὀδεύειν,  
αὐτὸς δὲ Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν θύνη μεσηγὺν 570  
ἰστάμενος· τὰ δὲ δοῦρα θρασειῶν ἀπὸ χειρῶν  
ἄλλα μὲν ἐν σάκεϊ μεγάλῳ πάγην ὄρμενα πρόσσω,  
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μεσσηγύ, πάρος χροῖα λευκὸν ἐπαυρεῖν,  
ἐν γαίῃ ἴσταντο, λιλαίόμενα χροὸς ἄσαι.  
τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησ' Ἐναιμόνος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς 575

561. ῥοπάλοισι PQR. 562. τ': δ' L. 564. τηλέκλειτοί (C *supr.*) GP<sup>2</sup>RS  
(T *supr.*) : τηλέκλειτοί P<sup>1</sup> : πολυηγερέες Ar. 565. ξυστοῖς μέσσον PR. 567.  
αὐτοῖς CL Lips. || ὑποστρεφθεὶς G. 568. τρωπάσκετο RU. || φεύγων (H *supr.*) J  
(*supr.* εἰν) T Par. k. 572. πρόσσω R. 573. ΛΕΥΚΩΝ : ΚΑΛΩΝ JPQR Mosc. 3,  
γρ. Harl. a : γρ. χαλκὸν Eust. 575. ἔΝΟΗΣΕΝ CDHPQRT. || ΕΥΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ Lips.

while the sense required is *were* (*have been*) *broken*. Brandreth conj. ἀμφὶ *Ἰάγῃσαν*, which is rather violent. A simpler and equally efficient change would be ἀμφὶ *Ἰάγῃ*, the correct form of the aor. subj., but one certain to be corrupted into ἀγῇ, whence ἐάγῃ naturally follows, to fill out the line. If none of these conjectures are accepted, there is no choice but to ascribe the lengthening, with Ahrens and Schulze, to the ictus of the 6th foot (see App. D). ἀμφί(c), *on both his sides*, i.e. across his back. The clause explains νωθῆς, he is indifferent because accustomed to severer treatment than the boys can administer. *ἄ,* before *now*.

561. *νηπίη*, 'child's play' as we say. αὐτῶν is very weak, and Hoogvliet's αὐτῶς, *merely*, is tempting; cf. Z 400 νῆπιον αὐτῶς.

562. σπουδᾷ, with all their efforts, *hardly*, as B 99. δ' for τ' has practically no support; but it is preferable in itself, as τε is hardly the conjunction by which to add the final touch usually introduced by δέ τε.

564. Ar. is recorded to have read πολυηγερέες, "ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγερθέντες,"

here, but no variant is mentioned in the same line, Z 111, I 233. The word does not recur elsewhere, and seems to have no superiority to the ordinary τηλέκλειτοί, for which see E 491. Ar., however, we may take it for certain, had some MS. authority, and did not invent the word. Compare Δ 438 πολύκλητοι.

565. ΝΥΣΣΟΝΤΕΣ governs both Αἴαντα and σάκος by a sort of 'whole-and-part' figure. ἔποντο, *hung on his heels*, 'stuck to him,' as we say; it means more than is implied by our 'follow.'

568. τρωπάσκετο, i.e. τρωπάεσκετο, see note on O 666.

569. προέεργεν ὀδεύειν, *prevented from making their way*. Both verbs are ἄπ. λεγ. in H. προ- implies 'before' (i.e. from) himself. Perhaps we should write it πρό as an adverb, and take it with ὀδεύειν, as in the phrase πρὸ ὁδοῦ Δ 382.

573. μεσσηγύ, *half way*. ἐπαυρεῖν, *reach*; see 391, Ψ 340.

574. For the personification of the spear see Δ 126, Φ 70. ἄσαι is here, and in the repetitions of the phrase, O 317, Φ 168, intrans., *to have their fill*. It is more commonly causal, *to sate*.

Εὐρύπυλος πυκινούσι βιαζόμενον βελέεσσι,  
 στῆ ῥα παρ' αὐτὸν ἰὼν καὶ ἀκόντισε δουρὶ φαεινῶι,  
 καὶ βάλε Φαυσιάδην Ἀπισάονα ποιμένα λαῶν  
 ἦπαρ ὑπὸ πραπίδων, εἶθαρ δ' ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσεν.  
 Εὐρύπυλος δ' ἐπόρουσε καὶ αἶνυτο τεύχε' ἀπ' ὤμων. 580  
 τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδῆς  
 τεύχε' ἀπαινύμενον Ἀπισάονος, αὐτίκα τόξον  
 ἔλκετ' ἐπ' Εὐρυπύλῳ, καὶ μιν βάλε μηρὸν οἷστῳ  
 δεξιόν· ἐκλάσθη δὲ δόναξ, ἐβάρυνε δὲ μηρὸν.  
 ἄψ δ' ἐτάρων εἰς ἔθνος ἐχάζετο κῆρ' ἀλεείνων, 585  
 ἦρσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον Δαναοῖσι γεγωνώς·  
 “ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες,  
 στῆτ' ἐλελιχθέντες καὶ ἀμύνετε νηλεῆς ἡμάρ  
 Αἴανθ', ὃς βελέεσσι βιάζεται, οὐδέ ἔ φημι  
 φεύξεσθ' ἐκ πολέμοιο δυσηχέος. ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἄντην 590  
 ἴστασθ' ἀμφ' Αἴαντα μέγαν, Τελαμώνιον υἱόν.”  
 ὧς ἔφατ' Εὐρύπυλος βεβλημένος· οἱ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν  
 πλησίοι ἔστησαν, σάκε' ὥμοισι κλίναντες,  
 δούρατ' ἀνασχόμενοι. τῶν δ' ἀντίος ἦλυθεν Αἴας,  
 στῆ δὲ μεταστρεφθεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἴκετο ἔθνος ἐταίρων. 595  
 ὧς οἱ μὲν μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο·

576. ΠΥΚΝΟΪΣΙ Q Cant. 578. ΦΑΥΣΙΑΔΗΝ GT. 580. ΑΠΟΡΟΥΣΕ JT. 583.  
 ἔΛΚΕΤ' : Εἶλκεν CDHJQ, ἐν ἄλλῳ Δ : Εἶλκετ' U (ΕΥ-) Vr. b, Mosc. 3 : Εἶλκον Par.  
 g. 588. ΑΜΥΝΑΤΕ Harl. a (e corr. : γρ. ΑΜΥΝΕΤΕ). 589. Αἴαντ' T : Αἴανθ' A  
 (supr. τι). || Αἴανθ', ὅς : Αἴαντος Zen. 590. ΦΕΥΞΕΑΘ' Lips. Mosc. 3 : ΦΕΥΞΕΑΘΑΙ  
 P. 592. Δὲ παρ' : δ' ἄρ' ἐν' Par. e (γρ. Δὲ παρ'). || αὐτῷ DU. 593. ΠΛΗΣΙΟΝ  
 J (supr. οἱ). || ἔστασαν G (supr. η) H (ἐ-) T Mosc. 3. 594. Δ' ἀντίος : ἐν ἄλλῳ  
 Δὲ σχεδὸν Δ. 595. μεταστραφεῖς G.

577 see Δ 496, etc. ; 578-9 = N 411-2, P 348-9 ; 581 = Γ 30 ; 585 = Γ 32, etc. ; 586-7 = 275-6, etc. ; 588 cf. P 511 ; 590 = Σ 307 ; 593 = N 488 ; 595 = O 591, P 114. The fact that this introductory passage is so largely borrowed must be taken into account in considering the whole Eurypylos episode ; see *Introd.*

580. αἶνυτο, *began to strip* (imperf.).

584. δόναξ, *the shaft of the arrow* (so only here). ἐβάρυνε must be used in a metaphorical sense, 'made it painful to move.'

585. ἐχάζετο, sc. Eurypylos. The phrase is generally used of a warrior who has just made a spear-cast, and immediately retires, being for the moment disarmed (see N 566, 648, Σ 408). Hence it has been proposed here to make

Paris the subject. But the manœuvre is not required by the archer who shoots from a distance, and in Γ 32, N 596, the line is used of a mere retreat.

588. στήτ' ἐλελιχθέντες, i.e. στήτε *Feilichθέντες*, as usual.

589. Αἴανθ' = Αἴαντι, as 544.

593. σάκε' ὥμοισι κλίναντες indicates the characteristic attitude of the Mykenaeen warrior as he crouches on one knee, the shield being set with its lower edge on the ground, and the upper leaning against the shoulder, while the spears are sloped forwards. See N 488, X 4. It is the attitude of caution and defence.

594. ἀντίος, with his face towards his friends.

596 = N 673, P 366, Σ 1. In these

Νέστορα δ' ἐκ πολέμοιο φέρον Νηληϊάϊ ἵπποι  
 ἰδρῶσαι, ἦγον δὲ Μαχάονα ποιμένα λαῶν.  
 τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 εἰστήκει γὰρ ἐπὶ πρυμνῇ μεγακῆτεϊ νηϊ 600  
 εἰσορόων πόνον αἰπὺν ἰώκᾳ τε δακρυόεσσαν.  
 αἶψα δ' ἑταῖρον ἐὼν Πατροκλῆα προσέειπε  
 φθεγξάμενος παρὰ νηός· ὁ δὲ κλισίηθεν ἀκούσας  
 ἔκμολεν ἴσος Ἀρηϊ, κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή.  
 τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱός· 605  
 “τίπτε με κυκλήσκεις, Ἀχιλεῦ; τί δέ σε χρεῶ ἐμείο;”  
 τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς·  
 “διε Μενoitιάδῃ, τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,  
 νῦν οἶώ περὶ γούνατ' ἐμὰ στήσεσθαι Ἀχαιοὺς  
 λισσομένους· χρεῶ γὰρ ἰκάνεται οὐκέτ' ἀνεκτός. 610

597. **νηληϊοί** PT (*supr.* **αι** *man. rec.*) Ambr. Harl. d, Par. c<sup>1</sup> d f<sup>1</sup> g: **νηλήϊον** Q *supr.*, γρ. Schol. T. 600. **ἐστήκει** Ar. 601. **ἰώκᾳ** te: *τινὲς* γρ. **ἰῶ** **κατα** An. 605. **πρότερος**: **πρώτος** J. 606. **τί**: τίς T: **πᾶ** G. | **σε** om. L: **τε** Eust. || **χρεῶ** GLQ<sup>1</sup>. || **ἐμοῖο** P Ambr. 607. **τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ'** ἔπειτα **ποδάρκης** **δῖος ἀχιλλεύς** G. 608. **τῷ(ι) ἐμῷ(ι)** GHJ: **τῷ(ι) (᾿)μῷ(ι)** or **τῷ(ι)μῷ** Ω. 609. **στήσεσθαι** J. 610. **ἰκάνετον** T. || **ἀνεκτός** Ar. Ω: **ἀνεκτῆ** CG Vr. b<sup>2</sup>: **ἀνεκτῆς** T (*supr.* **ο**; and **ἡ** *supr.* over **ο**).

passages only is **δέμας** used with a gen. like the Attic **δίκην** or **τρόπον**, Lat. *instar*, meaning 'after the similitude of fire.' The word is always an 'adverbial' accus., except in π 174 and perhaps κ 240 (Zen. **πόδας**); it means literally 'in *build*,' in formation. Cf. A 115, *H. G.* § 136. 2. The line suggests that the remainder of the book, with its entire change of scene, once formed a separate rhapsody.

597. **φέρων**, imperf., 'were in the meantime carrying.' **Νηληϊάϊ**, of the breed of Neleus, like **Τρώϊο** E 222.

598. **ἰδρῶσαι**, a most suspicious contraction; **ἰδρῶνσαι**, ἄγον Brandreth, **ἰδρῶντ'** van L. (as fem., cf. Θ 378, and note the variant **Νηληϊοί**).

599. **ἰδὼν ἐνόησε**, *he saw* (with the bodily) *and marked* (with the inward eye).

600. **ἐπὶ πρυμνῇ νηϊ**, i.e. upon the small deck at the stern, which was turned inland. The author of the passage evidently knows nothing of the wall. **μεγακῆτεϊ**, *capacious*; see on Θ 222.

601. **ἰώκα**, *flight*; a metaplastic acc. of **ἰωκή**: from E 521, 740 we should suppose the word to be **Ἰωκή**. An.

mentions the curious variant **ἰῶ καταδακρυόεσσαν**, which appears to be untranslatable. There is probably something wrong with the text of the scholion.

603-7. It has been objected to these lines (1) that **προσέειπε** in 602 ought, according to the regular Homeric practice, to be followed by the actual words spoken. (2) That a speech of a single line like 606 is very rare; this is indeed the only instance in any book before Σ. (3) That the allusion to coming events in 604 is not Homeric. Though these reasons are not convincing, yet taken together they have some force. (3) however is not exact, see E 662, etc.

606. For **χρεῶ** with acc. and gen. see I 75. The synizesis with shortening is very harsh, and is not found elsewhere. We should probably read **χρή** here with P. Knight.

608. **τῷ ἐμῷ**: cf. I 654 **τῇ ἐμῇ**. But the article would be better away. **μάλ' ἐμῷ** P. Knight; perhaps rather **ἀμῷ**.

609. These words, on any fair system of interpretation, are quite inconsistent with the position of I in the story. See the introduction to that book.



ἀλλ' ἴθι νῦν, Πάτροκλε δίφιλε, Νέστορ' ἔρειο,  
ὃν τινα τοῦτον ἄγει βεβλημένον ἐκ πολέμοιο.  
ἦ τοι μὲν τά γ' ὅπισθε Μαχάονι πάντα ἔοικε  
τῶι Ἀσκληπιάδῃ, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὄμματα φωτός·  
ἵπποι γάρ με παρήϊξαν πρόσσω μεμανῖαι.”

615

ὧς φάτο, Πάτροκλος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθεθ' ἐταίρῳ,  
βῆ δὲ θέειν παρὰ τε κλισίας καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ κλισίην Νηληϊάδew ἀφίκοντο,  
αὐτοὶ μὲν ῥ' ἀπέβησαν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν,  
ἵππους δ' Εὐρυμέδων θεράπων λῦε τοῖο γέροντος  
ἐξ ὀχέων. τοὶ δ' ἰδρῶ ἀπεψύχοντο χιτῶνων,  
στάντε ποτὶ πνοιὴν παρὰ θιν' ἁλός· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
ἐς κλισίην ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ κλισμοῖσι καθίζον.

620

τοῖσι δὲ τεύχε κυκεῖῳ ἐνπλόκαμος Ἑκαμήδη,  
τὴν ἄρετ' ἐκ Τενέδοιο γέρων, ὅτε πέρσεν Ἀχιλλεύς,  
θυγατέρ' Ἀρσινόου μεγάλῃτορος, ἣν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ  
ἔξελον, οὔνεκα βουλῇ ἀριστεύεσκεν ἀπάντων.  
ἦ σφωῖν πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιπροΐηλε τράπεζαν  
καλὴν κυανόπεζαν εὖξοον, αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῆς

625

611. ἔρειο Ammon. Q.  
in marg.). || παρήϊσαν S.  
ἔϊσας CH Lips. Ven. B.  
πολυβότειραν DPRTU.  
Ar. Ω: στᾶν δὲ CHTU King's Par. a<sup>1</sup>. || πνοιῇ C.  
Τῆν: ἦν U. || ἄρατ' R.

614. αὐτὰρ HQR Lips.

617. δὲ θέειν: ἐν ἁλλῳ δ' ἰέναι A. || Ἀχαιῶν:

618. οἱ δ': ἀλλ' H.

619. ἀνέβησαν U<sup>2</sup> sup. ||

621. τοῖ: οἱ (οἶ, οἷ) GHJPQRST.

622. στάντε

623. ἐπὶ: ποτὶ U. 625.

629. κυανόπεζον P. || αὐτᾶ(ι) GQS, γρ. A.

611. ἔρειο: apparently for ἐρέ-εο, from the longer stem ἐρε- found in ἐρέοντο Θ 445, etc. It should then be ἐρείο (Curtius *Vb.* ii. 47). Fick would prefer ἐρενε (which occurs in Hesych., and is explained ἐρείνα), Schulze ἔρηον (cf. on A 62), Brandreth ἔρεσθαι. The simplest alternative is ἔρειο of Ammonios (and one ms.); cf. εἶποις in 791 (*H. G.* § 299 b).

618. οἱ, Nestor and Machaon.

622. This treatment seems somewhat heroic for a wounded man, but probably has some connexion with the idea of the healthfulness of sea-water (see K 572). Fäsi quotes similar conduct on the part of the heroes of the Nibelungen-Lied. For εἶν(α) we should rather have expected the dat. θιν' (for θινί).

623. The variant ποτὶ in U seems to indicate the existence at one time of a reading ἐλθόντε.

624. κυκεῖῳ, a sort of stimulating porridge; see M. and R. on κ 234, where Kirke prepares a similar one, only with the addition of honey, which is not mentioned here as an ingredient, but is served separately (631).

625. ἄρετο, *won*, as a prize, γέρας ἐξαίρετόν, given to reward his pre-eminence in council (627), no doubt on account of advice he had given relative to the capture of the city. Observe εὐρατέρα in apposition with the relative τήν, instead of the more distant nominative.

628. ἐπιπροΐηλε, *moved forward to them*. ἰάλλω is used as in χεῖρας ἰαλλον, simply *put forth*, a weakening of the usual sense *shoot*. The compound recurs in *Hymn. Cer.* 326, *sent forth*, cf. χ 49 *ἐπίηλεν, started, prompted*.

629. κυανόπεζαν, *with feet of kyanos or blue enamel*; see l. 24.

χάλκειον κάνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμμον, ποτῶι ὄψον, 630  
 ἥδὲ μέλι χλωρόν, παρὰ δ' ἀλφίτου ἱεροῦ ἀκτήν, ✓  
 παρ δὲ δέπας περικαλλές, ὃ οἴκοθεν ἦγ' ὁ γεραῖός,  
 χρυσείοις ἥλοισι πεπαρμένον· οὔατα δ' αὐτοῦ  
 τέσσαρ' ἔσαν, δοιαί δὲ πελειάδες ἀμφὶ ἕκαστον  
 χρύσειαι νεμέθοντο, δύω δ' ὑπὸ πυθμένες ἦσαν. 635  
 ἄλλος μὲν μογέων ἀποκινήσασκε τραπέζης  
 πλεῖον ἐόν, Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρεν.  
 ἐν τῶι ῥά σφι κύκησε γυνὴ ἔκκυϊα θεῆισιν  
 οἴνωι Πραμνεῖωι, ἐπὶ δ' αἴγειον κνῆ τυρὸν  
 κνήστι χαλκείηι, ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ πάλυνε, 640

631. ἱεροῦ: ἱερὸν Harl. a, γρ. Eust. 632. ἥγ': ἥγαρ' Par. b: ἄγ' Par. h:  
 ἥγ' and εἶχ' Ar. διχῶς. 633. αὐτῶ U. 634. ἀμφὶ CP (p. ras.) S: ἀμφίς Ω.  
 635. πυθμένες: γρ. πυθμένα Harl. a. 638. θεοῖσιν PQ (supr. η). 639.  
 πρεμνεῖω P (supr. α). || ΚΝῆ: κνέε τινὲς τῶν 'Ἀρισταρχείων ἐκδόσεων (?) Eust.  
 640. κνήστι H (supr. ῑ) P<sup>m</sup>RS (supr. στι), and τινὲς Eust. || λευκ" ἐπάλυνε Α (γρ.  
 λευκὰ πάλυνε). || ἐπὶ . . πάλυνε: παρὰ δὲ κρόμμον ποτῶι ὄψον Plato *Ion*  
 538 c (from 630).

630. ἐπί, on it (the κάνεον, platter) an onion, as a relish for the drink.

631. ἀκτήν is generally explained as meaning *bruised meal*, from root *Fay* to break. We should, however, hardly expect to find the *F* omitted in what would appear to be a very primitive phrase. Other derivations have been proposed, e.g. *ac* (Skt.) to eat (Benfey), or *ak* to be sharp, as though referring to the ears of corn; Hesiod actually uses it of standing crops, *Opp.* 466, [*Scut. Her.* 290]. In the former place ἱερὸν supports the variant of Harl. a. For the scansion of ἱεροῦ see App. D (A 1).

632. Nestor's cup was a favourite subject of discussion among ancient commentators and archaeologists, from whose remarks Athenaeus has preserved us extracts of more compass than value. The best commentary on it is the gold cup found by Schliemann at Mykene, and represented in the cut at the end of this volume; see App. E. It differs from that here described only in having two handles (οὔατα) instead of four, and one dove to each instead of two. The πυθμένες are probably the *supports*, the strips of gold which we see running from the base to the handles. We must suppose that in Nestor's cup towards the top each of these was divided or widened so as to meet a pair of handles placed side by side. There is an obvious use for such double handles when a

heavy cup is passed from one drinker to another. Another interpretation is that the cup besides the base of the hollow part itself had a foot. The rim round the base of the Mykenaeen cup looks something like a true bottom or stand. The ἥλοι were either *rivets* to fasten the parts together, as at the foot of the Mykenaeen cup, or *studs* added for mere ornament.

636-7. This couplet comes in very strangely. So far from being represented as of unusual physical strength, Nestor is always lamenting his departed vigour. The lines might well be omitted; they look like a copy of Ω 455-6. For ἄλλος μὲν virtually = *an ordinary man* see note on Ψ 319.

639. 'Pramnian wine' is said by the scholiast to have been named from a mountain in Karia. It is mentioned by Galen as 'a black austere wine,' as though the name implied quality rather than place of origin (M. and R. on κ 234). Hehn suggests that it may represent a Thracian word which also occurs in the form παραβίη (Ath. 447 D) as the name of a drink made by the Paionians. It is clear that the ancients themselves knew nothing about it. κνέε, the reading of Ar., or rather κνέε (*H. G.* § 19), is required by the metre, though ΚΝῆ is defensible as a non-thematic form. ΚΝῆστι: originally no doubt κνήστῃ, cf. Ψ 318 μῆτι, etc.

πινέμεναι δ' ἐκέλευσεν, ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὥπλισσε κυκείῳ.  
 τῷ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν πίνοντ' ἀφέτην πολυκαγκέα δίψαν,  
 μύθοισιν τέρποντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνέποντες,  
 Πάτροκλος δὲ θύρησιν ἐφίστατο, ἰσόθεος φῶς.  
 τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ὁ γεραίος ἀπὸ θρόνου ὦρτο φαεινοῦ, 645  
 ἐς δ' ἄγε χειρὸς ἐλών, κατὰ δ' ἐδριάσθαι ἄνωγε.  
 Πάτροκλος δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀναίνετο εἰπέ τε μῦθον·  
 “οὐχ ἔδος ἐστί, γεραιὲ διοτρεφές, οὐδέ με πείσεις.  
 αἰδοῖος νεμεσητὸς ὃ με προέηκε πυθέσθαι  
 ὃν τινα τοῦτον ἄγεις βεβλημένον· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς 650  
 γινώσκω, ὁρώ δὲ Μαχάονα ποιμένα λαῶν.  
 νῦν δὲ ἔπος ἐρέων πάλιν ἄγγελος εἰμ' Ἀχιλλῇ.  
 εὖ δὲ σὺν οἶσθα, γεραιὲ διοτρεφές, οἷος ἐκείνος·  
 δεινὸς ἀνὴρ· τάχα κεν καὶ ἀναίτιον αἰτιώωιτο.”  
 τὸν δ' ἡμίβετ' ἔπειτα Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ· 655  
 “τίπτέ τ' ἄρ' ὦδ' Ἀχιλεὺς ὀλοφύρεται νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ὅσσοι δὴ βέλεσιν βεβλήηται; οὐδέ τι οἶδε  
 πένθεος, ὅσσον ὄρωρε κατὰ στρατόν· οἱ γὰρ ἄριστοι  
 ἐν νηυσὶν κέαται βεβλημένοι οὐτάμενοί τε.

641. ἐκέλευεν HQ Harl. b d, Par. c d g. 648. διοτρεφές G<sup>1</sup>H. || πείσης T.  
 651. γινώσκω L. 652. δὲ δ' PR. || ἔπος ἐξερέων L. 653. διοτρεφές G<sup>1</sup>H.  
 654. τάχα κεν . . αἰτιώωιτο : οἷος . . αἰτιάσασαι Plut. *de Adul.* 26. 657.  
 δὴ : δὲ P. || βελέες(c) JPST. 658. πένθεος DTU.

642. πολυκαγκέα, *parching*, cf. ξύλα κάγκανα Φ 364, σ 308; καγκαίνει· ξηραίνει, and καγκομένης· ξηρὰς τῷ φόβῳ, Hesych.

643. ἐνέποντες, *talking*, only here and ψ 301; elsewhere it always has an acc.

647. ἐτέρωθεν, from the opposite side of the tent to that where the chairs stood.

648. οὐχ ἔδος, *there is no sitting for me*, i.e. I have not time to sit down. So Ψ 205. Compare phrases like οὐ νέμεσις (Γ 156), *no wonder*.

649. νεμεσητός recurs only in the form νεμεσητόν, a thing worthy of νέμεσις, or indignation (Γ 410, etc.). It seems to mean here ‘capable of feeling indignation’; for the form compare ἐπιεικτός = *yielding* Θ 32, ἐρπετός *creeching*, τηλότης *enduring*, etc. (see the remarks in *H. G.* § 246\*). The analogy of Γ 172 αἰδοῖος δεινός τε would lead us to translate *terrible*; but this is not sufficiently supported by the use of

νεμεσίξομαι in one passage (α 263) in the sense of ‘fearing the gods,’ which is itself suspicious, see Agar *C. R.* xiii. 194. Compare also note on O 211. Possibly the natural association of αἰδώς καὶ νέμεσις (N 122) may have brought the two adjectives together.

653. ἐκείνος : a very rare form in H. for κείνος, but here established by metre. See note on I 63.

654. δεινὸς ἀνὴρ, an exclamatory nom., as in A 231, etc. It is possible, but on the whole less Homeric, to remove the full stop at the end of 653, and take the two words closely with οἷος ἐκείνος, *what a terrible man he is*.

657. ὅσσοι . . βεβλήηται are contrasted with στρατόν, ‘why does he show so much pity for the wounded and think nothing of the army at large?’

658. πένθεος : for the genitive after οἶδε compare Δ 357, M 229, *H. G.* § 151 d. It is not Homeric to regard πένθεος as a participial gen. after τι.

659. βεβλημένοι by missiles, οὐτά-

βέβληται μὲν ὁ Τυδεΐδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης, 660  
οὔτασται δ' Ὀδυσεὺς δουρικλυτὸς ἡδ' Ἀγαμέμνων.  
[βέβληται δὲ καὶ Εὐρύπυλος κατὰ μηρὸν οἴστωι.]  
τοῦτον δ' ἄλλον ἐγὼ νέον ἤγαγον ἐκ πολέμοιο  
ἰῶι ἀπὸ νευρῆς βεβλημένον. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς  
ἔσθλος ἐὼν Δαναῶν οὐ κήδεται οὐδ' ἐλεαίρει. 665  
ἡ μένει εἰς ὃ κε δὴ νῆες θοαὶ ἄγχι θαλάσσης  
Ἀργείων ἀέκητι πυρὸς δηϊοιο θέρωνται,  
αὐτοὶ τε κτεινόμεθ' ἐπισχερώ; οὐ γὰρ ἐμῇ ἰς  
ἔσθ' οἷη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν.  
εἴθ' ὥς ἡβώοιμι βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη, 670  
ὥς ὁπότε Ἥλείοισι καὶ ἡμῖν νεῖκος ἐτύχθη  
ἀμφὶ βοηλασίην, ὅτ' ἐγὼ κτάνον Ἴτυμονῆα  
ἔσθλον Ὑπειροχίδην, ὃς ἐν Ἥλιδι ναιετάεσκε,  
ῥύσι' ἐλαυνόμενος. ὁ δ' ἀμύνων ἡσι βόεσσιν  
ἔβλητ' ἐν πρώτοισιν ἐμῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἄκοντι, 675  
κὰδ δ' ἔπεσεν, λαοὶ δὲ περίτρεσαν ἀγροῖόωνται.  
λήϊδα δ' ἐκ πεδίου συνελάσσαμεν ἥλιθα πολλήν,

661. οὔταται S Vr. b. 662 om. AC<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>HPQRU Lips. Par. b h k. 668.  
ἐμῇ: ἐμοὶ GQ. 669. ἐνὶ: ἐπὶ Q. || γναμπτοῖσι GPQ (R *supr.*) U: γλαπτοῖσι R<sup>1</sup>.  
670. τέ ADHQU: δέ Ω. 672. βοηλασίην Ar. Ω: βοηλασίης DQS (*supr.* an)  
TU Vr. b A, Harl. a d, King's Par. a c d f g j k. 673. ὑπεροχίδην C Lips. ||  
ναιετάεσκε(ν) JR: ναιετάσκε(ν) Ω. 674. οἷα βελέεσσιν P (*supr.* βόεσσιν *man.*  
*rec.*). 675. ἐν: ἐνὶ QU. || ἀπὸ: ὑπὸ LU. 676. καδδέπασαν Q (*supr.* εν).  
677. πεδίου: γρ. πολέμου Vr. b.

μενοι by weapons held in the hand, as usual.

662. This line is om. by a majority of mss., and is evidently interpolated from II 27. Nestor knows nothing of the wounding of Eurypylos, which happened after he had left the field.

664. From αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς here to the same words in 762 is beyond a doubt a later passage. See *Introd.*

667. πυρὸς θέρωνται: cf. Z 331.

668. ἐπισχερώ, *in order*, one after the other. σχε- = (σ)εχ-, so that, with the exception of the unexplained suffix -ρω, ἐπι-σχε-ρώ exactly = ἐφ-εξ-ῆς, by which the scholia translate it. According to another interpretation it meant *on the shore* (σχερός· ἀκτή, αἰγιαλός, Hesych.), which happens to suit the other Homeric passages (Σ 68, Ψ 125) fairly well, but is sufficiently refuted by the analogous Pindaric ἐν σχερῶι, *in order*, Λ. i.

69, etc. οὐ γάρ implies the suppressed thought, 'I can do nothing to help it.'

669. γναμπτοῖσι, *flexible, lissome*; else only in *Od.* and Ω 359, where see note. The sense *bent with age* is also admissible here, as in Ω, if we put commas before and after ἔσκεν.

671. Ἥλείοισι, elsewhere in H. always called Ἐπειοί (and so 688); cf. ν 275 Ἥλιδα . . ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί, and note on B 615.

674. ἐλαυνόμενος goes with κτάνον. ῥύσια does not recur in H.; it is used in the sense usual in later Greek, *reprisals*, property seized as a pledge for reparation; see Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 858; Aisch. *Supp.* 412, etc. The deed which led to reprisals is recounted farther on (698).

677. ἥλιθα, else a purely Odyssean word, always followed by πολλή. It is possibly conn. with ἄλις.



πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀγέλας, τόσα πῶεα οἶδων,  
 τόσσα συνὼν συβόσια, τόσ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν,  
 ἵππους δὲ ξανθὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα, 680  
 πᾶσας θηλείας, πολλῇσι δὲ πῶλοι ὑπήσαν.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡλασάμεσθα Πύλον Νηλήϊον εἶσω  
 ἐννύχιοι προτὶ ἄστυ· γεγῆθει δὲ φρένα Νηλεὺς,  
 οὔνεκά μοι τύχε πολλὰ νέωι πόλεμόνδε κίοντι.  
 κήρυκες δ' ἐλίγαινον ἅμ' ἧοὶ φαινομένηφι 685  
 τοὺς ἔμεν οἷσι χρεῖος ὀφείλετ' ἐν Ἥλιδι δίηι·  
 οἱ δὲ συναγρόμενοι Πυλίων ἡγήτορες ἄνδρες  
 δαίτρενον· πολέσιν γὰρ Ἑπειοὶ χρεῖος ὀφείλον,  
 ὥς ἡμεῖς παῦροι κεκακωμένοι ἐν Πύλῳ ἦμεν.  
 ἐλθὼν γὰρ ἐκάκωσε βίην Ἑρακληΐην 690  
 τῶν προτέρων ἐτέων, κατὰ δ' ἔκταθεν ὅσσοι ἄριστοι.

678. οἶδων: μῆλων (γρ. οἶδων) L Vr. b (and so ξ 100 *ap.* Strabo p. 453).  
 679. συβόσια LT. 680. ξανθοὺς P<sup>L</sup>. 681. πολλὰϊσι G: πωλῆϊσι D. ||  
 ὑπᾶσαν: ὑπᾶρχον PRU. 682. ἡλασάμεθα GP. 683. ποτὶ PRS. || γέγηθε  
 DGUT. 686. χρεῖος C<sup>L</sup>[HS] Harl. a: χρέως AT: χρέος Ω. || ὠφείλετ' A  
 (T.W.A.) DH (*supr.* ο) J<sup>TU</sup> Mosc. 3: ὀφείλεται R. || χρέως ὠφείλετ' Ar.: χρεῖος  
 ὀφείλετ' Aph. (see Ludw.). 688. ὀφείλον (Ar. ? more probably χρέως ὠφείλον)  
 ADHLT: ὀφείλλον G: ὀφελλον Ω. 689. πύλῳι: γρ. πόλει Schol. D. 690.  
 γάρ: γάρ ρ' ADJQ Harl. a. 691. ἔκτανεν H (*supr.* θ) PRT Vr. A, Par. a c<sup>2</sup>  
 d f g k: ἔκτανθεν King's Par. b.

678. πῶεα οἶδων, probably πῶε' ὀφίων, with lengthening in the sixth arsis; cf. οἶω in this place only (in οἶομαι *ī* is a metrical necessity), but οἶω in other parts of the line, and οἶω, οἶομαι beside the contracted οἶων 696, X 501, etc. (but see Platt in *J. P.* xix. 43). It is tempting to read μῆλων (as Strabo does when quoting the identical phrase from ξ 100); but though this reading is found in L, it is probably a mere gloss, as it does not appear in the other members of the same family, PQR. The lengthening of the *ι* in συβόσια (679) is sufficiently justified by metrical necessity. Schulze (*Q. E.* p. 256) remarks that συβόσια would have been more regular (cf. συβώτης), but the vowel *ι* seems particularly susceptible to lengthening, and has thus asserted itself. The form συβόσια is wrong; τ of \*συβότης would become σ only before *ι* (cf. *ικετία* beside *ικεσία*). πλατέα, wide-ranging flocks of goats, as B 474.

683. The scholia note that here Neleus survives the expedition of Herakles (v. 690), in which, according to the more popular legend, he was killed with eleven

of his sons. The raid on Pylos seems to have played a very important part in the Epic poems on the deeds of Herakles. See the note on E 393.

684. τύχε πολλὰ, much success had fallen to me. νέωι, as a 'young hand,' with κίοντι.

686. The Attic form ὀφείλω in place of the Epic ὀφέλλω here and 698 (and in some mss. in 688) seems to be a mark of late origin; see on Z 350. The verse exhibits the forbidden trochaic caesura in the fourth foot; van L. reads ὀφείλετο, omitting ἐν.

688. δαίτρενον, proceeded to *apportion*. The verb is Odyssean (always of carving meat); it properly means 'to be δαιτρός' or carver.

689. ὥς with παῦροι, so few were we in Pylos through ill-treatment.

690. ἐλεῶν, a construction *ad sensum*, βίην Ἑρακληΐην being = Ἑρακλῆς. Cf. E 638, λ 91 ψυχὴ Τειρεσίαο . . σκῆπτρον ἔχων, X 87, etc., *H. G.* § 166. γάρ (γάρ ρ'): γάρ F' (sc. Ἥλιδα) van L.; but this is needless.

691. τῶν προτέρων ἐτέων: for the genitive see *H. G.* § 150.

δώδεκα γὰρ Νηληϊὸς ἀμύμονος υἱέες ἦμεν·  
 τῶν οἶος λιπόμεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ὄλοντο.  
 ταῦθ' ὑπερφηανέοντες Ἐπειοὶ χαλκοχίτωνες,  
 ἡμέας ὑβρίζοντες, ἀτάσθαλα μηχανόωντο. 695  
 ἐκ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀγέλην τε βοῶν καὶ πῶν μέγ' οἶῶν  
 εἶλετο, κρινάμενος τριηκόσι' ἠδὲ νομήας.  
 καὶ γὰρ τῶι χρεῖος μέγ' ὀφείλετ' ἐν Ἥλιδι δίηι,  
 τέσσαρες ἀθλοφόροι ἵπποι αὐτοῖσιν ὄχεσφιν,  
 ἐλθόντες μετ' ἄεθλα· περὶ τρίποδος γὰρ ἔμελλον 700  
 θεύσεσθαι· τοὺς δ' αὖθι ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Αὐγείας

692. ἀμύμονες HJP. 694. ἐπειοὶ: ἐν τισιν ἀχαιοὶ An. 695. ἡμέας GQ.  
 697. τριακόσια G. 698. τὸ, χρεῖος PQ. || γάηι L (γρ. δῆι). 699 ὑπώπτεινται  
 ὡς νόθον Porphy. on Θ 185. 700. ἄεθλια T: ἄεθλον Q (supr. α). || τρίποδας  
 S. || ἔμελλε P.

692. It appears that the *χωρίζοντες* founded an argument on this line to prove the separate authorship of the *Odyssey*, where (λ 285) only three sons of Neleus and Chloris are enumerated. Ar. replied that Neleus may have had other sons by other wives.

694. ταῦτα, adverbial, H. G. § 133. *ὑπερφηανέοντες*, only here, in sense evidently = *ὑπερφρονούντες*, *lifted up with pride*, though the der. is not clear.

695. *ὑβρίζοντες*: the verb recurs only in *Od.* (seven times). See on A 203.

696. οἶῶν: see on 678; πῶν *ὀφίων* Platt (*J. P.* xix. 43), the *υ* being of course incapable of elision.

697. *κρινάμενος*, *selecting*; the case is not analogous to the ordinary division of spoil, which is in the hands of the army, not of the king, who is only given a *γέρας ἐξαιρετόν*: here he is exacting payment for a debt. The lengthening of the first *ι* of *τριηκόσι'* in thesis is unique and unaccountable. In forms like *ὑπεροπλήσι* it is explained by metrical necessity (see App. D), which does not exist here; cf. φ 18–19 *μήλα γὰρ ἐξ Ἰθάκης Μεσσηνίου ἀνδρες ἄειραν | νηυσὶ πολυκλήϊσι τριηκόσι' ἠδὲ νομήας*, whence this line seems to have been carelessly copied. The short *ο* before *κρινάμενος* shews that the author of the line was not particularly sensitive to position formed by *ρ*. We may suppose that, relying on forms like *ὑπεροπλήσι*, he thought that the 'doubtful' vowel *ι* could be lengthened at will by an 'Epic licence'—but in that case we should have expected to find other similar instances.

Or we may emend with Bentley *κρίνας μήλα τριηκόσι'*, or with Brandreth *κρινάμενός τε τριηκόσι'* (comparing παρά τε *κλισίηι καὶ νηϊ μελαίνηι*). It has been suggested that the break in the line at the caesura permitted a short vowel here in place of a long one; but Schulze (*Q. E.* p. 422) shews that all the cases brought forward by von Christ to prove this are insufficient.

699. From the mention of a single charioteer in 702 (where, however, Naber suggests τῷ δ' ἐλατῆρ' . . . ἀκαχημένῳ) it would seem that a four-horse chariot is meant; the pl. *ὄχεια* being regularly used of a single chariot. For the very rare mention of such a team in H. see on Θ 185. The ancient critics, as Porphyrios tells us, regarded the line with suspicion on this ground; but it cannot be omitted. The mention of *ἄεθλα* in Elis naturally leads us to think of the Olympian games. It is likely enough that the idea was present to the poet's mind; but he could not without anachronism have named games which, according to the best authorities, were only established by Herakles in memory of Iolaos, after the death of Augeias, who is here still alive. The scholia remark, too, that the race is for a tripod (*χρηματίτης*), whereas the chariot race (first established in Ol. 25) was for a crown (*στεφανίτης*). Races on special occasions are of course familiar in H.; Nestor himself takes part in funeral games in Elis in Ψ 630 ff. For the form *ἀελοφόροι* see note on H 453 (*ἵπποι ἀεθλοφόροι* Brandreth).

κάσχεθε, τὸν δ' ἐλατῆρ' ἀφίει ἀκαχήμενον ἵππων.  
 τῶν ὁ γέρων ἐπέων κεχολωμένος ἥδ' ἐκαὶ ἔργων  
 ἐξέλετ' ἄσπετα πολλά· τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἐς δῆμον ἔδωκε  
 δαιτρεύειν, μή τις οἱ ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσης.  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν τὰ ἕκαστα διείπομεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ ἄστν  
 ἔρδομεν ἱρὰ θεοῖς· οἱ δὲ τρίτῳ ἡματι πάντες  
 ἦλθον ὁμῶς αὐτοί τε πολεῖς καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι,  
 πανσυδίη· μετὰ δέ σφι Μολίονε θωρήσσοντο  
 παῖδ' ἔτ' ἐόντ', οὐ πω μάλα εἰδότε θούριδος ἀλκῆς.

705

710

705 ἀθ. Ar., om. Zen. || ἵσχεσ U.

706. ἀμφὶ δὲ A (γρ. ἀμφὶ τε) DU Harl.

a: ἀμφὶ τε Ω.

709. ΠΑΝΣΥΔΙΗ Ar. Ω: ΠΑΣΣΥΔΙΗ(i) GJL Harl. a: ΠΑΝΣΣΥΔΙΗ

T (sic! from cc *supr.* over nc or *vice versa*). || ΘΩΡΗΣΣΟΝΤΕ Q. 710. ΠΑΙΔΕ Τ' ἔτ' ὄντ' PR.

703. τῶν goes with ἐπέων and ἔργων, 'these things, words and deeds'; implying apparently that an insulting message had been sent back by the charioteer. See B 629 for the wanton violence of Augeias. Note ἔργων without F: ἥδ' ἐτε Bentley.

704. ἐξέλετο, chose for himself; in a different sense from I 331. δῆμον, apparently the common stock; see notes on A 231, B 547.

705. Interpolated from ι 42, according to Zen. and Ar. But there is no serious objection to it here. δαιτρεύειν: see 688. ἵσχεσ: better αἴσης, fair share; see A 418, and ν 138 λαχὼν ἀπὸ ληΐδος αἶσαν (Bentley). Fick reads ἴσσης, quoting Hesych. ἴσσαισθαι κληροῖσθαι, Δέσβιοι. ἀτέμβεσθαι is a verb recurring only in Ψ and Od.

706. διείπομεν, impf. of διέπω, were disposing.

707. οἱ δέ, the Epeians, who make a raid to recover the booty taken from them. Many commentators have strangely fancied that this is the beginning of the war in which the fight already mentioned (671-6) was an incident. This leads to hopeless and needless confusion.

709. Μολίονε, the same as the Ἀκτορίωνε Kteatos and Eurytos, B 621; see 750 below. They played a great part in the Epic stories of Herakles, according to which they were slain in the campaign against Augeias. See Pindar O. x. 26-38; Paus. v. 1. 11-2. 2. The Homeric poems know them only as twin sons of Poseidon, and leaders of the Epeians. The two names Ἀκτορίων and Μολίων are both obscure. In form they are of

course patronymics, but they cannot both be so in reality, for they appear together in 750, and Homer never uses two patronymics together. The ordinary explanation is that Aktor was their nominal father, as Herakles is called son of Amphytryon, and that Μολίων is a metronymic from their mother Μολιόνη or Μολίνη (so Pausan. v. 2. 2). This is unlikely; the form Μολίονε is against it (though we may perhaps compare Δευκαλίδης = son of Δευκαλίων), and metronymics are almost unknown in Greece (Nessos, however, is Φαλυρίδης from his mother in Hesiod and Pindar). Others have proposed to derive both Μολιόνη and Μολίων from a supposed Μέλος, ancestor of the mother. For this there is no ground. The name Aktor is itself derived from Ἀκτορίων, not vice versa; the grandfather of Patroklos (785) is of course a different person. Later mythology made of the two brethren a pair of Siamese twins, διφνεῖς, with two heads and four legs and arms, but only one body (so Schol. A here and on Ψ 638, and apparently as early as Ibykos; see *fr.* 16, Bergk, where they are called ἐνίγνιοι). Welcker ingeniously, but not very probably, explained them as a personification of the two mill-stones (μύλα, μύλη), and hence sons of Aktor 'the crusher.' Others have seen in the name Μολίων an appellative meaning 'the warlike,' ὁ μετὰ μῶλον ἰών, and Hesych. explains the word as μαχητής. So also Eustath. Others, including W.-M. *Her.*<sup>2</sup> 13, more wisely abandon etymological interpretations, and recognise another instance of the divine twin brethren worshipped elsewhere as Ἀνακες, Διὸς κούροι, Tyndaridai, Apharetidai, etc.

ἔστι δέ τις Θρυόεσσα πόλις, αἰπεῖα κολώνη,  
 τηλοῦ ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ, νεάτη Πύλου ἡμαθύντος·  
 τὴν ἀμφεστρατόωντο διαρραῖσαι μεμαῶτες.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε πᾶν πεδίον μετεκίαθον, ἄμμι δ' Ἀθήνη  
 ἄγγελος ἦλθε θεοῦς' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου θωρήσσεσθαι 715  
 ἔννυχος, οὐδ' ἀέκοντα Πύλον κάτα λαὸν ἄγειρεν,  
 ἀλλὰ μάλ' ἐσσυμένους πολεμίζειν. οὐδέ με Νηλεὺς  
 εἶα θωρήσσεσθαι, ἀπέκρυψεν δέ μοι ἵππους·  
 οὐ γάρ πώ τί μ' ἔφη ἴδμεν πολεμῆϊα ἔργα.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἱππεῦσι μετέπρεπον ἡμετέροισι, 720  
 καὶ πεζὸς περ ἐὼν, ἐπεὶ ὥς ἄγε νεῖκος Ἀθήνη.  
 ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς Μινυήϊος εἰς ἅλα βάλλων  
 ἐγγύθεν Ἀρήνης, ὅθι μέιναμεν ἡῶ διαν  
 ἱππῆες Πυλίων, τὰ δ' ἐπέρρεεν ἔθνεα πεζῶν.  
 ἔνθεν πανσυδίῃ σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες 725  
 ἔνδιοι ἰκόμεσθ' ἱερὸν ῥόον Ἀλφειοῖο.  
 ἔνθα Διὶ ῥέξαντες ὑπερμενεῖ ἱερὰ καλὰ,  
 ταῦρον δ' Ἀλφειῷ, ταῦρον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι,  
 αὐτὰρ Ἀθηναίῃ γλαυκῶπιδι βοῦν ἄγελαῖην,

711. τι D (*supr.* c). 712. ἀλφειοῦ G Harl. b (*supr.* ω), Par. c (*supr.* ὦ) d (j *supr.*). 717. ἐσσυμένως Cant. 718. θωρήσασθαι R. 722. μινυήϊος QT (*supr.* ἱ over η): μινυήϊος R: μινυήϊος G. 724. ἐπέρρεεν Α (T.W.A.) CHJQSTU: ἐπέρρεον Ω. || πεζῶν: πολλὰ Mor. Cant. 725. ἐνθάδε Bar. (?) : ἐνεα γε G: ἐνεα U Mor. || πανσυδίῃ GJL: πανσυδίῃ T. 726. εὔδιοι P: γρ. εὔδιοι ἢ τοι μεσημβρινοί R<sup>2</sup>: ἐνδιοι (J<sup>1</sup>?) T Cant. Mor. Vr. b A: ἐνδιοι δ' J (p. *corr.*). 727. ὑπερμενέ' LU: ὑπερμενέ' Q. 728. ταῦρον τ' ἀλφειῷ JT. 729. χαλκῶπιδι J. || ἀγελείῃ T: ἀγελείῃ G.

711. Θρυόεσσα πόλις, 'Sedge-town,' evidently the same as B 592 Θρύον Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον. For the complex geographical difficulties connected with these names see note on B 591.

712. νεάτη, *last*, lit. 'lowest,' see I 153.

714. πεδίον μετεκίαθον, a strange phrase, perhaps to be compared with 496 ἔφεπε κλονέων πεδίον, 'when they had *chased* the plain,' i.e. every warrior in it. This is not satisfactory, but neither is the alternative, 'when they had passed over' the plain; for this sense can hardly be got out of μετεκίαθον, and the words are out of place and very weak after the mention of the beginning of the siege. Bentley ingeniously read ἄλλο τε, with a comma after μεμαῶτες and a colon after μετεκίαθον.

719. πολεμῆϊα ἔργα, 'the operations of war,' seem to be contrasted with the foray against the country-folk which constituted all Nestor's experience hitherto.

722. βάλλων, *emptying*, a unique use in H., but imitated by Ap. Rhodius ii. 744, etc.

724. ἐπέρρεεν, *kept flowing up* to us. Most mss. read ἐπέρρεον, but the singular is to be preferred, on account of the F of *Féthnea*, which is nowhere else neglected.

726. ἐνδιοι, *at mid-day*; see δ 450 ἐνδῖος δ' ὁ γέρων ἦλθ' ἐξ ἁλός, compared with 400 ἦμος δ' ἥελιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκει of the same moment; lit. *in full light* (cf. *dios*, *bright*). Hesych. ἐνδια· μεσημβρία.

729. The variant ἀγελείῃ is worth consideration. In any case it would seem as though ἀγελείῃ contained an



δόρπον ἔπειθ' ἐλόμεσθα κατὰ στρατὸν ἐν τελέεσσι, 730  
 καὶ κατεκοιμήθημεν ἐν ἔντεσιν οἷσιν ἕκαστος  
 ἀμφὶ ῥοὰς ποταμοῖο. ἅτὰρ μεγάθυμοι Ἐπειοὶ  
 ἀμφίσταντο δὴ ἄστν διαρραῖσαι μεμαῶτες·  
 ἀλλὰ σφι προπάροιθε φάνη μέγα ἔργον Ἄρης· 735  
 εὔτε γὰρ ἥελιος φαέθων ὑπερέσχεθε γαίης,  
 συμφερόμεσθα μάχη Διὶ τ' εὐχόμενοι καὶ Ἀθήνη.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πυλίων καὶ Ἐπειῶν ἔπλετο νεῖκος,  
 πρῶτος ἐγὼν ἔλον ἄνδρα, κόμισσα δὲ μώνυχας ἵππους,  
 Μούλιον αἰχμητὴν· γαμβρὸς δ' ἦν Αὐγείας,  
 πρεσβυτάτην δὲ θύγατρ' εἶχε ξανθὴν Ἀγαμήδην, 740  
 ἣ τόσα φάρμακα ἦιδε ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ προσιόντα βάλλον χαλκῆρεϊ δουρί,  
 ἥριπε δ' ἐν κονίησιν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐς δίφρον ὀρούσας  
 στήν ῥα μετὰ προμάχοισιν. ἅτὰρ μεγάθυμοι Ἐπειοὶ  
 ἔτρεσαν ἄλλυδις ἄλλος, ἐπεὶ ἴδον ἄνδρα πεσόντα 745  
 ἡγεμόν' ἱππῶν, ὃς ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐνόρουσα κελαινῇ λαίλαπι ἴσος,  
 πεντήκοντα δ' ἔλον δίφρους, δύο δ' ἀμφὶς ἕκαστον

730. Δόρπον : δείπνον Zen. || ἐλόμεσθα GP. 731. ἐν : ἐπ' LQT : ἀν' P  
 (supr. ἐν) : \*π' R (α in ras., ἐν supr.). || ἔντεσιν : τεύχεσιν J. 732. αὐτὰρ  
 JQ. 733. δὴ : δι' PQT Vr. b : δὲ A supr. || διαρραῖσαι AD Harl. a : δια-  
 πρᾶσείν Ω, γρ. A. 736. ἐμφορόμεσθα Vr. A : συμφορόμεσθα P. || μάχη PR. ||  
 ἀθηναί J (supr. H). 737. ἐπειῶν : τινὲς ἀχαιῶν γρ. An. 738. πρῶτον Bar.  
 740. θυγατέρ' HP. || ἔχε D. 741. Ἡ(ι)δεi CHQS Vr. b : εἶδεν Schol. Theokr.  
 ii. 16. 743. ἄν κονίης J. 744. αὐτὰρ GQU. || ἐπειοὶ : ἀχαιοὶ Mor. (cf.  
 694, 737). 746. ἡγεμόνες U. 747. ἐγὼ G. || ἐνόρουσα (A supr., T.W.A.)  
 DHJPQRTU : ἐπόρουσα Ω.

allusion in sound—not of course in sense—to this familiar name of Athene.

730=H 380. Zen. read δείπνον for δόρπον, but the latter word is obviously right, for the evening meal is meant.

733. On account of the F of *Ἰάστν*, Bekker conj. ἀμφέσταν δὴ (cf. Σ 233), Brandreth and Christ *Ἰάστν δὴ ἀμφίσταντο*.

734. προπάροιθε, before that came about. See on K 476.

735. ἥελιος φαέθων, an Odyssean phrase (four times). ὑπερέσχεε, stood above the earth. Cf. Γ 210, ν 93.

740. Ἀγαμήδην : apparently the Homeric name of Medeia, who has not yet been brought into the Argonautic legend. At all events, besides the resemblance of names, both are granddaughters of the

Sun (the father of Augeias), and are famed for their skill in drugs ; Pind. *P.* iv. 233 παμφάρμακος ξείνα. But Aietes is established as father of Medeia as far back as Hes. *Theog.* 956-62. Schol. A here gives a short account of Medeia, ending οἰκήσασα δὲ αὕτη τὴν πλησίον Ἥλιδος Ἐφύραν πολυφάρμακον ἐποίησεν ἐπονομασθῆναι (cf. β 328-9). This seems to be an attempt to bring the two legends into connexion, through the name of Ephyre, which traditionally stood for Corinth (see Z 152), but is here a town in Elis (Strabo p. 338), on the Sellêis. See B 659, O 531, and M. and R. on α 259, where there is a full discussion of the different towns bearing this name.

748. ἀμφί, one on each side of each chariot. Cf. 634, the only other case

φῶτες ὁδὰξ ἔλον οὐδας ἐμῶι ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντες.  
καὶ νύ κεν Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε παῖδ' ἀλάπαξα, 750  
εἰ μὴ σφωε πατήρ εὐρὺ κρείων ἐνοσίχθων  
ἐκ πολέμου ἐσάωσε καλύψας ἡέρι πολλήν.  
ἔνθα Ζεὺς Πυλίοισι μέγα κράτος ἐγγυάλιξε·  
τόφρα γὰρ οὖν ἐπόμεσθα διὰ σπιδέος πεδίοιο  
κτείνοντές τ' αὐτοὺς ἀνά τ' ἔντεα καλὰ λέγοντες, 755  
ὄφρ' ἐπὶ Βουπρασίῳ πολυπύρου βῆσαμεν ἵππους  
πέτρης τ' Ὀλενίης, καὶ Ἀλεισίου ἐνθα κολώνη

749. ΦΩΤΕΣ: ΦΥΝΤΕΣ L. 754. ΔΙΑ ΣΠΙΔΕΟΣ Zen. AC<sup>1</sup>: δι' ἀσπιδέος Ar. Ω (ἀσπίδος Q). 755. ΚΤΕΙΝΟΝΤΕΣ (om. τ') DQ. || Schol. Α ἐν ἄλλῳ χω (χωρίς) λέγοντες is corrupt: χωρίς τοῦ λ ἑλόντες(?) Ludw. 757. ἈΛΙΣΙΟΥ Ar. ADU: ἈΛΗΣΙΟΥ H (supr. ei) Steph. Byz. Cf. B 617.

where (in the vulg. reading) ἀμφίς precedes the acc. governed by it. In both passages it has of course supplanted an original ἀμφὶ Φέαστον. Monro points out that Δίφρος here means *chariot and horses*, whereas Homeric use restricts the word to the *car* as distinct from the rest of the chariot.

750. ἀλάπαξα, only here of slaying single men; elsewhere always of destroying towns or embattled ranks.

751. εὐρὺ κρείων is elsewhere used only of Agamemnon.

754. It is practically indifferent whether we read ΔΙΑ ΣΠΙΔΕΟΣ with Zen. or δι' ἀσπιδέος with Ar., as the origin and meaning of both forms are alike unknown. σπιδέος is explained by the scholia to mean *wide or long*; they quote from Aisch. σπιδίων μήκος ὁδοῦ, and from Antimachos σπιδόθεν = μακρόθεν, adding the form σπιδέεις, and a verb σπίζω = ἐκτείνω(?). ἀσπιδέος is explained *round like a shield or covered with shields* (thrown away by the fugitives)—both equally absurd. Van L.'s ὑπασπίδιοι is ingenious, but the corruption is unlikely, and the word is used only of cautious advance against an unbeaten foe (cf. N 158, 807, Π 609); it is entirely unsuited for pursuit. Possibly the word may be a forgotten proper name.

756. See B 615–7, from which it appears that Buprasia is a region, and the hill of Aleision and the Olenian rock localities on its boundaries. The correct form is Ἀλήσιον, as Steph. Byz. writes it, confirmed by Ἀλασυνῆς on an inscr. from Olympia (Collitz 1167 = *I.G.A.* 120). Steph. s.v. Ἀλήσιον says τὸ δ' Ἀλεισίον ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν “Ἀλαισιναίων χώρα”

περὶ τὴν Ἀμφιδολίδα . . . κεῖται δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁρεῖνῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐξ Ἡλίδος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν. The only clue to the position of the πέτρῃ Ὀλενίῃ is the name of Ὀλενος, a town on the N. coast at least twenty miles from any point on a road between Elis and Olympia. Βουπράσιον acc. to Strabo was the name of a district between Dyme and Elis, and therefore also roughly half-way between Olenos and Ἀλαισιναίων χώρα. The passage in the Catalogue is therefore perfectly intelligible when it names the two latter sites as on the opposite sides of Elis; our present author has taken the names thence with complete disregard of geography, not only treating the two distant points as if they were close together, but evidently conceiving Aleision as the farther, whereas to Nestor coming from the south it was some twenty-five miles nearer than Olenos. No doubt he was an Asiatic Greek completely ignorant of the Peloponnesos. It is as though an inhabitant of Berkshire describing an invasion from the north were made to say, ‘We marched to the Thames and found the invaders besieging Windsor; but we defeated them and drove them all the way to the Chilterns, as far as Aylesbury and Slough; and there we stopped the pursuit’—which would clearly shew that the author knew nothing of the country but the names.

757. ἔνθα κέκληται, sc. ‘where is the hill which is called the hill of A.’; a pregnant expression hardly to be paralleled in H., but not unfamiliar in later Greek (Soph. *O. T.* 1452, etc. ἐνθα κλήζεται οὐμὸς Κιθαιρών). Agar (*J. P.*

κέκλῃται, ὅθεν αὐτίς ἀπέτραπε λαὸν Ἀθήνη.  
 ἔνθ' ἄνδρα κτείνας πύματον λίπον· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ  
 ἄψ' ἀπὸ Βουπρασίου Πύλονδ' ἔχον ὠκέας ἵππους, 760  
 πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορί τ' ἀνδρῶν.  
 ὧς ἔον, εἴ ποτ' ἔον γε, μετ' ἀνδράσιν. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς  
 οἶος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπονήσεται· ἡ τέ μιν οἶω  
 πολλὰ μετακλαύσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ κ' ἀπὸ λαὸς ὄλῃται.  
 ὦ πέπον, ἡ μὲν σοί γε Μενοίτιος ὦδ' ἐπέτελλεν 765  
 ἡματι τῷ ὅτε σ' ἐκ Φθίης Ἀγαμέμνονι πέμπε.  
 νῶϊ δὲ ἔνδον ἑόντες, ἐγὼ καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 πάντα μάλ' ἐν μεγάροις ἠκούομεν ὧς ἐπέτελλε.  
 Πηληῖος δ' ἰκόμεσθα δόμους ἐν ναιετάοντας  
 λαὸν ἀγείροντες κατ' Ἀχαιίδα πούλυβότειραν. 770  
 ἔνθα δ' ἔπειθ' ἥρωα Μενοίτιον εὖρομεν ἔνδον  
 ἠδὲ σέ, παρ δ' Ἀχιλῆα· γέρων δ' ἱππηλάτα Πηλεὺς  
 πῖονα μηρία καῖε βοὸς Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ

758. κέκλιται H. || αὔθις CH. 760. ἀπὸ: ἐπὶ P. 761. πάντες: πάντως H. 762. ὧς ἔην G. || ἔον γε PR Lips.: ἔην γε Ω. 763. εὖ τε H (*surpr.* H). 764. μετακλαύσεσθαι HJR Lips. 767. νῶϊ δὲ: νῶϊν δ' HJ: νῶϊ δέ τ' QT: νῶϊ δ' DGPU. 767-85 *ab.* Ar. Aph. 768. ἐπέτελλε: ἐκέλευε C. 770. ἐγείροντες P. || ἀχαιίδα P. || πολυβότειραν DPU: καλλιγύναικα J (*γρ. πούλυβότειρα*) RT Par. k, ἐν ἄλλω A, *γρ.* Vr. b. 773. μηρία καῖε Ar.: μηρί' ἔκ(η)ε(ν) Ω (*ἔθουε Harl. a surpr.*). || βοῶν G.

xxiv. 281) suggests κέκλιθ' (κέκλιται), ὅθεν πάλιν αὐτίς κτλ., *Alcison, where the hill slopes.*

761. εὐχετόωντο, *gave glory*; see H 298.

762. ὧς ἔον, εἴ ποτ' ἔον γε: see on Γ 180. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς is the catchword from 664, with which we re-enter the original stream of narrative.

763. τᾶς: so all mss.; but there can be no doubt that the right reading is ἡς or ἐῆς, cf. P 25 ἡς ἡβης ἀπόνητο, and see App. A. οἶος ἀπονήσεται, *will have the profit to himself*—an expression immediately corrected; '(nay, no profit; on the contrary) he will weep tears of penitence.' μετα- gives the idea of penitence through that of 'after' as in μεταμελίσθαι, etc. 765-6 = I 252-3.

767. Aristophanes and Ar. athetized from this line to 785, on the ground that the composition is prosaic; that they are inconsistent with the charge of Peleus to his son in I 254; that Peleus here ὧς εἶδωλον σπένδει, leaving to his son all the duties of hospitality.

More serious objections are that ὦδε in 765 is too far separated from the words to which it refers in 786; and that 784 appears also in Z 208, the repetition of such a line not being like Homer. But instead of athetizing it is better to say that here, as in other parts, the speech shews marks of growth. νῶϊ δὲ ἔνδον: edd. νῶϊ δέ τ'. But the hiatus is perhaps admissible in this place; see on B 87, 105. In any case the use of δέ τε is not suitable here.

770. πούλυβότειραν is elsewhere applied only to χθών. Perhaps therefore we should accept the usual καλλιγύναικα.

771. The reason which made Menoitios an inmate of Peleus' house is given in Ψ 85.

773. καῖε: so Ar.; mss. ἔκκε, which is obviously inferior. τερπικεραύνῳ, 'hurler of the thunderbolt,' from *τερπ-* = *τροπ-* by metathesis, root *tark*, Virgil's 'qui fulmina torquet.' This explanation, given by G. Meyer in Curtius *St.* vii. 180, is far preferable to the ordinary 'rejoicing in the thunderbolt.' There

αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτῳ, ἔχε δὲ χρύσειον ἄλεισον  
 σπένδων αἶθοπα οἶνον ἐπ' αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσι. 775  
 σφῶϊ μὲν ἀμφὶ βοδὸς ἔπετον κρέα, νῶϊ δ' ἔπειτα  
 στήμεν ἐνὶ προθύροισι· ταφῶν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς,  
 ἐς δ' ἄγε χειρὸς ἐλών, κατὰ δ' ἐδριάσθαι ἄνωγε,  
 ξεινιά τ' εὖ παρέθηκεν, ἃ τε ξεινοῖς θέμις ἐστίν.  
 ἀντάρ ἐπεὶ τάρπημεν ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτῆτος, 780  
 ἦρχον ἐγὼ μύθοιο, κελεύων ὕμν' ἄμ' ἔπεσθαι·  
 σφῶ δὲ μάλ' ἠθέλετον, τῷ δ' ἄμφω πόλλ' ἐπέτελλον.  
 Πηλεὺς μὲν ὦι παιδὶ γέρων ἐπέτελλ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ  
 αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων·  
 σοὶ δ' αὖθ' ὧδ' ἐπέτελλε Μενότιος Ἀκτορος υἱός· 785  
 “τέκνον ἐμόν, γενεῇ μὲν ὑπέρτερός ἐστιν Ἀχιλλεύς,  
 πρεσβύτερος δὲ σύ ἐσσι· βίηι δ' ὃ γε πολλὸν ἀμείνων.  
 ἀλλ' εὖ οἱ φάσθαι πυκινὸν ἔπος ἡδ' ὑποθέσθαι  
 καὶ οἱ σημαίνειν· ὁ δὲ πείσεται εἰς ἀγαθὸν περ.”  
 ὧς ἐπέτελλ' ὁ γέρων, σὺ δὲ λήθαι. ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν 790  
 ταύτ' εἵποις Ἀχιλλῆϊ δαΐφρονι, αἳ κε πίθηται.

774-5 *om.* H<sup>t</sup>. 776. βοῶν GJ, γρ. Harl. a. 777. προθύρῃσι Vr. b.  
 778. ἐδριάσασθαι P. 780. τάρπωμεν L: τάρπομεν PR. 781. μύθοιοι DU.  
 782. σφῶϊ G. || ἡελέτην Zen. 785. αὐθ' ὧδ': ὁ πατήρ Eust. || αὐθ':  
 αὐ L Mor. Par. c<sup>1</sup>. 786. ὑπέρτατος Harl. d, *Et. Mag.* 225. 787. πρε-  
 βύτατος U. 788. ἐπακούσαι J (γρ. ὑποθέσθαι), and *ap.* Eust. 791. εἵπης Q  
 (*supr.* οι). || In Pap. η the line ends with ]con.

is no other instance in Homer of such a 'subjective' epithet of a god; *ιοχέαιρα*, which has been compared, is of course from *χέω*, not *χαίρω*. Meyer further points out that if *τερπι-* came from *τέρπω* it should mean 'making glad the thunderbolt.' Cf. *H. G.* § 124 b.

774. *χόρτῳ*, the enclosed space of the court where stood the altar of Ζεύς *Ἐρκεῖος* (χ 335). *ἄλεισον*, else only in Ω and *Od.*; the word seems to be identical in sense with *δέπας*, compare ο 469 *ἄλεια* with *δέπα* in ο 466, so also γ 50-1. *ἄλεισον καὶ δέπας τὸ αὐτὸ* Ath. xi. 783.

775. Döderlein is probably right in taking *ἐνὶ* to mean 'with,' 'in addition to,' as the practice was to pour libations not on the altar, but on the ground.

776. *ἀμφὶ ἔπετον*, were 'treating,' preparing for the meal. For this form of the 2nd person dual in historic tenses see *H. G.* § 5 ad fin., and note on Θ 448. Zen. read *ἡθελήτην* in 782, and therefore no doubt *ἐπέτην* here.

779. *ΞΕΙΝΟΙΣ ΘΕΜΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ*, sc. *παραθεῖναι*. Note the short form of the dat. pl. which cannot be removed without great violence.

782. *σφῶϊ μὲν* Brandr., *σφῶϊ μάλ'* van L. The contracted form is very rare and doubtful; cf. νῶ E 219, and X 47.

786. *ΓΕΝΕΪ* here means *descent* as son of a goddess, not *age* as in I 58. Curiously enough the ancient critics generally took *ΓΕΝΕΪ* *ὑπέρτερος* to mean *younger*. Strange fancies were built up on this line and Π 96-100, for which reference may be made to Plato *Symp.* 180, Athen. xiii. 601, Aischines *in Tim.* 141 ff.

789. *ΧΗΜΑΙΝΕΙΝ*, to give the word of command, see A 289. This is not consistent with Phoenix' claim to the same position in I 442, but Phoenix is of course unknown to the author of this passage. *εἰς ἀγαθόν περ*, 'for his own good,' as we say. Cf. I 102.

791. *Φείποις ταῦτ'* Bentley, *τὰ Φείποις* Heyne, *ταῦτα σὺ Φείπ'* Brandr. The



τίς δ' οἶδ' εἴ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θυμὸν ὀρίναις  
 παρειπών; ἀγαθὴ δὲ παραίφασίς ἐστιν ἑταίρου.  
 εἰ δέ τινα φρεσὶν ἡμῖσι θεοπροπίην ἀλλεείνει  
 καὶ τινά οἱ παρ Ζητὸς ἐπέφραδε πότνια μήτηρ, 795  
 ἀλλὰ σέ περ προέτω, ἅμα δ' ἄλλος λαὸς ἐπέσθω  
 Μυρμιδόνων, αἳ κέν τι φόως Δαναοῖσι γένηται  
 καὶ τοι τεύχεα καλὰ δότω πόλεμόνδε φέρεσθαι,  
 αἳ κέ σε τῷ ἴσκοντες ἀπόσχονται πολέμοιο  
 Τρῶες, ἀναπνεύσωσι δ' ἀρήϊοι νῆες Ἀχαιῶν 800  
 τειρόμενοι· ὀλίγη δέ τ' ἀνάπνευσις πολέμοιο.  
 ῥεία δέ κ' ἀκμήτες κεκμηότας ἄνδρας αὐτῇ  
 ὥσαισθε προτὶ ἄστρ' νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων."

792. ὀρίνεις H. 794-5 om. Zen. 794. θεοπροπίην R. 795. ὑπέφραδε  
 L. || In Pap. η this line is followed by two ending in ογεροντος and ωνιόσων.  
 796. σὲ μὲν S. || ἴλαον ἀνωχῶ Pap. η. 797. αἳ κεν: ἦν που G. || φάος  
 Eust. on II 295: φάος GP. || γένηται G Par. k: γένοισθε ἢ γένηται Eust. (γέναιο  
 on II 295). 798. In Pap. η the line ends κρηχῆναι (the first κ uncertain).  
 799. ἴσκοντες Zen. Ω: εἴσκοντες Ar. Lips.: εἴσκοντες D<sup>2</sup>QR. 800-1 om. LP<sup>ε</sup>.  
 801. τ': τις G. || ἀνάπαυσις Lips. 802. δέ κ' om. Lips.: δ' P: δ' ἂν L. ||  
 κεκμηότας GR. 802-3 ἀθ. Ar. 803. ὥσεσθε CGJR (*supr.* αἱ) S Vr. b A,  
 Harl. a, Lips.: ὥσεσθαι HQ. || ποτὶ S.

opt. is used as a gentle imperative. The line in the Papyrus may have had εἰπών for εἴποις, and ended δεῦρο κάλεσσον (Nicole), or πόλεμόνδε κάλεσσον (Menrad).

792. ὀρίναις: this form is very rare in the 2nd and 3rd sing., cf. on B 4; δ 547 is the only other instance of the 2nd. G. Hermann conj. ὀρίνης, comparing O 403, where Patroklos repeats the words of Nestor, using ὀρίνω. See, however, § 120. τίς Φοῖδ' Heyne.

794-803 = II 36-45. Many critics, from P. Knight and Heyne on, have urged that the lines are interpolated here; they lose all their grace in the other passage if, instead of coming from Patroklos' own chivalrous thought, they are merely repeated by rote like a lesson. P. Knight includes also 792-3, as coming from O 403-4.

795. καὶ τινα, 'and such a prophecy has been declared to him,' a simple case of parataxis where, in later Greek, an explicative relative clause would rather have been added. Of the added lines in the Papyrus, the first is evidently ἀργυρόπεζα θεῖς, θυγάτηρ ἄλκιου γέροντος, the second is completed by Nicole αὐτὸς μὲν μενέτω νηῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι θαλάσῃ.

796. ἄλλος δ' ἅμα Nauck, with better

rhythm (see on B 751), but the phrase recurs in 189, 204, II 38, forming in fact a large portion of the exceptions to 'Wernicke's law.' The Papyrus may have had τὸν δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἀνώχθω (Nicole) or καὶ ἐπεσθαι λαὸν ἀνώχθω (Menrad).

798. Nicole completes the line in Pap. καὶ δότω ὦμιον τὰ ἂ τεύχεα θωρηχθῆναι (see II 40).

799. ἴσκοντες only here (= II 41) and δ 279, else always εἴσκειν: hence Ar. read εἴσκοντες, a very unlikely form, as even Herodianos remarks. ἴσκω is apparently for *ἴσκ-σκω*, root *ἴσκ* of *εἶκα*, etc.

801. τειρόμενοι goes closely with ἀναπνεύσωσι, *may have pause from toil*. ὀλίγη κτλ.: the sense seems to be 'there is so little respite from war that even a short breathing-space will be precious' (as no actual victory can be won without Achilles himself).

802-3 were athetized by Ar. as being more in place in II 44-5, where the Trojans have been fighting a long battle at the ships. But there is little reason for selecting this couplet only for condemnation; it should keep company with the preceding eight lines.

ὥς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ὄρινε,  
 βῆ δὲ θέειν παρὰ νῆας ἐπ' Αἰακίδην Ἀχιλλῆα. 805  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κατὰ νῆας Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο  
 ἔξε θεῶν Πάτροκλος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε θέμις τε  
 ἦεν, τῇ δὴ καὶ σφι θεῶν ἐτετεύχато βωμοί,  
 ἐνθά οἱ Εὐρύπυλος βεβλημένος ἀντεβόλησε,  
 διογενὴς Ἐναιμονίδης, κατὰ μηρὸν οἷστωι, 810  
 σκάζων ἐκ πολέμου· κατὰ δὲ νότιος ῥέεν ἰδρῶς  
 ὤμων καὶ κεφαλῆς, ἀπὸ δ' ἔλκεος ἀργαλείοιο  
 αἷμα μέλαν κελάρυζε, νόος γε μὲν ἔμπεδος ἦεν.  
 τὸν δὲ ἰδὼν ὠικτεῖρε Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱός,  
 καὶ ῥ' ὀλοφυρόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 815  
 “ἂ·δειλοί, Δαναῶν ἡγήτορες ἡδὲ μέδοντες,  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἐμέλλετε τῇλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης  
 ἄσειν ἐν Τροίῃ ταχέας κύνας ἀργέτι δημῶι.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ, διοτρεφεὺς Εὐρύπυλ' ἥρως,  
 ἥ ῥ' ἔτι που σχήσουσι πελώριον Ἑκτορ' Ἀχαιοί, 820  
 ἥ ἤδη φθίσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δουρὶ δαμέντες.”

804. After this Pap. η has <τεῖρε γὰρ αἰνὸν ἄχος κραδίην, ἂ> κάχκε δὲ θυμόν (*suppl.* Nicole). 805. παρὰ: ἐπὶ JT. || After this is a line in Pap. η ending ]ενδυσεφαλα[, θυ and ἀλα uncertain, acc. to Diels; but Nicole reads νο . . . . α . . . α . . only. 807. ἦεε G. || Followed in Pap. η by <καὶ κλισία προπάροιθε νεῶν ὄρε> οκραιράων (*suppl.* Nicole). 808. ἦεν J (*supr.* η) Q: εἶην H (*supr.* εν) Harl. a: εἶεν G: ἦην Ω. || βωμός G. 809. ἀντεμολήσεν Pap. η. 810. εὐδαιμονίδης J (cf. 575). 811. κατὰ: ἀπὸ Pap. η. 813. γέ μιν D: γέ μιν Q. 814. ἄλκιμος: ἀγλαός Pap. η, γρ. Vr. b. 815. ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φύ χειρὶ ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν Pap. η (without accents). 816. ἂ: ὦ G. 818. ἀργέτι δημῶι: γρ. ἡδ' οἰωνοὺς Α. 819. διοτρεφεὺς GH. 820. ῥ' ἔτι: ῥά τι G. 821. φθίσονται: φεσεται Pap. η. || δαμάντες U.

805. Diels completes the added line in Pap. ἀγγελίην ἐρέων, αὐτὶς τ' ἐνδυσε φάλαγγας, Nicole τὸν δ' εὔρε προπάροιθε νεῶν ὀρθοκραίρων.

806. κατὰ, over against. The ships of Odysseus were in the centre of the camp; see l. 5. In H 383 the ἀγορή is held at the ship of Agamemnon, a more likely place.

807. θέμις, the giving of dooms. Cf. ι 112 τοῖσιν δ' οὐτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὐτε θέμιστες. For the half local use we may compare κόπρος = byre, Σ 575, and the Attic ψῆφος = the place of voting, Eur. I. T. 945; πεσσός, Med. 68, τυρός = cheese-market, and so on. For the common altar of the camp see Θ 249.

808. ἦεν, the correct form, has been supplanted in nearly all mss. by the

indefensible ἦην, which recurs only in *Od.*; see H. G. § 12, van L. *Ench.* p. 520.

809. See 583 for the wounding of Eurypylos.

813. γέ μέν, however, 'still his spirit was unshaken'; so B 703, etc., in later Greek γέ μὴν.

815. καὶ ῥ': καὶ F' Brandreth and van L.

817. ὥς ἄρα, like B 158, etc. οὕτω δῆ; thus then ye were destined. Or we might take ὥς as a simple exclamation, how are ye destined!

818. ἀργέτι for the more usual ἀργῆτι, white, as Φ 127.

820. στήσουσι, will sustain, resist the attack of Hector; so M 166, but σχήσασθαι in P 639.

821. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δουρί: see on Γ 436.

τὸν δ' αὖτ' Εὐρύπυλος πεπνυμένος ἀντίον ἤϋδα·  
 “οὐκέτι, διογενὲς Πατρόκλεις, ἄλκαρ Ἀχαιῶν  
 ἔσσεται, ἀλλ' ἐν νηυσὶ μελαίνησιν πεσέονται.  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πάντες, ὅσοι πάρος ἦσαν ἄριστοι, 825  
 ἐν νηυσὶν κέαται βεβλημένοι οὐτάμενοι τε  
 χερσὶν ὑπο Τρώων· τῶν δὲ σθένος ὀρνυται αἰέν.  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν σὺ σώωσον ἄγων ἐπὶ νῆα μέλαιναν,  
 μηροῦ δ' ἔκταμ' οἷστόν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δ' αἶμα κελαϊνὸν  
 νίξ' ὕδατι λιαρῶι, ἐπὶ δ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσε 830  
 ἐσθλά, τά σε προτί φασιν Ἀχιλλῆος δεδιῶχθαι,  
 ὃν Χείρων ἐδίδαξε, δικαιοτάτος Κενταύρων.  
 ἱητροὶ μὲν γὰρ Ποδαλείριος ἠδὲ Μαχάων,  
 τὸν μὲν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν οἴομαι ἔλκος ἔχοντα,  
 χρῆζοντα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμύμονος ἱητῆρος, 835  
 κέισθαι, ὁ δ' ἐν πεδίῳ Τρώων μένει ὄξυν Ἀρηα.”  
 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱός·  
 “πῶς τὰρ ἔοι τάδε ἔργα; τί ῥέξομεν, Εὐρύπυλ' ἥρως;

822. δ' αὖτ': *δηυ* Pap. η. || πεπνυμένος CPQRTU Pap. η, King's Par. a c d f g h, γρ. Vr. b, ἐν ἄλλωι A: βεβλημένος Ω. 823. π.τροκλῆς Pap. η. || ἄλκαρ: *ημαρ* Pap. η. 825. πάντες, ὅσοι: ὅσοι πάντες H. 827. τῶν: τοῦ PQ Pap. η. || ὀρνυται LQ. || τοῦ δὲ σθένος ἀέν ὄρωρε | "Ἐκτορος ὅς τάχα νῆας ἐνιπλήσει (i.e. ἐνιπρήσει· πυρὶ κηλέωι (κηλείω ms.) | δνιώσας Δαναοὺς παρὰ εἶν' ἁλόε. αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς | <ἐς> ἁλὸς ἐ<ὠν> Δαναῶν οὐ κήδεαι οὐδ' ἐλεαίρει Pap. η (without accents. See Θ 235, A 664). 828. νῆα μέλαιναν: νῆας ἀχαιῶν D. 829. μηροῦ τ' PQ. 830. χλιαρῶ R Lips.<sup>2</sup> Vr. A: λλιερωι Pap. η || ἐπὶ: *επυ* Pap. η. || πασσων Pap. η. 831. δεδιῶχθαι: δεδάσθαι Zen. 832. δικαιοτέρος G (and *ap. Did.*). 833. ποδαλῆριος Pap. η. 835-6. In place of these two lines Pap. η has room for six, which are however lost. 838. ἔοι: *ἐη* R: *ἐην* Zen. || ῥέξομαι R. || There is room for another (lost) line after this in Pap. η.

823. ἄλκαρ, *defence*, cf. E 644. It is difficult to suppose that the *ἡμαρ* of Pap. is more than a blunder. For 824 see on 311, I 235; the subject of πεσέονται seems to be Ἀχαιοί. Ar., however, took it to be Τρῶες. 826=659.

830. πάσσων in Pap. is again apparently a mere blunder. Cf. E 900.

831. προτί goes with Ἀχιλλῆος: the insertion of the verb between preposition and case is very unusual. For δεδιῶχθαι Zen. read δεδάσθαι (or -αάσθαι), as π 316. This looks much more like a Homeric form, and perhaps should be adopted in the text. Van L. reads δεδάσθαι as an aor., cf. ζ 233 δέδαε=ἐδίδαξε.

832. δικαιοτάτος means, in modern

phrase, 'the most civilized,' most conversant with *δίκη*, the traditional order of society. So the Cyclops in ι 175 is οὐ δίκαιος as opposed to φιλόξενος. For the Centaurs see note on A 268; and for Cheiron cf. Δ 219, where he teaches Asklepios. The scholia properly remark that the legend of the education of Achilles by Cheiron is entirely inconsistent with the tale of Phoinix in I.

833. ἱητροὶ μὲν . . τὸν μὲν, an anacoluthon; ὁ μὲν κέεται should have followed, in order to be regular, as ὁ δὲ does in the second clause, 836. Cf. I 356-61, B 353, for similar anacolutha.

835. χρῆζοντα, *needing*, else only in Od. (three times).

838. πῶς τὰρ ἔοι, *how can these*

ἔρχομαι, ὄφρ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ δαΐφρονι μῦθον ἐνίσπω,  
ὃν Νέστωρ ἐπέτελλε Γερήνιος, οὔρος Ἀχαιῶν· 840  
ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὧς περ σεῖο μεθήσω τειρομένοιο."

ἦ καὶ ὑπὸ στέρνοιο λαβὼν ἄγε ποιμένα λαῶν  
ἐς κλισίην· θεράπων δὲ ἰδὼν ὑπέχευε βοείας.  
ἔνθά μιν ἐκτανύσας ἐκ μηροῦ τάμνε μαχαίρῃ  
ὄξυ βέλος περιπευκές, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δ' αἶμα κελαινὸν 845  
νίζ' ὕδατι λιαρῶι, ἐπὶ δὲ ρίζαν βάλε πικρὴν  
χερσὶ διατρίψας, ὀδυνήφατον, ἣ οἱ ἀπάσας  
ἔσχ' ὀδύνας· τὸ μὲν ἔλκος ἐτέρσετο, παύσατο δ' αἶμα.

839. ἐνίσπων L. 841. σεῖο μεθέσω: <σεῖ> ἀμελήσω Zen. || σοῖο P.  
μεθέσσομαι TU. 842. στέρνοιο: στήθεσφι R. 843. ἐν κλισίῃ H. 846.  
χλιαρῶ R Cant. Lips.<sup>2</sup> Vr. A. 848. ισχ Pap. η. || παύσετο Lips.

things be? For the potential opt. without *ἄν* cf. Δ 318, K 247. Zen. read *ἔην*, Düntzer *ἔηι*, needlessly. *ῥέζομεν*, prob. a dubitative subj.

841. μεθέσω, lit. 'I will refrain from thee'; a curious expression. We have *μεθιέναι* *ἀλκῆς* and *πολέμοιο*, but not elsewhere a personal gen. Zen. read *σεῖ(ο) ἀμελήσω*, which Ar. regarded as less poetical. *περ* is not elsewhere found after *οὐδ'* ὧς.

842. ὑπὸ στέρνοιο λαβῶν, i.e. he put his arm round his waist to support him as he walked.

845. περιπευκές, *very sharp*, only here, but cf. A 51 *ἔχεπευκές*. αὐτοῦ, sc. *μηροῦ*.

846. ρίζαν πικρὴν, acc. to Schol. A either the *Achillea* ('yarrow') or *Aris-tolochia*, both plants being used as anodynes in Greek medicine.

847. ὀδυνήφατον, *pain-killing*, E 401.



## M

### INTRODUCTION

THAT the Book of the Battle at the Wall cannot belong to any but the last strata of the *Iliad* is sufficiently shewn by the presence of the wall itself as the centre of interest—an argument which has already been discussed, and will only be confirmed as we examine closely the later books. The whole character of the book confirms this preliminary conclusion. It may be described generally as a book of splendid similes and of two passages of the highest order—the speech of Sarpedon to Glaukos and the outburst of Hector to Polydamas—but as entirely lacking in real artistic unity. The narrative is throughout confused and unfinished, and it is impossible to gain any clear picture of the scene; though it might seem, with so definite a point, the storming of the wall, for centre, to be particularly adapted for unity of treatment.

We are met at the threshold by a passage so patently late that it has not escaped the remarks of the most careless critics. The mention of “demi-gods” in 23 takes us away at once from the Homeric world, and opens an entirely new order of conceptions. Yet it cannot be separated from the whole account of the destruction of the wall, which is only meant to meet a prosaic historic doubt, based on the fact that no remains of the great fortification were known to men. When the wall had been once introduced, it must needs be abolished; ὁ δὲ πλάσας ποιητῆς ἠφάνισεν, as Aristotle (quoted by Strabo, p. 598) most truly says. The idea has already met us at the end of the seventh book; the thought there suggested is here taken up and worked out in detail, but independently; the passages are parallel rather than complementary.

The next stumbling-block is the description of the five-fold division of the Trojan army (86–107). This is forgotten immediately, and never influences the story in any way; the ascription of all the allies to a single division contradicts the passages where they are spoken of as more numerous than all the Trojans (see B 130). It would seem that we have here a trace of the hand which has so often interpolated into the speeches of Nestor untimely displays of tactical erudition. So again the episode of Asios (110–74), though announced with peculiar solemnity, leads to nothing whatever, and is simply left without an ending. It is not till we reach the next book that we find the explanation of it. There, in a place which originally knew

nothing of the wall, Asios is found among the ships in his chariot. After the wall had been introduced, the presence of the chariot was evidently an anomaly, and a singularly ineffective passage was introduced here to give some sort of explanation.

With this passage goes the question of the gates of the Greek camp, which perplexed Aristarchos. Was the gate "on the left," where Asios attacked, the same at which Hector subsequently forced an entrance? Was there only one gate to the camp at all, and that on a flank instead of the centre? This conclusion, unpractical as it seems, was accepted by Aristarchos. The real fact is that the book has been put together, or grown up, without any clear conception of the point, and it is useless for us to try to make it consistent. Whether the author of Hector's attack ever thought of the existence of other gates is doubtful; it was probably enough for him that all he required was to direct his hearers' attention to one. He who added Asios thought it necessary at least to suggest another point of attack for his hero, without clearing up the consequent ambiguity.

Once more, the two attacks by Sarpedon and Hector are parallel and independent. That there existed a version in which Sarpedon was actually the first to force an entrance is clear from the words of II 558, *κείται ἀνὴρ ὃς πρῶτος ἐσήλατο τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν, Σαρπηδῶν*, the very phrase which in 438 of this book is applied to Hector. The two have been combined only by suppressing the end of Sarpedon's attack, leaving it as impotent in its result as that of Asios, in spite of the definite announcement of success in the words *πολέεσσι δὲ θῆκε κέλευθον* (399).

And finally, it must be pointed out that, though the similes in this book are on the whole the most elaborate and beautiful in Homer, and range through the whole of nature, human, animate, inanimate, and vegetable, yet some of them most curiously end in a manner suggesting that they were not composed for their present places, to which they are singularly inappropriate. The fine lion simile, 41-8, must surely have been meant for Aias retreating slowly with his face to the foe, not for Hector urging on the pursuit. The two Lapiths awaiting the onslaught in front of the gates are compared to oaks in 132-5, and then immediately (145 ff.) to two wild boars rushing out of the gates—a totally different and disturbing picture. Again in 167 ff. the comparison to a swarm of wasps can only have been meant to apply, as the opening leads us to suppose, to the whole Greek army; it is with curious infelicity suddenly so turned as to portray two men only.

## ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Μ

### Τειχομαχία.

ὥς ὁ μὲν ἐν κλισίῃσι Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱὸς  
 ἰᾶτ' Εὐρύπυλον βεβλημένον· οἱ δὲ μάχοντο  
 Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Τρῶες ὀμιλαδόν. οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλε  
 τάφρος ἔτι σχήσειν Δαναῶν καὶ τεῖχος ὑπερθεῖν  
 εὐρύ, τὸ ποιήσαντο νεῶν ὑπὲρ, ἀμφὶ δὲ τάφρον  
 ἤλασαν, οὐδὲ θεοῖσι δόσαν κλειτὰς ἐκατόμβας,  
 ὄφρα σφιν νῆας τε θοὰς καὶ ληΐδα πολλὴν  
 ἐντὸς ἔχον ῥύοιτο· θεῶν δ' ἀέκητι τέτυκτο  
 ἀθανάτων· τὸ καὶ οὐ τι πολὺν χρόνον ἔμπεδον ἦεν.

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1. κλισίη GR.  
 T. || ἔμπεδος Q.

5. δὲ: τε Ambr.<sup>1</sup>

9. τὸ: τῷ C Vr. b A. || καὶ: κεν

3. ὀμιλαδόν, *in throngs*; the battle is no longer confined to the *πρόμαχοι*, but all the masses of men on both sides are engaged.

5-6. Cf. H 449-50. οὐδὲ . . ἐκατόμβας is best taken parenthetically, 'without giving,' as we should say.

7. This line, but for the passage in H describing the building of the wall, would naturally imply that the wall had been put round the ships from the first, as an essential precaution. It is likely enough that this was the original idea; the explanation in H that it was built in a sudden emergency being an afterthought when the whole stratum containing the wall came to be incorporated with the *Menis* and *Diomedea*, which know nothing of it.

9. This line again, but for what immediately follows, would lead us to suppose that the destruction of the wall referred to is that wrought by the

Trojans on this very day, when *τεῖχος ἐγυμνώθη* (M 399), and *ῥεῖπε τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν* (O 361). If that is so, then we may limit the latest addition (see *Introd.*) to the lines 10-33; and to this the awkward repetition of *ἔμπεδον ἦεν* in 12 probably points. The difficulty of the contradiction between these words and O 361 has long been felt. Schol. A (Porphyrios) mentions an explanation, impossible of course, which gave *ἔμπεδον* here the literal meaning *ἐν πεδίῳ κείμενον καὶ μὴ ἀλίπλοον*. It has also been objected that ὄφρα . . μῆνι Ἀχιλλεύς implies that the poet of these lines had before him a legend which gave a much longer duration of the *μῆνις* than the few days ascribed to it by the *Iliad*, which would be so short a life for the wall as to afford no proper contrast with the picture of its subsequent destruction. But it is clear that the *μῆνις* is mentioned as the distinguishing mark of the period

ὄφρα μὲν Ἑκτωρ ζῶδς ἔην καὶ μῆνι' Ἀχιλλεὺς 10  
καὶ Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος ἀπόρθητος πόλις ἦεν,  
τόφρα δὲ καὶ μέγα τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν ἔμπεδον ἦεν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μὲν Τρώων θάνον ὅσσοι ἄριστοι,  
πολλοὶ δ' Ἀργείων οἱ μὲν δάμεν, οἱ δὲ λίποντο, 15  
πέρθετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις δεκάτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ,  
Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἔβησαν,  
δὴ τότε μητιόωντο Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων  
τεῖχος ἀμαλδύναι ποταμῶν μένος εἰσαγαγόντες,  
ὅσσοι ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἄλαδε προρέουσι,  
Ῥῆσός θ' Ἐπτάπορος τε Κάρησός τε Ῥοδῖος τε 20  
Γρήνικός τε καὶ Αἴσηπος διός τε Σκάμανδρος  
καὶ Σιμόεις, ὅθι πολλὰ βοάγρια καὶ τρυφάλειαι  
κάππεσον ἐν κονίησι καὶ ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν·  
τῶν πάντων ὁμόσε στόματ' ἔτραπε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,

11. ἦεν P King's: ἔπλευ DGQU Harl. a b, Par. c<sup>1</sup> (-εν c<sup>2</sup>) d (?) g: ἔπλε(ν) Ar.  
Ω (Ar. ἔπλεν, Zen. ἔπλε, ἀποκοπῇ τοῦ ἔπλετο Schol. T? see below). 12. δὲ:  
ΘΗ P. 14. δάμον P. 16. ἔβασαν Q. 17. ΜΗΤΙΟΩΝΤΟ: ΘΗΡΙΩΝΤΟ *Et*.  
*Mag.* §266. 40. 20. Θ' om. P. || κάρησός DU: κάρηκός Q. 21. αἴηκος  
R<sup>t</sup>. || κάμανδρος GJL.

which required the building of the wall ; it is the *terminus a quo* of the wall, just as the sacking of Troy mentioned in the next line is the *terminus ad quem*.

11. ἦεν: vulg. ἔπλεν, a vox nihili; the only Homeric forms are πέλεν and ἔπλετο. Schol. A says οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος ἔπλεν, Schol. T Ἀρίσταρχος ἔπλεν σὺν τῷ ν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέλεν συγκοπὴν δεχόμενος. Ζηρόδοτος ἔπλε ἀποκοπῇ τοῦ ἔπλετο. It is extremely improbable that the only alternative to Ar.'s ἔπλεν was ἔπλε. Much more probably it was ἦεν, which has the excellent support of P (it had previously been conj. by Heyne and Brandreth). The cause of the change was no doubt an objection to end two consecutive lines with ἦεν. But there are several analogies for this in H. ; see e.g. B 290-1.

14. There is an evident change of thought here ; the line begins as though it were to be πολλοὶ δ' Ἀργείων δάμεν, and then, as in δ 495 πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν γε δάμεν, πολλοὶ δὲ λίποντο, the thought of those who fell brings up that of the large number who, unlike the Trojan chiefs, survived.

18. ἀμαλδύναι: see on H 463.

20. Compare Hesiod *Theog.* 340-5,

where all these rivers, excepting Karesos, are named among the offspring of Okeanos and Tethys. Aisepos, Skamandros, and Simoeis (v. E 774, Z 4) are the only three which reappear in Homer. The Granikos is of course famous in later history, but those named in 20 are quite unknown.

22. οἶ applies only to the last two named. βοάγρια (only here and π 296), shields of ox-hide, like βοεῖη and βοῦς: lit. 'the spoil of an ox' (ἀγρη). So Ξ 509 ἀνδράγρια, warrior's spoils. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* i. 100 ubi tot Simois correpta sub undis Scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volvit.

23. ἡμιθέων, a word which is not only ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in Homer, but is totally inconsistent with his idea of the heroes, who, though of divine descent and stronger than men of his own day, are yet no more than men. The word is found in Hesiod *Opp.* 160 ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῶν γένος, οἱ καλέονται ἡμίθεοι, in the thoroughly un-Homeric passage about the successive ages of mankind. Bentley's ingenious κάππεσον ἐν δίνησι καὶ ἰφθίμων μένε' ἀνδρῶν and Axt's simpler κ. ἐν κονίη καὶ ἀρηϊθῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν are equally unlikely.



ἐννῆμαρ δ' ἐς τείχος ἴει ῥόον· ὕε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς  
 25 συνεχές, ὄφρα κε θᾶσπον ἀλίπλοα τείχεα θείη.  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεςσι τρίαῖναν  
 ἠγείτ', ἐκ δ' ἄρα πάντα θεμείλια κύμασι πέμπε  
 30 φιτρῶν καὶ λάων, τὰ θέσαν μογέοντες Ἀχαιοί,  
 λεία δ' ἐποίησεν παρ' ἀγάρροον Ἑλλησποντον.  
 αὐτὶς δ' ἡϊόνα μεγάλην ψαμάθοισι κάλυψε  
 τείχος ἀμαλδύνας· ποταμούς δ' ἔτρεψε νέεσθαι  
 35 κὰρ ῥόον, ἦι περ πρόσθεν ἵεν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ.  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἔμελλον ὀπισθε Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων  
 θησέμεναι· τότε δ' ἀμφὶ μάχῃ ἐνοπή τε δεδήει  
 35 τείχος εὐδμητον, κανάχιζε δὲ δούρατα πύργων  
 βαλλόμεν'. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ Διὸς μάστιγι δαμέντες

25. ἐννῆμαρ: ἐν δ' ἡμαρ Kallistratos: ἐν ἡμαρ (Krates?) *ap.* Schol. T.  
 26. συνεχές A Harl. a. 28. θεμελία GT. 30. ἐποίησαν J Par. j (*supr.* ἐν),  
 Vr. b<sup>1</sup>, and *ap.* Did. 31. αὖθις C. 33. καὶ ῥόον R<sup>1</sup>. || ἵεν GHT: ἵεν D: ἴη  
 A (γρ. ἵεν): ἡεν J: ἴε Q: ῥέε R: ἡ κοινὴ ἴει ἐστίν Herod. 34. ὥς ἔμελλον  
 Zen. || ἔμελλεν HJ Par. c<sup>1</sup> (or c<sup>2</sup>?) d.

25. For ἐννῆμαρ Kallistratos read ἐν δ' ἡμαρ, holding it wrong to suppose that a god would require nine days to destroy what men had built in one. But 25-6 disturb the context, and may well be omitted (Hentze). ἠγείτο then gives the picture of Poseidon leading the procession of gathered rivers against the wall; whereas with the present text it lacks significance. Besides, in H 452-3 a reason is given for the alliance of Apollo and Poseidon in the destruction, but there is no special excuse for the interference of Zeus.

26. For the scansion of συνεχές as a dactyl cf. ι 74 (the only other occurrence of the word in H.), and τ 113 πᾶρέχη. Metrical necessity does not exist, and we must suppose that the initial σ of (σ)έχ-ω still makes itself felt. συνεχώς is found in Hes. *Theog.* 636 (Schulze *Q. E.* 173).

27. The trident as an attribute of Poseidon occurs elsewhere in H. only in the *Odyssey*.

28. ἔκπεμπε κύμασι, expelled along the waves of the sea; the dat. is comitative, as in 207 πέτετο πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο. *H. G.* § 144.

29. φιτρῶν and λάων, gen. of material with θεμελία.

30. λεία, possibly a sort of substantival use, 'he made smoothness,' made all smooth; compare phrases like

οὐκέτι φυκτὰ πέλονται. It is, however, simpler and quite possible to make the word agree with θεμελία, made them smooth.

33. ἵεν = ἔσαν, as Pind. *I.* i. 25 λιθίνοις ὀπὸτ' ἐν δίσκοις ἵεν. Cf. B 752 ὅς ῥ' ἐς Πηγεῖν προΐει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ (and the spurious Φ 58 Ἀξιοῦ δὲ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπὶ γαίαν ἵησι). If we read ἴει (ἴη) we must refer it to Poseidon. ἵεν is also possible.

34. For ὥς ἄρ' ἔμελλον Zen. read ὥς ἡμελλον, a form not elsewhere found in Homer, and called 'barbarous' by Ar., though it is sufficiently established in later poets from Theognis onwards.

36. δούρατα, beams (as B 135, etc.), the φιτροί of 29. Ar. perversely took it to mean spears cast against the towers (ἐλλείπει ἡ ἐπὶ, ἵν' ἡ κανάχιζε δὲ δούρατα ὥς ἐπὶ πύργους βαλλόμενα). For βάλλεσθαι = be pelted cf. I 573 δούπος ὀρώρει πύργων βαλλομένων, 588 θάλαμος πύκ' ἐβάλλετο.

37. Cf. N 812 Διὸς μάστιγι κακῆι ἐδάμηνεν Ἀχαιοί. The metaphor expresses the sway which Zeus wields over the battle, driving the armies backward and forward as a horse is driven by a goad (see on Ψ 387)—an idea which is more usually given by the metaphor of pulling with a rope. So Aisch. *Sept.* 608 πληγῆς θεοῦ μάστιγι (see Verrall's note), *Ag.* 642, etc. διπλῆι μάστιγι τὴν Ἀρης φιλεῖ.

νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρήσιν ἐελμένοι ἰσχανόωντο,  
 Ἔκτορα δειδιότες, κρατερόν μῆστωρα φόβοιο·  
 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ', ὥς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐμάρνατο ἴσος ἀέλλῃ. 40  
 ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἔν τε κύνεσσι καὶ ἀνδράσι θηρευτήσιν  
 κάπριος ἡὲ λέων στρέφεται σθένει βλεμεαίνων·  
 οἱ δέ τε πυργηδὸν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντες  
 ἀντίοι ἴστανται καὶ ἀκοντίζουσι θαμειὰς  
 αἰχμὰς ἐκ χειρῶν· τοῦ δ' οὐ ποτε κυδάλιμον κῆρ 45  
 ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φόβειται, ἀγνηορίῃ δέ μιν ἔκτα·  
 ταρφέα τε στρέφεται στίχας ἀνδρῶν πειρητίζων·  
 ὅππῃ τ' ἰθύσῃ, τῇ τ' εἴκουσι στίχες ἀνδρῶν·  
 ὥς Ἐκτωρ ἀν' ὄμιλον ἰὼν ἐλλίσσεθ' ἑταίρους  
 τάφρον ἐποτρύνων διαβαινέμεν. οὐδέ οἱ ἵπποι 50

38. ἐεργμένοι CG (H *supr.*) Vr. b *in ras.* : ἐεργόμενοι R : ἐεργμένοι ἢ ἐελμένοι Eust.  
 40. πρόσθεν : πρώτον CJ. || ἐμάρνατο : ἐμαίνοτο Aph. 41.  
 ἠμερτήρσι Par. c<sup>1</sup> e : ἐν τισι ἠμερτήρσι A. 42. κάπρος GJ. 43. ἀρτύναντας  
 G. 44. ἀντίον Ar. JT Par. c d g. 46. ἀγνηορίῃ : so Ar. : others ἀγνηορίη.  
 47 om. H<sup>4</sup>T. 48. ὅππῃ δ' Q. || ἰεύσει CDJLQRS (*supr.* H). || τῇ τ' : τῇ δ'  
 QR. 49. ἐλίσ(ς)εθ' CGPQRT : ἐλίσσεθ' H Par. h (*supr.* λ), γρ. J : ἐλλίπεθ' J :  
 εἰλίσσεθ' ap. Nik. 50. διαβάμεναι T.

41. ὅτ' ἂν . . στρέφεται is obviously wrong; στρέφεται cannot be a subj., see note on A 67. Brandreth and Paech conj. ὥς δ' ὅπῳτ', Nauck ἡύτε δ', Monro most ingeniously ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἔναντα (cf. T 67; but the dat. is unexplained, and there seems to be no better analogy than the doubtful dat. with ἀντίος in O 584, T 422, and with ἀντίων Z 127, Φ 151, 431). An original ὥς δ' ὅτε, with hiatus, would best explain the text.

43. πυργηδόν, in *serried line*, κατὰ τάξιν τείχους Hesych., rightly. See on Δ 334.

46. φοβείται must here mean *fears*, in spite of the canon of Ar. that in Homer it always means to *flee*; cf. A 544. For the second half of the line cf. Z 407 δαιμόνι, φύσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος, and II 753 ἐῆ τέ μιν ὤλεσεν ἀλκή.

47. πειρητίζων takes the acc. only here; so that it seems very probable that the line is a faulty adaptation of O 615 καὶ β' ἔθελε ῥῆξαι στίχας ἀνδρῶν πειρητίζων. This line and the next can hardly be defended; the repetition of στίχας ἀνδρῶν is very harsh, and the aor. ἔκτα following the presents according to the usual practice should mark the end of the simile (A 555, M 305, II 753, P 112, 664) (Hentze).

49. ἐλλίσσεθ' is the vulg. reading; it is an obvious anti-climax after so martial a simile, but the inappropriateness lies in the whole application of the comparison, not in any single word (see *Introd.*). The variant εἰλίσσεθ' is old, but looks like an attempt to give the application a superficial connexion with the simile by a reference to στρέφεται. Nikanor says τὸ ἐλίσσετο ἐκατέρους δύναται προσδιδόσθαι, καὶ σημαίνει ἡ τὸ παρεκάλει παρὰ τὸ λίσσεσθαι ἢ ἐστρέφετο παρὰ τὸ ἐλίσσω ῥῆμα. He decides in favour of the former, on account of the awkwardness of the pause in the fifth foot if we have to join ἑταίρους with ἐποτρύνων. Monro replies that there are two cases of similar rhythm in this passage, 44 and 51. But in the former at least θαμειὰς is best taken as part of the predicate, *dart thick the spears*. Compare note on N 611. Gerhard conj. ἐφελίσσεθ' ἑταίρων, without removing the fundamental difficulty. λίσσεσθαι is a duty urged upon Hector in E 491.

50. It has been objected with force to οἱ that a reference to all the Trojan horses, not Hector's only, is needed. Hence Weil conj. οὐδέ τωι, van L. οὐδέ τοι.

τόλμων ὠκύποδες, μάλα δὲ χρεμέτιζον ἐπ' ἄκρῳι  
 χεῖλει ἐφεσταότες· ἀπὸ γὰρ δειδίσσετο τάφρος  
 εὐρεῖ, οὐτ' ἄρ' ὑπερθορέειν σχεδὸν οὔτε περῆσαι  
 ῥῆϊδίη· κρημνοὶ γὰρ ἐπηρεφές περὶ πᾶσαν  
 ἕστασαν ἀμφοτέρωθεν, ὑπερθεν δὲ σκολόπεσσιν  
 ὀξέσιν ἡρήρει, τοὺς ἵστασαν υἱες Ἀχαιῶν  
 πυκνοὺς καὶ μεγάλους, δῆϊων ἀνδρῶν ἁλεωρήν.  
 ἔνθ' οὐ κεν ῥέα ἵππος εὐτροχον ἄρμα τιταίνων  
 ἐσβαίη, πεζοὶ δὲ μενοίνεον εἰ τελέουσι.  
 δὴ τότε Πουλυδάμας θρασὺν Ἑκτορα εἶπε παραστάς·  
 “Ἑκτόρ τ' ἡδ' ἄλλοι Τρώων ἀγοὶ ἡδ' ἐπικούρων,  
 ἀφραδέως διὰ τάφρον ἐλαύνομεν ὠκέας ἵππους.  
 ἡ δὲ μάλ' ἀργαλέη περάαν· σκόλοπες γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ

55

60

51. δὲ: γὰρ R. 52. χεῖλει ἑσταότες PQ Harl. b, Par. c d, γρ. J Eust.: χεῖλ' ἐστῶτες King's. || ἐφεσταῶτες T: ἀφεσταῶτες J. 53. οὐτ' ἄρ: οὐ γὰρ TU, γρ. CJ. || οὐδὲ περῆσαι T. 54. ἐπιρ(ρ)εφές GU Cant.: ὑπερρεφές Q. || περὶ: διὰ Aph. 55. ἵστασαν: ἕστασαν HJ: ἕστασαν Ar. Ω. 56. ἐσβαίη: καθβαίη Zen. Aph. || εἰ: ἦ R Vr. A. 57. πολυδάμας U (*supr.* ου). 58. ἕκτωρ J. || τ' om. DU. || ἐπικούροι A *supr.* 59. διὰ: γρ. περὶ A. || τάφρου Harl. a *supr.* || ἐλαύνετε μώνυχας J, γρ. Eust.: ἐλαύνομεν μώνυχας Par. b. 60. ἀν' αὐτὴν C.

52. χεῖλει ἐφεσταότες is the vulg.; but the variant χεῖλει ἑσταότες is too strongly attested to be neglected, in view of the improbability of hiatus being introduced; it had already been conj. by Brandreth (χεῖλεῖν—he had a theory that *ν* ἐφέλκ. could be added to the dat.) with the comment ‘Homerus praepositionem non duplicat.’

53. *σχεδόν* here is not very easy to explain; Monro takes it to mean *right over, at a bound*, comparing *σχέδιος* and *αὐτοσχέδιος*, *immediate, off-hand*. Similarly *παρασχεδόν* in Ap. Rhod. i. 698 = *continuo*. Perhaps it may mean *in order, in serried ranks*, lit. ‘holding on’ to one another; one here or there might cross, but only to be separated from the main body, and attacked in detail. This is closer to the sense of *near*, which is elsewhere universal in Homer. In this case it will go with both verbs.

54. *κρημνοὶ ἐπηρεφές*, *overhanging sides*. So *πέτραι* κ 131, μ 59. *περὶ πᾶσαν*, *round all the circuit of the trench*.

55. *σκολόπεσσιν*, *stakes arranged along the upper edge*, so as to prevent a jumper alighting, like the modern *abattis* or *chevaux de frise*.

56. ἵστασαν: so P. Knight for the *ἕστασαν* of tradition and Ar., which is taken to be for *ἔστησαν*, but is an impossible form. (G. Meyer's suggestion, *Gr.* § 530, that the sigmatic aor. like other tenses may have originally had a weak stem for the pl., of which this is a solitary relic, is very improbable.) It occurs in other passages, but in each case with the variant *ἵστασαν*, which has rightly been adopted by edd. (see γ 182, also θ 435, σ 307, B 525, Σ 346). For the imperf. where we use the pluperf. see *H. G.* § 73; and also § 72. 2. Nauck's conj. *ἤραρον* is needless.

58. *ῥέα*: Bentley *ρεῖ*, Brandr. *οὐ ρεῖα* κεν.

59. For *ἐσβαίη* (*get within the circuit*) Zen. and Aph. read *καθβαίη*, which is possible; see on 65. *τελέουσι*, future after historical tense, here only; Platt conj. *εἰ τελέοιεν*. But the fut. is familiar in late Greek, and in this book may be right. *μενοίνεον*, only here; the form is else always *μενοῖναι*.

60. “Ἑκτορα εἶπε, a constr. which recurs in M 210, N 725, P 237, 334, 651, T 375 (Ψ 155? ψ 91?). See note on E 170.

ὀξέες ἐστᾶσιν, ποτὶ δ' αὐτοὺς τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἔνθ' οὐ πῶς ἔστιν καταβήμεναι οὐδὲ μάχεσθαι 65  
 ἱππεῦσι· στείνομος γάρ, ὅθι τρώσεσθαι ὀίω.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πάγχυ κακὰ φρονέων ἱλαπάζει  
 Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης, Τρώεσσι δὲ ἔειτ' ἀρήγειν,  
 ἦ τ' ἂν ἐγὼ γ' ἐθέλοιμι καὶ ἀντίκα τοῦτο γενέσθαι,  
 νωνύμους ἀπολέσθαι ἀπ' Ἀργεος ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιοὺς· 70  
 εἰ δέ χ' ὑποστρέψωσι, παλῶξις δὲ γένηται  
 ἐκ νηῶν καὶ τάφρῳ ἐνιπλήξωμεν ὀρυκτῇ,  
 οὐκέτ' ἔπειτ' ὀίω οὐδ' ἄγγελον ἀπονέεσθαι  
 ἄσφορον προτὶ ἄστρ' ἐλιχθέντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πειθώμεθα πάντες. 75

64. ποτὶ A Harl. a, Par. a b f: προτὶ (Ar. ?) DJU Harl. b, Par. c d g: περὶ Ω.  
 (T has only i legible; lemma περὶ δ' αὐτοὺς: προτὶ δ' αὐτοὺς.) 65. οὐ πῶς G:  
 οὕτως R. || διαβήμεναι R. || οὐδὲ: ἡδὲ J. 66. ἱππεῦσι: ἱππᾶς Zen. Aph.  
 67. γάρ om. RS. || τοὺς Aph. (acc. to A; Ar. acc. to T): δὴ Ω. || ἱλαπάζει JP.  
 68. ἔειτ' Ar. (ἔειτ' οὕτως πάσαι Did.): ἔειτ' P King's: βούλετ'(αι) Ω: γρ. βούλετο  
 ΝΙΚΗΝ Eust. 70. ΝΩΝΥΜΟΥΣ ΔΗJT: ΝΩΝΥΜΟΥΣ Ω. || ἄχαιοι Q (supr. ους).  
 71. χ' om. R. || ὑποστρέψουσιν R. || δὲ: τε GJ. 72. ὀρεκτῇ Vr. b. 74.  
 ἐλελιχθέντων JPQ. 75. ἄγεθ', ὥς: <ἄγε> τῶς (πῶς T) Zen. || ἐγὼν Q.

64. ποτί, apparently *leaning against* them, i.e. close behind. The phrase is a curious one, but the vulg. *περὶ* is worse. Platt conj. *αὐτῇν*, which is more natural (or *αὐτῇ*?). Throughout the book we are left in doubt as to whether or no there is a space between wall and moat. Much is made of the difficulty presented by the moat up to 200, but after that line it is completely forgotten, and we are never actually told that it is crossed.

65. Franke and Hentze reject this and the following line, on the ground that the difficulty lies not in the descent, but in the ascent on the opposite side. But for a chariot the descent of a *κρημνὸς ἐπηρεφῆς* is as serious a matter as the ascent. The idea seems to be, 'we cannot even get into the trench with horses, nor, even if we get across, can we fight on the other side; for the space between the wall and the trench is a *στεῖνος*, too small for chariots.'

66. *τρώσεσθαι*, *come to harm*, as in Herod. *τρώμα*=defeat. So Ψ 341 and φ 293 *οἶνός σε τρώει*. For *στεῖνος* cf. Ψ 419.

69. τοῦτο here refers to what the speaker himself says, and is therefore one of the very rare exceptions to the

rule by which in H. *οὗτος* is distinguished from *ὅδε*. The distinction is less rigid in Attic writers, and the use of *τοῦτο* may therefore be a sign of lateness. It is only with some violence that we can read into it the proper sense, 'this object of yours.'

69-70 are to be taken parenthetically, the apodosis to *εἰ μὲν* in 67 being understood, or rather superseded; 'if Zeus means to destroy them—that is what I wish to happen at once.' Obviously *εἰ μὲν* does not express a *condition* of his wishing the enemy destroyed. Cf. A 135-7.

71. ὑποστρέψωσι may be either *intrans.*, *turn against us* (A 446), or *turn us back* (E 581). But the former is the regular Homeric use. *παλῶξις* for *παλιῶξις*, and hence always with long ι.

72. ἐνιπλήξωμεν, lit. 'stumble upon,' *get entangled in*, like the birds in χ 469 which *ἐρκει ἐνιπλήξωσιν*. So also O 344.

74. ἐλιχθέντων, *rallied*; for the order of words cf. B 334. ὑπό, with *ἀπονέεσθαι*, lit. *from under*, as often with verbs of flight, Θ 149, P 319, etc. There is no ground for taking *ἐλιχθέντων* with some to mean '(the Trojans) turned back by the Greeks,' contrary to the regular use of the word.



ἵππους μὲν θεράποντες ἐρυκόντων ἐπὶ τάφρῳ,  
αὐτοὶ δὲ πρυλέες σὺν τεύχεσι θωρηχθέντες  
"Ἐκτορι πάντες ἐπώμεθ' ἀολλέες· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ  
οὐ μενέουσ', εἰ δὴ σφιν ὀλέθρου πείρατ' ἐφήπται."

ὥς φάτο Πουλυδάμας, ἅδε δ' Ἐκτορι μῦθος ἀπήμων, 80  
αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄλτο χαμάζε.  
οὐδὲ μὲν ἄλλοι Τρῶες ἐφ' ἵππων ἠγερέθοντο,  
ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πάντες ὄρουσαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον Ἐκτορα δῖον.  
ἠνιόχῳ μὲν ἔπειτα ἐὼι ἐπέτελλεν ἕκαστος  
ἵππους εὖ κατὰ κόσμον ἐρυκόμεν αὖθ' ἐπὶ τάφρῳ· 85  
οἱ δὲ διαστάντες σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀρτύναντο,  
πένταχα κοσμηθέντες ἅμ' ἠγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι.  
οἱ μὲν ἅμ' Ἐκτορ' ἴσαν καὶ ἀμύμονι Πουλυδάμαντι,  
οἱ πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἔσαν, μέμασαν δὲ μάλιστα  
τεῖχος ῥηξάμενοι κοίλῃσι ἐπὶ νηυσὶ μάχεσθαι. 90  
καὶ σφιν Κεβριόνης τρίτος εἶπετο· παρ δ' ἄρ' ὄχεσφιν  
ἄλλον Κεβριόναο χερεῖονα κάλλιπεν Ἐκτωρ.  
τῶν δ' ἐτέρων Πάρις ἦρχε καὶ Ἀλκάθοος καὶ Ἀγήνωρ,  
τῶν δὲ τρίτων Ἐλενος καὶ Δηϊφοβος θεοειδής,  
υἱὲ δύνω Πριάμοιο· τρίτος δ' ἦν Ἄσιος ἦρως, 95

76. τάφρον GJ. 79. δῆ: δέ J. || πείρατ': πείραρ Zen. Aph. 80.  
πολυδάμας JU (*supr.* ου): om. P. 82. ἠερέεοντο Vr. b<sup>2</sup>, γρ. fr. Mosc.: ἠγερέ-  
εοντο R. 83. ἀπὸ πάντες: ἀποβάντες H (*supr.* π) PQ, γρ. J. 85. αὐτ' HT  
(*τινὲς αὐθι*) Par. k, γρ. Schol. A. || τάφρου R: τάφρον P. 86. ἀρτύναντο  
P King's: ἀρτύναντες Ar. Ω. 87. ἕκαστοι PQ King's, γρ. Nikanor: γρ. ἕκαστος  
A: ἔποντο Ω. 88. ἔκτορι (A *supr.*) PQ. || πολυδάμαντι U (*supr.* ου). 90.  
τεῖχος τε ῥήξειν καὶ ἐνιπρήσειν (ἐμπρήσειν G) πυρὶ νῆας GS Harl. a (γρ. as text),  
Vr. A, fr. Mosc. (cf. 198). 91. τρίτος: δῖος R<sup>t</sup>. 92. χερεῖω Q. 95.  
πριάμου Mor. Bar. Vr. b. || τρίτατος DG Mor. Bar. Vr. b.

77. πρυλέες, apparently predicate, on foot: see on E 744.

79. πείρατ' ἐφήπται: H 102.

80. ἀπήμων, profitable, by the usual *litotes*. So N 748, Ξ 164, and in *Od.*, ε 268, etc. οὐρος ἀπήμων. But the passive sense *unharméd* is commoner.

82. ἠγερέεοντο, remained gathered together, opposed to 86 διαστάντες. The curious variant ἠερέθ(ο)ντο (*stayed aloft*?) has the support also of a schol. ἡ[γ]ερέ-  
θοντο, ἀπαιωροῦντο, ἐκρέμαντο, and is apparently alluded to in Hesych. and *Et. Mag.* But the other occurrences of the verb (B 448, Γ 108, Φ 12) do not encourage us to substitute it for the text.

86. The text is obviously superior to the vulg. ἀρτύναντες . . . ἔποντο, with

the intolerable sequence of participles. Cf. Γ 1 for the phrase ἅμ' ἠγεμόνεσσιν ἕκαστοι.

87. This division of the army into five bodies is quite forgotten in the following narrative; the allies, who are here (101) made into a single division, are elsewhere represented as far outnumbering the Trojans; B 130.

91. Kebriones was chosen by Hector as his charioteer in Θ 318. τρίτος: it will be observed that each division has three leaders named.

93. ἐτέρων, the second body, as H 420, etc. With this enumeration compare the Catalogue of the Trojans, B 816-77; the Dardanii there (819-23) seem to compose the fourth division here.

Ἄσιος Ἵρτακίδης, ὃν Ἀρίσβηθεν φέρον ἵπποι  
 αἰθωνες μεγάλοι, ποταμοῦ ἅπο Σελλήεντος·  
 τῶν δὲ τετάρτων ἦρχεν ἐὺς πάϊς Ἀγχίσαιο  
 Αἰνείας, ἅμα τῶι γε δύω Ἀντήνορος υἱε,  
 Ἀρχέλοχός τ' Ἀκάμας τε, μάχης ἐν εἰδότε πάσης. 100  
 Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἠγεῖτο ἀγκαλειτῶν ἐπικούρων,  
 πρὸς δ' ἔλετο Γλαῦκον καὶ ἀρήϊον Ἀστεροπαῖον·  
 οἱ γάρ οἱ εἴσαντο διακριδὼν εἶναι ἄριστοι  
 τῶν ἄλλων μετά γ' αὐτόν· ὁ δ' ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλους ἄραρον τυκτῆισι βόεσσι, 105  
 βάν ῥ' ἰθὺς Δαναῶν λελημένοι, οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔφαντο  
 σχήσεσθ', ἀλλ' ἐν νηυσὶ μελαίνησιν πεσέεσθαι.  
 ἔνθ' ἄλλοι Τρῶες τηλεκλειτοὶ τ' ἐπίκουροι  
 βουλῇ Πουλυδάμαντος ἀμωμήτοιο πίθοντο·  
 ἀλλ' οὐχ Ἵρτακίδης ἔθει' Ἄσιος, ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν, 110  
 αὐθι λιπεῖν ἵππους τε καὶ ἡνίοχον θεράποντα,  
 ἀλλὰ σὺν αὐτοῖσιν πέλασεν νήεσσι θοῆσι,  
 νήπιος, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλε, κακὰς ὑπὸ κῆρας ἀλύξας,  
 ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν ἀγαλλόμενος παρὰ νηῶν  
 ἄψ ἀπονοστήσειν προτὶ Ἴλιον ἠνεμόεσσαν· 115  
 πρόσθεν γάρ μιν μοῖρα δυσώνυμος ἀμφεκάλυψεν

96. ὄν : τὸν C. 97. μεγάλοιο RU. || ποταμοὶ Q. 99. τῶι γε : τῷδε H.  
 100. τ' om. PT. 101. ἠγεῖτο P : ἠγῆσατ'(ο) Ω. 103. γάρ οἱ : γὰρ δὲ R.  
 105. ἀλλήλων J. || τυκτοῖσι Q<sup>1</sup>R : πυκτῆϊσι G. 106. οὐδ' ἔτ' : οὐδ' R : οὐδέ  
 τ' Ω : οὐ γὰρ Eust. 108. τρῶες : πάντες D. || τηλεκλητοὶ G<sup>2</sup>PQ (S *supr.*) (T  
*supr.*). 109. πολυδάμαντος U<sup>1</sup>. 111. ἵππον Cant. 113. ὑπὸ : ἀπο T.  
 115. ἐπινοστήσειν L. || ποτὶ GS. 116. δυσώνυμος A.

96-7=B 838-9. The leaders of the second division are not named in the Catalogue.

101. ἠγεῖτο is clearly right, not the vulg. ἠγῆσατ' : compare the preceding imperfects εἶπετο and ἦρχε. The desire to avoid the legitimate hiatus in the main caesura has frequently led to corruptions of this sort, as Ahrens has pointed out.

105. Βόεcci, shields, see H 238. This seems to indicate a rudimentary sort of *testudo*. The men stand so close side by side that the long shields hanging in front touch one another. Cf. N 130 f. φράξαντες ὀδρὺ δουρί, σάκος σάκει προ-θελύνωι· ἀσπίς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κτλ.

107. The subject of *σχήσεσθαι* is probably, from the use of *ἔφαντο*, Δαναοὺς :

*they fancied that the Greeks would no longer hold their ground.* But there is an ambiguity as usual; it may mean *they thought they would no longer be stopped, but would fall upon the ships.* See note on I 235.

112. *σὺν αὐτοῖσιν*, not simply 'with them,' but a form of the phrase *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις, horses and all*. It has been pointed out in the Introd. that the following episode is added simply in order to explain how it is that when Asios is slain in N 384 ff. he has chariot and horses with him. The phrase which has caused so much trouble, *νηῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερά* (118), is taken from N 675, because the reference there covers the fight in which Asios falls.

116. *δυσώνυμος*: cf. Z 255 *δυσώνυμοι*

ἔγχεϊ Ἰδομενῆος, ἀγανοῦ Δευκαλίδας.  
 εἶσατο γὰρ νηῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερά, τῇ περ Ἀχαιοὶ  
 ἐκ πεδίου νίσσοντο σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφι·  
 τῇ ῥ' ἵππους τε καὶ ἄρμα διήλασεν, οὐδὲ πύλῃσιν 120  
 εὖρ' ἐπικεκλιμένας σανίδας καὶ μακρὸν ὄχημα,  
 ἀλλ' ἀναπεπταμένας ἔχον ἀνέρες, εἴ τιν' ἐταίρων  
 ἐκ πολέμου φεύγοντα σαώσειαν μετὰ νῆας.  
 τῇ ῥ' ἰθὺς φρονέων ἵππους ἔχε, τοὶ δ' ἄμ' ἔποντο  
 ὀξέα κεκλήγοντες· ἔφαντο γὰρ οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοὺς 125  
 σχήσεσθ', ἀλλ' ἐν νηυσὶ μελαίνῃσιν πεσέεσθαι·  
 νῆπιοι, ἐν δὲ πύλῃσι δὺ' ἀνέρε εὖρον ἀρίστω,  
 υἱέ' ὑπερθύμῳ Λαπιθάων αἰχμητῶν,  
 τὸν μὲν Πειριθόου νῖα κρατερὸν Πολυποίτην,  
 τὸν δὲ Λεοντήα βροτολογίῳ ἴσον Ἀρηϊ. 130

117. ΔΕΥΚΑΛΙΩΝΟΣ G (-ονος) Mor. Bar. 119. ΝΕΪΟΝΤΟ (C *supr.*) D (H *supr.*) T (*supr.* Ἰ) U Harl. a, Vr. A, fr. Mosc.<sup>2</sup>: ΝΙΣΑΝΤΟ Q: ΝΙΣΟΝΤΟ C<sup>1</sup>PR Vr. b, Lips. 120. ἄρματα DGU. 122. ἐταῖρον Lips. 124. ἔχεν· οἱ δ' PQR. 125. ΚΕΚΛΗΓΟΤΕΣ GJFQRTU (Ar. διχῶς, ΚΕΚΛΗΓΟΝΤΕΣ and ΚΕΚΛΗΓΩΤΕΣ? cf. II 430). 127. ἀνέρε . . ἀρίστω Zen. Aph.: ἀνέρας (ἀνέρες J) . . ἀρίστους Ω. 128. υἱέ' Zen. Aph. (υἱε MS.): υἱέας G: υἱεας R (*supr.* ac): υἱας Ω. || ὑΠΕΡΕΥΜΩ Zen. Aph.: ὑΠΕΡΕΥΜΩΝ T: ὑΠΕΡΕΥΜΟΥΣ Ω. 129. υἱέα T. 130. βροτολογίῳ Q.R. || 'Some add' υἱὸν ὑΠΕΡΕΥΜΟΙΟ (-ου MS.) κορώνου καίνειδαο (= B 746) Schol. T.

υἱες Ἀχαιῶν, τ 571 ἦδε δὴ ἡὼς εἰσι δυσώ-  
 νημος: *hardly to be named*, accursed.  
 ἀμφεκάλυψεν: the metaphor is given  
 fully in II 350 θανάτου νέφος ἀμφεκά-  
 λυψεν, cf. T 417, E 68. The idea is that  
 of death darkening the eyes like a cloud  
 (see II 333).

117. For ἔγχεϊ Agar conj. the more  
 usual ἔγχει ὑπ': for Ἰδομενέως never  
 admits an initial F. Δευκαλίδας, son  
 of Deukalion, the patronymic being  
 formed from the short form of the name;  
 so Ἀνθεμίδης Δ 488 = son of Anthemion,  
 Δ 473.

119. ΝΙΣΟΝΤΟ may mean either *were*  
 (now) *going* or *were went to go*. The  
 latter is preferable, as there is no mention  
 of an attack on any stragglers, and εἰ  
 with opt. in 122 perhaps implies that  
 there were none. There is of course a  
 causeway over the trench by which  
 Asios drives across (διήλασεν).

120. πύλῃσιν, here evidently of a  
 single gate; see *Introd.* and note on  
 175.

122. Cf. Φ 531 πεπταμένας ἐν χερσὶ  
 πύλας ἔχετ', εἰς ὃ κε λαοὶ ἔλθωσι πρότι  
 ἄστυ πεφυζότες.

124. ἰθὺς φρονέων go together, with  
 aim direct, as N 135 οἱ δ' ἰθὺς φρόνουν.  
 So ἰθὺς μεμαῶς Θ 118, Δ 95.

125. For the form ΚΕΚΛΗΓΟΝΤΕΣ (or  
 κεκληγόντες) with the variant κεκληγώτες  
 see *H. G.* §§ 26 (1), 27, van L. *Ench.*  
 § 159, and cf. note on κεκοπῶς N 60.  
 The repetition from 106-7 at such close  
 quarters seems very weak.

127. The dual, as read by Zen. and  
 Aph. in this line and the next, clearly  
 deserves the preference over the plur. of  
 the vulg., as the tendency to substitute  
 the plur. for dual is here, as elsewhere,  
 reinforced by the tendency to abolish  
 permissible hiatus. The form υἱέε does  
 not recur elsewhere, but is of course  
 implied in the declension υἱέος, etc.,  
 which is constantly found.

128. The Lapiths are named again  
 only in 181 and φ 297 in H. See,  
 however, note on A 265-8. Here again  
 the possibility of Attic influence is  
 strongly suggested in so late a passage.  
 Leonteus and Polypoites are named in  
 B 740-7, without any specific reference to  
 Lapith origin.

τὼ μὲν ἄρα προπάροιθε πυλάων ὑψηλάων  
 ἕστασαν ὡς ὅτε τε δρύες οὔρεσιν ὑφικάρηνοι,  
 αἱ τ' ἄνεμον μίμνουσι καὶ ὑετὸν ἡματα πάντα,  
 ῥίξισιν μέγαλῃσι διηνεκέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι·  
 ὧς ἄρα τὼ χεῖρεσσι πεποιθότες ἡδὲ βίηφι 135  
 μίμνον ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἄσιον οὐδὲ φέβοντο.  
 οἱ δ' ἰθὺς πρὸς τεῖχος ἐύδητον βόας αὔας  
 ὑψόσ' ἀνασχόμενοι ἔκιον μέγαλῳ ἀλαλητῷ  
 Ἄσιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα καὶ Ἰαμενὸν καὶ Ὀρέστην  
 Ἀσιάδην τ' Ἀδάμαντα Θδωνά τε Οἰνόμαόν τε. 140  
 οἱ δ' ἦ τοι εἴως μὲν ἐνκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
 ὄρνυον ἔνδον ἐόντες ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ νηῶν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεῖχος ἐπεσσυμένους ἐνόησαν

131. τῶ: τὸν P (*supr.* ὦ). || θυράων A (γρ. πυλάων) G. 132. τε *om.* C  
 (p. ras.) GJLPQRT Lips.: τοι Vr. A b. || δρύες: δρύες ἐν GL (δρῦες). 135.  
 τῶ: τοι R (*supr.* ὦ) King's Par. b. 138 *om.* H<sup>t</sup>. || ἔκιον: κίεθν Zen. Aph.  
 (cf. 127). 139. ἄσιον R Vr. A. || καὶ (after ἄνακτα) *om.* PR. 140. ἀσιάδην  
 Vr. A. || ἀκάμαντα PR (*supr.* δ) Eust. 141. δ' ἦ: δᾶ DPTU Harl. a, fr.  
 Mosc. || ἕως H (*supr.* τε over ἔ) U. || ἐκνήμιδες ἀχαιοὶ (C *supr.*) U. 142.  
 ὄρνυον CGHJT. || ἐόντες Ar. Ω (ἐόντες αἱ πλείους Did.): ἐόντας JPQ (*supr.*  
 ες) RS (*supr.* ες) T Ambr. King's Vr. A (Par. g *supr.*): ἐόντε Par. b. 143.  
 ἀπεσσυμένους J (glossed ἐφορμῶντας).

131. The difficulty alluded to in the Introd., the simile which presents the two heroes as rooted like oaks in front of the gate, followed by another (145) which portrays them as rushing through the gates, has long been felt, and the three possible explanations are all old. (1) 141–53 are to be transposed, so as immediately to follow 130 (so 'some' in the long scholion of Porphyrios on the passage). (2) 131–40 and 141–53 are a double recension, and one of them should be expelled (Hephaestion, *ibid.*). (3) The poet, after stating the main fact, turns back to the circumstances which led up to it; so that 141–53, though subsequent in order, are to be understood as precedent in time, as in Z 159 (where, however, there is no ambiguity), and I 529 (where the confusion is even worse than here). This is Porphyrios' own explanation; but it seems to be equivalent to saying that the poet did not know how to tell a story. (2) is no doubt right, though we must not talk of 'expelling' either version till we consider ourselves in a position to reconstruct all the original elements of the *Iliad*.

137. Why πρὸς τεῖχος? We have just been told that they were attacking the gate, not the wall. Apparently this is a fragment of an older narrative where Asios leads a division against the wall on foot; we hear no more of horses and chariot. βόας, shields, see note on H 238 βῶν.

141. οἱ: to whom does this refer? If to the Lapiths, it should be τῶ, as 145 (and so Bentley conj.). Probably the pronoun at the beginning of the 'other recension' (141–53) may originally have had a quite different reference. εἴως, properly ἥος, for a while. In this sense it is always followed by μὲν, N 143, O 277, P 730, β 148, γ 126. In several of these passages the more usual τείως occurs as a variant, and so Brandreth (τείως) and Nauck (τῆος) would read here.

142. As the passage stands ὄρνυον must be transl. by a plpf., had been inciting; the narrative reverts to the moment preceding the attack of Asios, when the Lapithae are still on the walls. Hence ἐόντες, the reading of Ar. and best mss., is clearly preferable to the variant ἐόντας.



Τρῶας, ἀτὰρ Δαναῶν γένετο ἰαχὴ τε φόβος τε,  
 ἐκ δὲ τῷ ἀΐξαντε πυλάων πρόσθε μαχέσθην 145  
 ἀγροτέροισι σύεσσιν εἰκότε, τῷ τ' ἐν ὄρεσσιν  
 ἀνδρῶν ἡδὲ κυνῶν δέχεται κολοσυρτὸν ἰόντα,  
 δοχμῷ τ' αἴσσοντε περὶ σφίσιν ἄγνυτον ὕλην,  
 πρυμνὴν ἐκτάμνοντε, ὑπαὶ δέ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων 150  
 γίνεται, εἰς ὃ κέ τις τε βαλὼν ἐκ θυμὸν ἔλθαι·  
 ὥς τῶν κόμπει χαλκὸς ἐπὶ στήθεσσι φαεινὸς  
 ἄντην βαλλομένων· μάλα γὰρ κρατερῶς ἐμάχοντο,  
 λαοῖσιν καθύπερθε πεποισότες ἡδὲ βίηφιν.  
 οἱ δ' ἄρα χερμαδίοισιν ἐνδμήτων ἀπὸ πύργων 155  
 βάλλον, ἀμννόμενοι σφῶν τ' αὐτῶν καὶ κλισιάων  
 νηῶν τ' ὠκυπόρων. νιφάδες δ' ὥς πῖπτον ἔραζε,  
 ἅς τ' ἄνεμος ζαῆς, νέφεα σκίοεντα δονήσας,  
 ταρφειᾶς κατέχευεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ·  
 ὥς τῶν ἐκ χειρῶν βέλεα ῥέον, ἡμὲν Ἀχαιῶν 160  
 ἡδὲ καὶ ἐκ Τρώων· κόρυθες δ' ἀμφ' αἶον αὐτευν  
 βαλλόμεναι μυλάκεσσι καὶ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλέεσσαι.  
 δὴ ῥα τότ' ὤμωξέν τε καὶ ὦ πεπλήγετο μῆρῳ

144. αὐτὰρ GJT. || ΓΕΝΕΤ' CDQRT. || ΦΟΒΟΣ Ar. Ω: ΠΟΝΟΣ PR (*supr.* φ over π).  
 146. εἰκότες DHJSTU Vr. b A. || ΤΩ Τ': ΟΪ Τ' HT. 147. δέχεται Ambr.  
 (and *ap.* Did.?). || ΙΟΝΤΩΝ U<sup>2</sup>. 148. αἴσσονται, περὶ δέ T. || περὶ τέ DU. 149.  
 ΕΚΤΑΜΝΟΝΤΕ CH Lips. (*p. ras.*): ΕΚΤΑΜΝΟΝΤΕS Ω. 150. γίγνεται L Ambr. || ΤΕ  
*om.* PQRT. || ἔλοιτο Bar. 151. ἐπὶ: ἐνὶ PR. || στήθεσφι D. 153. ΛΑΟΪCIN:  
 ΛΑΟΙCIN Zen. 154. ἀπὸ: ὑπὸ R. 155. Τ' *om.* T: Δ' D. 156. Δ' *om.* T<sup>1</sup>.  
 157. ΔΙΝΗCΑS P. 158. πολυβοτείρῃ DU. 159. ῥέον Ar. Ω: ῥέεν Par. h.  
 160. κόρυθος A (*supr.* ε). || Αἶον: αὐτὸν L. || Αἶτεον H. 161. ΒΑΛΛΟ-  
 ΜΕΝΑΙ Zen. Ω: ΒΑΛΛΟΜΕΝΩΝ Ar. (A *supr.*). 162. ὦ . . μῆρῳ (C *man. rec.*) DT. ||  
 ἐπεπλήγετο (*om.* ὦ) P. || After this *add.* χερσὶ (χειρὶ U) κατὰ πρηνέεσ' (πρινέενσιν  
 U) ὀλοφυρόμενος δὲ προσκῦδα (= O 114) P<sup>m</sup>RU Cant. Eton. fr. Mosc.

147. δέχεται: an anomalous form, for which see note on B 794.

148. δοχμῷ: cf. Hor. *Carm.* iii. 22. 7 *verris obliquum meditantis ictum*.

149. Cf. A 417.

151. Observe how a mere detail in the original scheme of the simile is here made the base of a fresh simile. It must be confessed, however, that the sudden turn is rather disturbing to the effect. Ameis refers for similar 'two-sided' comparisons to O 623 ff., N 492 ff., 795 ff. κομπεῖν occurs only here.

153. Zen. appears to have read λαοῖσιν for λαοῖcιν, and to have explained it as = λάεσσιν, 'trusting to the stones

thrown from above.' Observe the use of καεῦπερ used attributively with the subst., where later Greek would require the addition of a participle, οὔσιν or the like.

160. The addition of the Trojans is a curiously awkward afterthought. ῥέον too, though the proper correlative to E 618 etc. δοῦρατ' ἔχεναν, has an odd effect in this connexion. αἶον αὐτευν: cf. καρφαλέον ἄνσεν N 409 (whence Fick conj. αἶον ἄνον here), fragor aridus Virgil, and sonus aridus Lucretius.

161. μυλάκεσσι, as large as millstones, cf. H 270 μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ.

162 = O 397, ν 198.

Ἄσιος Ὑρτακίδης, καὶ ἀλαστήσας ἔπος ἠῦδα·  
 “Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ ῥά νυ καὶ σὺ φιλοψευδὴς ἐτέτυξο  
 πάγχυ μάλ’· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γ’ ἐφάμην ἥρωας Ἀχαιοὺς 165  
 σχήσειν ἡμέτερόν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρας ἀάπτους·  
 οἱ δ’, ὥς τε σφῆκες μέσον αἰόλοι ἢ μέλισσαι  
 οἰκία ποιήσονται ὁδῶι ἐπι παιπαλοέσσει,  
 οὐδ’ ἀπολείπουσιν κοῖλον δόμον, ἀλλὰ μένοντες 170  
 ἄνδρας θηρητῆρας ἀμύνονται περὶ τέκνων,  
 ὥς οἱ γ’ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι πυλάων καὶ δὺ’ ἐόντε  
 χάσασθαι, πρὶν γ’ ἢ κατακτάμεν ἢ ἐάλωναι.”  
 ὥς ἔφατ’, οὐδὲ Διὸς πεῖθε φρένα ταῦτ’ ἀγορεύων·  
 Ἐκτορι γάρ οἱ θυμὸς ἐβούλετο κῦδος ὀρέξαι.  
 ἄλλοι δ’ ἀμφ’ ἀλληισι μάχην ἐμάχοντο πύλησιν· 175

163. ἄρσιος R<sup>1</sup> (γρ. ἄσιος R<sup>2</sup>). 164. φιλοψευδῆς γ’ S. 166. γε: τε JPT.  
 167. ἦε: ἦδὲ Q. 168. ποιήσονται ADPU Lips.<sup>2</sup> Vr. b<sup>1</sup>: ποίησονται Ω. || ἔπι:  
 ἐνὶ H. 170. θηρευτῆρας Q. 171. οἱ γ’ οὔδ’ Ar. DPU. || ἐόντες DGQTU.  
 172. χεύσασθαι P (supr. α). || κατακτάμεν: κτάμεν DP: κατακτείνειν (or -ἄναι) Q.  
 173. πεῖσε P. 175–80 (181? v. Schol. T) ἀθ. Ar. Aph., om. Zen. 175. ἄλληι-  
 σιν T (om. μάχην).

163. ἀλαστήσας, only here, O 21 ἡλάστεον δὲ θεοί, and α 252 ἐπαλαστήσασα. The explanation of the word depends on that of ἀλαστος, which is generally derived from λαθ, in the sense *not to be forgotten*, which suits wherever it is an epithet of ἄχος or πένθος. But in X 261 Ἐκτορ ἀλαστε this will not do, nor is it easy to deduce the sense of the verb from it (‘to feel things intolerable, lit. not to be forgotten,’ hence ‘to break out in protest,’ as Monro and others explain, is very artificial). It is preferable with some of the ancient grammarians to derive ἀλαστος (or perhaps rather ἀλαστός) from \*ἀλάζω, a by-form of ἀλά-ομαι with the sense of ἀλύω. The adjective will then mean ‘mad,’ *distracted*, and the verb ἀλαστέω, *to be distressed, at one’s wit’s end*.

164. The accusation is a mere outbreak of petulance. If ground for it is required, it may be found in the promise in Δ 207 sqq.; cf. Θ 170–82, I’ 365–6.

167. αἰόλοι, *bright-coloured, variegated*. Others after Buttmann take it to mean *flexible*, from the thin waist of the wasp; cf. T 404 πόδας αἰόλος ἵππος. The same ambiguity arises in line 208 αἰόλον ὄφιν, X 509 αἰόλαι εὐναί.

169. Observe the transition from the

subjunctive to the more graphic indicative.

170. ἄνδρας may be taken either with μένοντες, when for ἀμύνονται περὶ compare 243, or better with ἀμύνονται.

171. It has been mentioned in the Introd. that the comparison to a swarm of wasps or bees entirely loses its point when restricted to two men only. Erhardt remarks that we have only to read ὑψηλῶν for καὶ δὺ’ ἐόντε to restore good sense, by referring the comparison to the whole Greek army instead of the pair of Lapiths.

175–81. These lines, which the ancient critics unanimously rejected, are plainly an addition meant to explain that the gate where Asios attacked is not that where Hector ultimately breaks in. On this see the Introd. The question probably did not arise in the mind of the author of the Asios episode. Ar. discussed the question in his treatise *On the Naval Camp*, maintaining that there was only one gate, and that on the left (118). Such an arrangement would be absurd, and a comparison of N 312 and 679 shews that, in N at least, Hector is conceived as having attacked in the centre, where, if there was only one gate, it must have been. But it is

ἀργαλέον δέ με ταῦτα θεὸν ὧς πάντ' ἀγορεύσαι.  
πάντη γὰρ περὶ τείχος ὀρώρει θεσπιδὰς πῦρ  
λάϊνον· Ἀργεῖοι δέ, καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ, ἀνάγκη  
νηῶν ἡμύνοντο. θεοὶ δ' ἀκαχέατο θυμὸν  
πάντες, ὅσοι Δαναοῖσι μάχης ἐπιτάρροθοι ἦσαν.  
σὺν δ' ἔβαλον Λαπίθαι πόλεμον καὶ δηϊοτήτα.

180

ἔνθ' αὖ Πειριθόου υἱὸς κρατερὸς Πολυπόιτης  
δουρὶ βάλεν Δάμασον κυνέης διὰ χαλκοπαρήιου·  
οὐδ' ἄρα χαλκείῃ κόρυς ἔσχεθεν, ἀλλὰ διαπρὸ  
αἰχμῇ χαλκείῃ ῥήξ' ὁστέον, ἐγκέφαλος δέ  
ἔνδον ἅπας πεπάλακτο· δάμασσε δέ μιν μεμαῶτα.  
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Πύλωνα καὶ Ὀρμενον ἐξενάριξεν·  
υἱὸν δ' Ἀντιμάχοιο Λεοντεὺς ὄζος Ἄρηος  
Ἱππόμαχον βάλε δουρὶ κατὰ ζωστήρα τυχήσας.  
αὐτὶς δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο ἐρυσσάμενος ξίφος ὄξυ  
Ἀντιφάτην μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπαΐξας δι' ὁμίλον,  
πλήξ' αὐτοσχεδίην· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ὑπτίος οὐδας ἔρεισεν·  
αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Μένωνα καὶ Ἰαμενὸν καὶ Ὀρέστην  
πάντας ἐπασσυτέρους πέλασε χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ.  
ὄφρ' οἱ τοὺς ἐνάριζον ἀπ' ἔντεα μαρμαίροντα,

185

190

195

176. ταῦτα *om.* R. || ἀγορεύειν A *supr.* 179. ἡμύναντο U (*supr.* o). ||  
ἀκαχάτο PQRS Eton.<sup>1</sup> fr. Mosc. Vr. b A. || θυμῶ(ι) JT Harl. a<sup>1</sup>, Par. a b c<sup>2</sup> f g j,  
ἐν ἄλλω A. 184. διαπρὸ: δι' αὐτῆς T. 185. χαλκείη: ἱεμένη G (i-) H  
(ia-) JPRT (i-). 186. δάμνε G. 187. πύλωνα: πέλωρα Vr. b. 190.  
αῦθις C. 191. ὁμίλον H. 192. οὐδας ἔρεισεν Ar. P: οὐδας ἐρείσεν R:  
οὐδεῖ ἐρείσεν Ω. 193. ἱαπετόν Q. 194. πολυβοτείρῃ U. 195. ἐνάρισαν S. ||  
ἀπ': ὑπ' H.

useless to expect consistency in such details from a composite work like the *Iliad*. 175 is plainly adapted from O 414. Furthermore, the introduction of the poet's personality in 176 is a mark of a late origin, cf. B 484, 761, etc. In 177 **τείχος** is violently separated from **λάϊνον**, and the mention of fire is quite out of place, as the Trojans have not yet reached the ships, and indeed only a few have even crossed the trench. It has been proposed to join **λάϊνον** with **πῦρ** and explain it of 'the flame of battle carried on with stones.' This is, however, even less possible than to join **λάϊνον** with **τείχος**, however unnatural the order of the words is, and however feeble the adjective in the emphatic place. Bentley conj. *δήιον*, which would evade the

difficulty, but is too familiar to be corrupted, unless from the Attic form *δαῖον*. Besides, when an epithet of *πῦρ*, *δήιον* never has the first syll. in arsis; see on I 674.

181. The return to the two Lapiths is most clumsy, and the phrase **συμβαλεῖν πόλεμον** is unique.

184-6: cf. T 398-400; 185-6 = A 97-8. The variant *ἱεμένη* (*Fiεμένη*, *speeding*) is perhaps to be preferred to **χαλκείη**, which has been used in the preceding line.

189. **ζωστήρα**: App. B, vi. **τυχήσας**, *hitting his mark*, Δ 106.

192. **αὐτοσχεδίην**, sc. *πληγὴν*: see E 830 *τύπον δὲ σχεδίην*. **οὐδας ἔρεισεν**: see on A 144.

τόφρ' οὐ Πουλυδάμαντι καὶ Ἑκτορι κοῦροι ἔποντο,  
οὐ πλείστοι καὶ ἄριστοι ἔσαν, μέμασαν δὲ μάλιστα  
τεῖχος τε ῥήξειν καὶ ἐνιπρήσειν πυρὶ νῆας,  
οἳ ῥ' ἔτι μερμήριζον ἐφεσταότες παρὰ τάφρῳ.  
ὄρις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν, 200  
αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ' ἄριστερὰ λαὸν ἐέργων,  
φοινήμεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον  
ζῶν ἐτ' ἀσπαίροντα, καὶ οὐ πῶ λήθετο χάρμης·  
κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δεξιῇν  
ιδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὁ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε χαμᾶζε 205  
ἀλγίστας ὀδύνῃσι, μέσῳ δ' ἐνὶ κάββαλ' ὁμίλῳ,  
αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας πέτετο πνοίῃσι ἀνέμοιο.  
Τρῶες δ' ἐρρίγησαν, ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ὄφιν

196. πολυδάμαντι U<sup>1</sup>. 197 om. A<sup>t</sup>. 198. τε om. P<sup>R</sup>. || ῥῆσαι DJTU. ||  
ἐνιπρᾶσαι DJ: ἐνὶ πρᾶσαι U: ἐμπρᾶσαι T. 199. ἐσταότες P. || παρὰ: περὶ H. ||  
τάφρον DHJT. 200. ἀπᾶλες G. || περησάμεναι J. 201. αἰετὸς P. 203.  
καὶ: ὁ δ' Orig. c. Cels. iv. 244. 204. παρὰ: περὶ Lips. || δεξιῇν: μαζὸν Q.  
206. ἀλγίστας δ' T (om. δ' after μέσῳ). || ἐνὶ: ἐν JRS. || κάββαλ' CQSU Lips.  
Vr. A. || ἐγκάββαλ' H: ἐγκάμβαλ' T. 207. πέτετο: ἔπετο Plato *Ion* 539 c.  
208. ὅπως: ἐπεὶ Bachm. *Anec.* ii. 185. || ὄφιν S (H *surpr.*): ὄ\*φιν Cant.: ἄλλοι  
δὲ ὄφιν μετέγραψαν Eust.

196. οἳ is here the relative, and so in the next line, which is added to describe those here named; in 199 it is demonstrative. Cf. 88-9.

198. ῥήξειν for the fut. after μέμασαν here and in 200, 218 cf. note on H 36. The aor. has fairly good support here.

199. The narrative reverts to 59, μενέων ἐν τελέουσιν.

201. ἐέργων, *skirting the host on his left*, i.e. flying along the line in front from right to left. For this sense of ἐέργειν cf. Herod. vii. 43 ἐπορεύετο ἐνθεῦτεν ἐν ἀριστερῇ μὲν ἀπέργων Ῥοίτειον πόλιν, and so vii. 109, etc. It is derived from that of *bound*ing, as B 845, etc.

202. φοινήμεντα only here and 220; cf. *δαφνοῖς* of a snake, B 308.

203. ἔτι seems to go with ζῶν, ἀσπαίροντα explaining it. The variant ὁ δ' for καί, though found only in a late quot., is most probably right; it gives the required change of person, for the subj. of λήθετο is of course the snake.

204. Probably we ought to read, with Heyne, κόψε δὲ F αὐτὸν ἔχοντα, *he struck him* (the eagle) *holding himself* (the snake). κόψε and ἔχοντα both seem to require an object expressed, and if we

take αὐτόν as the acc. after κόψε the emphatic pronoun is out of place ('struck at him *in return*,' Monro). Herodotus apparently read γάρ αὐτόν, holding that αὐτὸς in the merely anaphoric and non-emphatic use was enclitic.

207. κλάγξας: the eagle's cry is called a *yeelp* by Tennyson. πνοίῃσι, a comitative dat.; see on κύμασι, 28. Ap. Rhod. imitates the use in i. 600, iv. 1624, πνοίῃ Ζεφύροιο θέεσκον, both times of a ship, where the case may rather be instrumental; though it would not be wrong to say that the eagle flew *by means of* the wind. ἅμα πν. ἀνέμοιο is the usual phrase.

208. αἰόλον, *glistening* or *wriggling*, see on 167. ὅπως: Brandreth conj. ἐπεὶ, which has some support from quotations, and is certainly right; see on A 459. ὄφιν: the word does not recur in H., and the irregular lengthening is unexplained. Tzetzes quotes from Hipponax (*fr.* 49. 6) a choliambic ἦν αὐτὸν ὄφιν τῶντικνῆμιον δάκνη, and Antimachus (*fr.* 78) has Τήνου ὀφιοέσσης in a hexameter—the latter, however, is excused by metrical necessity. The same is true of ὀφιδέειροι, in an oracle



κείμενον ἐν μέσσοισι, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο.  
 δὴ τότε Πουλυδάμας θρασὺν Ἑκτορα εἶπε παραστάς· 210  
 “Ἑκτορ, αἰὲν μὲν πῶς μοι ἐπιπλήσσεις ἀγορήσιον  
 ἐσθλὰ φραζομένωι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ ἔοικε  
 δῆμον ἔοντα παρέξ ἀγορευόμεν, οὔτ’ ἐνὶ βουλῇ  
 οὔτε ποτ’ ἐν πολέμωι, σὸν δὲ κράτος αἰὲν ἀέξειν.  
 νῦν αὖτ’ ἐξερῶ ὥς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἄριστα. 215  
 μὴ ἴομεν Δαναοῖσι μαχησόμενοι περὶ νηῶν·  
 ὦδε γὰρ ἐκτελέεσθαι ὀδοίμαι, εἰ ἑτερόν γε  
 Τρῶσιν ὄδ’ ὄρνις ἐπῆλθε περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν  
 [αἰετὸς ὑψιπέτης ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἑέργων.]

211. ἐπιπλήσσεις Ar. Ω: ἐπιπλήσσεις PR (ἐνὶ) T King's. 214. κράτος: ἐν  
 ἄλλωι κλέος A. 215. νῦν δ' [GS]T. || ἄριστον ἢ ἄριστα Eust. 216. μαχησά-  
 μενοι D. 218. ἐπῆλθε: ἦλθε Ar. 219 om. A<sup>t</sup>CD<sup>t</sup>H<sup>t</sup> Lips.<sup>t</sup> || αἰετὸς Lips.<sup>m</sup>

quoted by Aristotle *mir. ausc.* 24. G. Meyer (*Gr.* § 210) compares the frequent cases of κχ, πφ, τθ written for simple χ, φ, θ: δκχον Pind. O. vi. 24, δκχέω ii. 67, σκύφος Hes. fr. 194 (Rzach), and on inscriptions. The same lengthening is found but not expressed in letters, in βρόχος Theog. 1099, φιλόσοφον Ar. *Ecc.* 571, φαιούχτωνες Aisch. *Cho.* 1049. Schol. Heph. explains it διὰ τὴν σφοδρότητα τοῦ πνεύματος, ὥς καὶ Ἡλιοδώρῳ δοκεῖ τῇ δασείᾳ πλέον τι νέμειν, i.e. the breathed element of the aspirate makes position. Demetrios *de eloc.* thought that Homer purposely made a στίχος μέιουρος for the sake of effect (to express the serpent's tail?). Brandreth conj. ὕδρον (cf. B 723); but the analogies given are sufficient to defend the text, whatever the explanation. See Schulze *Q. E.* p. 431 and App. D (c 3).

211. The exordium is quite inexplicable after Polydamas' speech in 80 ff., where he has given advice which Hector at once accepts. The two passages evidently belong to different versions; but the present conception of the relations of the two men is the more prevalent, as it recurs in N 726 ff., and is brought out at length in Σ 243-313. Polydamas is there introduced (249-52) as though he were an unknown character; and it is likely enough that he first appeared there, and is a later comer in this place, his words referring to the general view of him there established.

αἰέ, with ᾱ, is an Attic form recurring only in Ψ 648, ο 379. Hence Brandreth conj. "Εκτορ, ἔμ' αἰέ πως μὲν, van L. "Εκτωρ, αἰέ πῶς μοι.

212. The repetition of the negative gives a rhetorical emphasis; the second οὐδέ going more especially with the verb, cf. οὐδέ ἔοικε A 119 and often; e.g. ε 212 οὐ πως οὐδέ ἔοικε.

213. δῆμον in the sense of 'one' of the vulgar' is a strange use, as the tendency of δῆμος is so decidedly to express the total community as opposed to any individual. Hence Bentley's conj. δῆμον ἔοντα is probably right; cf. B 198 δῆμον ἄνδρα. Horace's *plebs eris*, *Ep.* i. 1. 59, may be an imitation, but proves nothing. παρέξ, aside from the straight way, i.e. *wrongly* (from Hector's point of view—a touch of irony). This sense is else only Odyssean: δ 348, ρ 139, ψ 16; cf. ξ 168.

214. ἀέξειν: supply ἔοικε from 212.

217. εἰ here assumes as a fact, and virtually = *since*.

218. ἐπῆλθε: Ar. ἦλθε to preserve the familiar scansion. But ὄρνις recurs in Ω 219, and in Attic we find ὄρνιν and ὄρνεις, and occasionally ὄρνις, Soph. *Ant.* 1021, *El.* 149, Eur. *Her.* 72. ὄρνις is the original stem, ὄρνις is from ὄρνι-ιθ-, a diminutive; cf. μάστιξ = μαστι-ιγ-ς beside μαστίς. The form should not be interfered with, and the compound ἐπῆλθε is required as in 200. ὄρνις occurs in I 323, but there length may be due to the ictus.

φοινήμεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον 220  
 ζών· ἄφαρ δ' ἀφέηκε, πάρος φίλα οἰκί' ἰκέσθαι,  
 οὐδ' ἐτέλεσσε φέρων δόμεναι τεκέεσσιν ἐοῖσιν.  
 ὥς ἡμεῖς, εἴ πέρ τε πύλας καὶ τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν  
 ῥηξόμεθα σθένει μεγάλῳ, εἴξωσι δ' Ἀχαιοί,  
 οὐ κόσμῳ παρὰ ναῦφιν ἐλευσόμεθ' αὐτὰ κέλευθα· 225  
 πολλοὺς γὰρ Τρώων καταλείψομεν, οὓς κεν Ἀχαιοὶ  
 χαλκῷ δηιώσωσιν, ἀμυνόμενοι περὶ νηῶν.  
 ὧδέ χ' ὑποκρίναιτο θεοπρόπος, ὃς σάφα θυμῷ  
 εἰδείη τεράων καὶ οἱ πειθοίατο λαοί."

τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη κορυθαίολος Ἑκτωρ·  
 "Πουλυδάμα, σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φίλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις· 231  
 οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοῆσαι.  
 εἰ δ' ἐτεὸν δὴ τοῦτον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἀγορεύεις,  
 ἐξ ἄρα δὴ τοι ἔπειτα θεοὶ φρένας ὄλεσαν αὐτοί,  
 ὃς κέλεαι Ζηνὸς μὲν ἐριγδούποιο λαθέσθαι 235  
 βουλέων, ἃς τέ μοι αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσε·  
 τῦνη δ' οἶωνοῖσι τανυπτερύγεσσι κελεύεις  
 πείθεσθαι, τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω,  
 εἰ τ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἵωσι πρὸς ἧῶ τ' ἡέλιόν τε,

223. ἡμεῖς: οἱ μὲν J. || τε om. JQ. 224. εἴξωσι CJ. 225. ναῦφιν  
 Bar. || αὐτοκέλευε(α?) D. 226. καταλήψομεν R. || οὓς περ Q. 227.  
 δηιώσουσιν GQ Lips.: δηῖόσουσιν L. 228. ὑπεκρίναιτο (H *supr.*) R: ὑπεκρίνετο  
 GH<sup>1</sup>Q: ὑπεκρίνατο P: ὑποκρίνατο Eton. fr. Mosc. 229. πεπιθοίατο Ambr. (πε  
 dotted as wrong). 230. τὸν δ' ἡμειβετ' ἔπειτα μέγας κ. "E. Zen. 231. πολυ-  
 δάμα R<sup>1</sup>: πολυδάμανα Zen. 232. αμειμονα Ambr.: ἀμύμονα S<sup>t</sup>U (*supr.*  
 ἀμείμονα by H. Estienne). 233. δ' om. Ambr. 234. ἄρα: αρ Ambr. 235.  
 μὲν om. T. || ἐριδοῦποιο J.

222. ἐτέλεσσε, completed his journey, φέρων δόμεναι being taken together. For this pregnant sense of τελέω cf. η 325 ἄτερ καμάτοιο τέλεσαν ἡματι τῷ αὐτῷ.

224. εἴξωσι, it will be seen, has very much better support than εἴξωσι, but it may be questioned if the fut. indic. is not better here—ῥηξόμεθα being of course ambiguous. Compare the end of Hector's reply, 248-50, where the fut. indic. is used; his words sound almost like a taunting echo of these. But see H. G. § 292 b in defence of the subj.

225. οὐ κόσμῳ, *litotes*. αὐτὰ κέλευθα: so θ 107 ἦρχε δὲ τῷ αὐτῇ ὁδόν, and so π 138; in Z 391 we have τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν.

229. For the gen. after οἶδα see H. G. § 151 d; and for the transition from the

rel. ὅς to the anaphoric οἱ compare A 79, etc.

231-4 = H 357-60.

236. For this promise see the note on 164.

238. Paley suggests that a note of interrogation should be put after πείθεσθαι, which gives more force to the emphatic τῦνη: 'are you the one to persuade me?'

239. This line opens the difficult question of Homeric augury. The Trojans are at the moment looking N.; a bird has passed them 'keeping them on his left,' i.e. flying from their right to left, from E. to W., through N., i.e. 'wider-shins,' 'against the sun,' 'counter-clockwise'; whereas the lucky ways are from left to right, with the sun, from W. to E.

εἴ τ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά τοί γε ποτὶ ζόφον ἡρόεντα.  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ μέγαλοιο Διὸς πειθόμεθα βουλῇ,  
 ὃς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει.  
 εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.  
 τίπτε σὺ δέϊδοικας πόλεμον καὶ δηϊοτήτα ;

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240. οἷ γε Q.

241. δ' αὐ R.

243. ἀμύνεσθαι S.

244. δέδοικας JQR<sup>1</sup>.

In whichever direction an observer looks, the direction from his right to his left will always be 'widershins,' so long as he regards himself as the centre of the horizon ; but it will only be from E. to W. so long as he looks N. But if *ζόφος* means W. (on which point see below), Hector speaks as though the two conditions were identical. Are we therefore to conclude, as has almost universally been done, that the Homeric augur always looked to the N. ? The conclusion is hardly justified ; Hector may be speaking only with a special reference to the omen which is uppermost in his thought. For we find in other cases that the position of an omen to the right is lucky even when we must suppose that the observer is facing S. ; see K 274. In the case immediately before us the main element seems to be the *direction* of flight, and this is insisted on in Hector's words. But in other cases mere *position*, apart from direction of movement, is sufficient, e.g. K 274, Ω 312, ω 311. And whether the augur could detect the direction of the movement of the lightning flash in B 353, I 236 may be doubted ; it seems more natural to take *ἐπιδέξια*, *ἐνδέξια* in those two places as meaning 'on the right hand' rather than 'from left to right.' But the main difficulty arises when we come to the circulation of the wine. Here the drinker is on the circumference of a circle, looking inwards. Thus 'right' and 'left' with regard to the movement of the sun have changed places ; if he passes the wine from his left hand to his right, the previously lucky direction, it is now going 'widershins,' the previously unlucky direction. We may get over this by supposing that the wine-pourer goes round the circle outside, and that *ἐνδέξια* is used from his point of view, just as in 201 *ἐπ' ἀριστερά* is from the eagle's ; 'having the guests on his right' is still the same as 'with the sun' (see Jevons in *C. R.* x. 22). Or we may hold that 'widershins' was the lucky direction

for the wine, as it is said that some folk in Scotland still do (*Darbishire Rel. Phil.* 70 ff.). Again, in many cases the direction or position of the omen seems to be of no importance ; all depends on concomitant circumstances. The general conclusion is clear—that we can form no consistent scheme of Homeric augury ; it would be strange if we could, for the existence of contradictions is the very *raison d'être* of the *θεοπρόπος* ὃς σάφα θυμῷ εἰδὲν τεράων. A further question is raised in Darbishire's paper already referred to, that of the meaning of *ποτὶ ζόφον ἡρόεντα* as opposed to *πρὸς ἥν τ' ἡελίον τε*. It is there argued with some force that these expressions mean 'to the north' and 'to the south' respectively, not to east and west. There can be no doubt that these points of the compass suit best the conceptions of the realm of darkness and the realm of the sun. The sense N. and S. also simplifies a notorious crux in ι 26, where Strabo took *πρὸς ζόφον* to mean 'to the N.,' as the facts require. But then we are obliged to fall back upon the supposed primitive sense of *ἥως*, *brightness*, *day-light*, rather than *dawn*. If this interpretation be upheld, it appears that there is no longer any ground for the ordinary statement, based solely, it would seem, on this passage, that the Greek augur faced the N. ; it will follow that he normally faced the E., for Hector's statement would become general ; the eagle of 201 cannot have flown from S. to N.

It may be noticed that this indifference of Hector to omens is in the spirit of the Homeric age ; the art of augury is little developed and has little positive effect at any time. Signs encourage or discourage a resolution already taken, but they never determine or prevent any enterprise as they did in later times. Indeed they are elsewhere lightly spoken of ; e.g. β 181 *ὄρνιθες δὲ τε πολλοὶ ὑπ' αὐγᾶς ἡελίοιο φοιτῶσ', οὐδὲ τε πάντες ἐναίσιοι*.

εἴ περ γάρ τ' ἄλλοί γε περὶ κτείνώμεθα πάντες 245  
 νηυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀργείων, σοὶ δ' οὐ δέος ἔστ' ἀπολέσθαι.  
 οὐ γάρ τοι κραδίη μενεδήϊος οὐδὲ μαχήμων.  
 εἰ δὲ σὺ δηϊότητος ἀφέξειαι, ἥε τιν' ἄλλον  
 παρφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν ἀποστρέψεις πολέμοιο,  
 αὐτίκ' ἐμῶι ὑπὸ δουρὶ τυπείς ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὀλέσσεις." 250  
 ὧς ἄρα φωνήσας ἠγήσατο, τοὶ δ' ἅμ' ἔποντο  
 ἠχῇ θεσπεσίῃ. ἐπὶ δὲ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος  
 ὥρσεν ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων ἀνέμοιο θύελλαν,  
 ἥ ῥ' ἰθὺς νηῶν κούρην φέρειν· αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιῶν  
 θέλγε νόον, Τρωσὶν δὲ καὶ Ἑκτορι κῦδος ὄπαζε. 255  
 τοῦ περ δὴ τεράεσσι πεποιθότες ἠδὲ βίηφι  
 ῥήγνυσθαι μέγα τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν πειρήτιζον.  
 κρόσσας μὲν πύργων ἔρνον, καὶ ἔρειπον ἐπάλξεις,

245. γε om. H. 246. ἐπ' : ὑπ' Zen. T. || ἐστὶν ὀλέσσει J. 247. τοι : τι J.  
 248. ἀφίξειαι D Cant. : ἐφέξειαι J. || ἡέ : εἴ τε C : ἥ τε Eton. || τιν' : τι R.  
 249. ἀποτρέψης T (ἀποστρέψεις A, T.W.A.). || πολέμοιο : πολέμειζεν HU.  
 250. ὀλέσσης Eton. Lips. fr. Mose. 253. ὦσεν G. || εὐέλλα D. 255. ὄπασσεν  
 L (supr. z).

245. περὶ, *all around*, in every direction.

250 = A 433. 244-50 were bracketed by Bekker; a modern poet would certainly not have added them after the fine climax in 243, but in matters such as this modern taste is not decisive; a modern poet would have closed the *Agamemnon* with the murder. The sudden change of thought with asyndeton in 244 is softened by the emphatic *κύ*, which takes up again the *τύνη* of 237, and the unjust and violent reproach is not inconsistent with the character of Hector.

255. *εἴλγε*, *befooled*, *bewitched*. The verb, which is much commoner in the *Od.* than *Il.*, means *to charm* in either a good sense (e.g. ρ 514) or a bad, as here, N 435, etc.; cf. Ω 343. The scholia note with some justice that this action of Zeus is rather inconsistent, as the omen, for which he is presumably responsible, has just come to discourage the Trojans.

257. Note that, after all that has been said about the difficulty of crossing the trench, the Trojan army is now found on the other side of it, without a word to say that it is actually passed.

258. *κρόσσας* was explained by Ar. to mean *scaling-ladders*; he then had to

make *πύργων* mean *towards the towers* just as in 36, q.v. This is clearly impossible; the word must indicate some part of the fortification and be distinct from the *ἐπαλεις*, which we may presume to have been a wooden breastwork. It is not possible to give a closer explanation of the word, which recurs in H. only in 444. Herodotos uses it once (ii. 125) of the steps of the pyramids. It might seem reasonable therefore to understand it here of courses of masonry; but such courses would hardly have been arranged so as to form steps for an assailant, as would follow, if this interpretation be right, from 444, and the last desire of assailants would be to destroy so convenient a construction. Others take it to mean a single course of coping-stones on which the breastwork was built; others again explain it of the battlements proper, i.e. high pieces of the breastwork between the embrasures; but there is no other indication of such construction. The question is not elucidated by the adj. *προκρόσσας* in Ξ 35, nor has any convincing derivation been proposed. *πύργων* probably means no more than *fortification*; see H 338. The *στάλαι προβλάτες* are evidently posts, probably of wood, the *φειτροί* of 29, fixed into the



στήλας τε προβλήτας ἐμόχλεον, ἅς ἄρ' Ἀχαιοὶ  
 πρῶτας ἐν γαίῃ θέσαν ἔμμεναι ἔχματα πύργων. 260  
 τὰς οἱ γ' αὔερον, ἔλποντο δὲ τείχος Ἀχαιῶν  
 ῥήξειν. οὐδέ νύ πω Δαναοὶ χάζοντο κελεύθου,  
 ἀλλ' οἱ γε ῥινοῖσι βοῶν φράξαντες ἐπάλξεις  
 βάλλον ἀπ' αὐτῶν δήμιος ὑπὸ τείχος ἰόντας.  
 ἀμφοτέρω δ' Αἴαντε κελευτιόωντ' ἐπὶ πύργων 265  
 πάντοσε φοιτήτην, μένος ὀτρύνοντες Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ἄλλον μελιχίοις, ἄλλον στερεοῖς ἐπέεσσι  
 νείκεον, ὃν τινα πάγχυ μάχης μεθιέντα ἴδοιεν.  
 "ὦ φίλοι, Ἀργείων ὅς τ' ἔξοχος ὅς τε μεσήεις  
 ὅς τε χειριότερος, ἐπεὶ οὐ πω πάντες ὁμοιοί 270  
 ἀνέρες ἐν πολέμῳ, νῦν ἔπλετο ἔργον ἅπασι.  
 καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ τόδε που γινώσκετε. μή τις ὀπίσσω  
 τετράφθω ποτὶ νῆας ὁμοκλητῆρος ἀκούσας,

259. τε : δὲ T. || ἐμόχλεον GHJPSU. 260. ἔχματα : ἔργματα R *supr.*  
 261. αὔερον Δ : αὐ ἔρπον Ω. 262. πω : που U. 263. γε : γ' ἐν HPRS.  
 264. αὐτῶν : αὐτέων G : αὐτῶν U. || ἐόντας RS. 266. φοιτείτην J (*e corr.*;  
 and κατὰ τινα τῶν ἀντιγράφων Eust.): φοιτοίτην G. 270. οὐ πως PR. 272.  
 γινώσκετε L. 273. προτὶ [DG]. || ἀκούσας AGQ : ἀκούων Ω, γρ. Δ.

ground in order to hold up the earth and give a steep face to the 'profile' of the works, like the modern 'revetment.'

261. αὔερον : see on A 459. The imperf. here and in the preceding lines is of course conative.

262. κελεύσου : cf. θεῶν δ' ἀπείκε κελεύθου read by Ar. in Γ 406. It seems to be identical with our vernacular 'to get out of the way,' i.e. the place where men are going up and down. Cf. A 504.

263. φράξαντες, stopping up the gaps where the battlements had been broken down. ῥινοῖσι βοῶν is generally taken to mean *with shields*, but in this sense ῥυός alone is the usual phrase (Δ 447, Θ 61), and the addition of βοῶν perhaps indicates that they had whole hides ready at hand for the purpose of temporarily stopping breaches; a simple and effective device.

265. κελευτιόωντε recurs only in N 125; it is of the desiderative class, though in sense 'imitative rather than desiderative,' *playing the leader* (Curtius *Vb.* ii. 388). It is the only instance of this formation in H.

268. νείκεον for νεικόντες, a relapse into the direct narrative form, as in Γ

80, Θ 346, Σ 535-7. The line is, however, superfluous, and Nauck is perhaps right in doubting its authenticity. In any case νείκεον can refer only to στερεοῖς, not to μελιχίοις. For the metaphorical use of στερεός, *hard*, cf. I 510, Ψ 42, ψ 103.

269. μεσήεις, ἀπαξ εἰρημένον. For similar formations cf. δξύεις (see note on E 50), φαιδιμόεις. As a rule adjectives in -εις are only formed from substantives. Perhaps therefore we must assume here a form μέση used as an abstract substantive, as if = 'middleness.' Goebel conj. μεσηγύς.

271. ἐπλετο : for this use of the aor. to express present time see *H. G.* §§ 33, 78.

273. ὁμοκλητῆρος ἀκούσας, a phrase which recurs in Ψ 452, and is more intelligible there. The verb is regularly used of one who urges on by loud reproof. If this is the sense here, the participle must be entirely separated from the negative, and we must understand 'let no man turn back, now that he has heard one who urges him on.' Otherwise it must mean 'let no man turn because he hears a shout,' viz. the shout of the foe. The first alternative is more probable, but the vulgar ἀκούων would limit us to the second.

ἀλλὰ πρόσω ἴεσθε καὶ ἀλλήλοισι κέλεσθε,  
αἶ κε Ζεὺς δώησιν Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητῆς 275  
νεῖκος ἀπωσαμένους δῆιους προτὶ ἄστν δίεσθαι."

ὥς τώ γε προβοῶντε μάχην ὄτρυνον Ἀχαιῶν.  
τῶν δ', ὥς τε νιφάδες χιόνος πίπτωσι θαμειαὶ  
ἡματι χειμερίῳ, ὅτε τ' ὄρετο μητίετα Ζεὺς  
νιφέμεν, ἀνθρώποισι πιφανσκόμενος τὰ ἂ κῆλα· 280  
κοιμήσας δ' ἀνέμους χέει ἔμπεδον, ὄφρα καλύψῃ  
ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων κορυφὰς καὶ πρόωνας ἄκρους  
καὶ πεδία λωτεῦντα καὶ ἀνδρῶν πίονα ἔργα·  
καὶ τ' ἐφ' ἀλὸς πολιῆς κέχυται λιμέσιν τε καὶ ἀκταῖς,  
κῦμα δέ μιν προσπλάζον ἐρύκεται, ἀλλὰ τε πάντα 285

274. πρόσω LRS Syr. : πρόσσω Ω. || κέλευσε QU. 276. νῖκος Ar. CT (γρ. καὶ νεῖκος) U Ven. B, Eton. Vr. A, fr. Mosc. || ποτὶ PRS. 277. τώ : οἵ H. || προβοῶντε \* κατ' ἑνια τῶν ὑπομνημάτων προβάοντε, οἷον προβαίνοντες· διχῶς οὖν. Did. || ὄτρυναν DU : ὄτρυνον R. || ἀχαιοὺς S (supr. ὦν). 278. πίπτουσι DPQU. || πίπτωσιν ἔραζε T. 280. πιφασκόμενος GHJPQR. 281. κοιμῖς(c)ac CLT Cant. Lips. Harl. a. || ἔμπεδον Ar. Ω : ἄσπετον Mass. || ὄφρ' ἂν PR. καλύψοι P. 282. ἄκρας H. 283. λωτεῦντα Mass. (v. Ludw.) Ω : λωτοῦντα Ar. Harl. b. 285. κῦμά τε Cant.

274. πρόσω : so Heyne for the vulg. πρόσσω, which will not scan, for ἴεσθε = hasten has F-: Δ 138.

276. For νεῖκος in the sense of battle cf. Δ 444, etc., and N 271 νεῖκος πολέμοιο. It is strange that Ar. should have read νῖκος, βούλεται γὰρ λέγεσθαι τῆς νίκης τὴν ἦτταν, i.e. he took νῖκος = νίκη, in the sense of the enemy's victory. It would be simpler to put a comma after it and take ἀπωσ. . . δίεσθαι as epexegetic.

277. προβοῶντε, cheering on; only here. In 'some of the ὑπομνήματα' Ar. read προβάοντε, marching forward; for which form see Curtius Vb. i. 213, where προβῶντες is quoted from Kratinos and ἐκβῶντες from the (Doric) treaty in Thuc. v. 77.

278. τῶν is taken up again and given a construction in 287. The simile has already been used, in a less elaborate form, in 156 ff.

280. τὰ ἂ κῆλα, these his missiles. But P. Knight's ἐφδ is probably right; see on A 185, Θ 430. κῆλον happens to be used only of divine weapons. So Hes. Theog. 707, where thunder and lightning are the κῆλα of Zeus. The clause seems to indicate an extraordinary fall of snow. Brandreth well compares Job xxxviii. 22-3 'the treasures of the

snow . . which I have reserved . . against the day of battle and war.'

283. λωτεῦντα (= λωτέοντα, from λωτέω?) and λωτοῦντα (= λωτέοντα) are equally suspicious forms, but cannot be corrected without violence (Fibenta Brandr., πεδὶ ἀνθεμόντα Menrad). There is no other case in H. of a contracted adj. in -beis. Cf. Hesych. λωτεῦντα· ἀνθοῦντα.

284. ἀκταῖς: this form of the dat. pl. is unique in the Iliad; θεαῖς in ε 119, πάσαις χ 471, are the only other cases in H. P. Knight would reject 283-6, and Friedländer 281-6 on the ground that the simile is disproportionately long, and that the description in these six lines tends to weaken rather than to improve the comparison. But the way in which 287 returns to the point of 278 seems to invalidate this criticism; and one could not without reluctance condemn one of the finest descriptions of nature in ancient poetry. It is proved to be late by one certain Attic form (ἀκταῖς), and another possible one (λωτοῦντα); but it has doubtless been part of the Iliad as long as the Iliad has been a continuous poem.

285. ἐρύκεται, stops it, as though saying 'go no farther.' This use of

εἴλνται καθύπερθ', ὅτ' ἐπιβρίσῃ Διὸς ὄμβρος.  
ὥς τῶν ἀμφοτέρωσε λίθοι πωτῶντο θαμειαί,  
αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐς Τρώας αἱ δ' ἐκ Τρώων ἐς Ἀχαιοὺς,  
βαλλομένων· τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ὑπερ πάν δουπος ὀρώρει.

οὐδ' ἂν πω τότε γε Τρῶες καὶ φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ  
τείχεος ἐρρήξαντο πύλας καὶ μακρὸν ὀχῆα,  
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' υἱὸν ἔον Σαρπηδόνα μητίετα Ζεὺς  
ᾤρσεν ἐπ' Ἀργείοισι, λέονθ' ὥς βουσὶν ἔλιξιν.  
αὐτίκα δ' ἀσπίδα μὲν πρόσθ' ἔσχετο πάντοσ' εἵσῃν,  
καλὴν χαλκείην ἐξήλατον, ἣν ἄρα χαλκεὺς  
ἤλασεν, ἔντοσθεν δὲ βοείας ῥάψε θαμειὰς  
χρυσείῃς ῥάβδοισι διηνεκέσιν περὶ κύκλον·

290

295

286. εἴλνται: εἰλύνται CGJR (εἴλνται R<sup>m</sup>) TU (εἰ-) Harl. a d, King's, γρ. A, τινές Sch. T: εἰλεῖται Q: εἰλύνεται Par. f (α *in marg.*): εἰλύντο Vr. b<sup>1</sup>. || ἐπιβρίσει CHQ. 287. ἀμφοτέρωσε Harl. d, Par. b, γρ. Eust. || ποτῶντο GRQU<sup>2</sup>. 288. ἐς: εἰς G. 289. ὀρώρει H. 290. τότε: τοί Vr. b *supr.* || γε om. T. 292. ἔον om. DRU. 294. πρόσθεν σχέτο P. || ἔσχετο: ἔχετο S. 295. χαλκείην: χρυσείην Vr. b A. || ἐξήλατον Ar. ST. 296. ἤλασεν: ἐξέλας Zen.: ἔλασεν HQ Par. c k. 297. χρυσείῃς DQ: χρυσεῖς T.

the middle is found only here. Cauer's conj. *ἐρέγγεται* (O 621, P 265, ε 403) is plausible, but has no bearing on the picture. *προσπλάζον*, *beating up against it*. Cf. A 351, B 132, Φ 269. The verb is conn. with *πληγή*, not with *πέλας*. For *ἄλλα τε* of mss., Heyne followed by most edd. reads *ἄλλα δέ*, which is a little simpler but not necessary, as we can take the clause *κύμα . . . ἐρύκεται* as parenthetical, so that *τε* is co-ordinate with (*καὶ*) *τε* in the preceding line.

287. *πωτῶντο*: so mss.; the form is found only here, and no doubt we ought to read *ποτάοντο*, cf. B 315 *ἀμφεποτάτο*, B 462 *ποτῶνται*; see note on O 666. *λίθοι* fem. as τ 494, in the same sense as masc.; in later Greek the fem. is confined to precious stones.

289. *βαλλομένων*, a reciprocal middle, as *they cast at one another*, here only. But *νυσομένων* in Ξ 26 (= II 637) is precisely similar.

290-3. These lines are practically meaningless as the book stands, for the ineffective attack on the wall by Sarpedon has in the end no bearing whatever on Hector's successful assault on the gate. They are introduced apparently for the sake of a superficial harmony between the two attacks, which were originally independent and alike successful (see

Introd.), by suggesting that one led up to the other.

293. *ἔλιξιν*: see on I 466.

294. *μέν*, as though *δύο δὲ δοῦρε τίνασσε* (298) were to follow; the construction is forgotten in the description of the shield.

295. *ἐξήλατον* (so Zen.), *hammered out*, explained by *ἤλασεν* in the next line, for which Zen. read *ἐξέλας*: this very probably is right (as in Herod. i. 50, 68), and may have been altered to suit the reading of Ar., *ἐξήλατον*, explained to mean 'in six layers.' But this could only mean 'six-hammered.' Besides, the Homeric shield has only one layer of metal; whenever more layers are mentioned, they are always, as here, of leather (T 271-2 are undoubtedly spurious).

297. *Stitched the bull's-hide layers within with golden stitches reaching round the circle*. The layers of leather are sewed together with golden wire. *ῥάβδοις* is evidently, from its use with *ῥάψε*, to be taken as = *ῥαφαῖς*. Compare the description of the old shield of Laertes, χ 186 *δὴ τότε γ' ἦδη κείτο, ῥαφαὶ δ' ἐλέλντο ἱμάντων τὰς στήθας* of leather were decayed. To prevent such decay the armourer who made Sarpedon's shield used indestructible gold wire

τὴν ἄρ' ὃ γε πρόσθε σχόμενος, δύο δοῦρε τινάσσων  
 βῆ ῥ' ἔμεν ὥς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, ὅς τ' ἐπιδευῆς  
 δηρὸν ἔη κρειῶν· κέλεται δέ ἐ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ 300  
 μῆλων πειρήσοντα καὶ ἐς πυκινὸν δόμον ἐλθεῖν.  
 εἴ περ γάρ χ' εὖρησι παρ' αὐτόθι βώτορας ἄνδρας  
 σὺν κυσὶ καὶ δούρεσσι φυλάσσοντας περὶ μῆλα,  
 οὐ ῥά τ' ἀπείρητος μέμονε σταθμοῖο διέσθαι,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' ἦ ἥρπαξε μετάλμενος ἥε καὶ αὐτὸς 305  
 ἔβλητ' ἐν πρώτοισι θοῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἄκοντι·  
 ὥς ῥα τότ' ἀντίθεον Σαρπηδόνα θυμὸς ἀνῆκε  
 τεῖχος ἐπαῖξαι διὰ τε ῥήξασθαι ἐπάλξεις.  
 αὐτίκα δὲ Γλαῦκον προσέφη, παῖδ' Ἴππολόχοιο·  
 “Γλαῦκε, τί ἦ δὴ νῶϊ τετιμῆμεσθα μάλιστα 310  
 ἔδρηι τε κρέασίν τε ἰδὲ πλείους δεπάεσσιν  
 ἐν Λυκίῃ, πάντες δὲ θεοὺς ὥς εἰσορόωσι;

298. δοῦρα G. 300. εἶη DU: ἔην G. 301. εἰς A (γρ. ἐς). 302. γάρ  
 χ': τάχ' R. || αὐτόθι P: αὐτὸν Lips.: αὐτόφι Ω. 303. σὺν: ἐν H. || φυλα-  
 κομένους Q (*supr.* ντας). 305. ὃ γ' ἄρ': ὃ γ' P: ὃ γὰρ DGHJQU. || ἥρπαζε  
 D'S: ἥρασε Q. 308. ἐπαῖξας H. || ῥήξεσθαι Mor. 310. τί ἦ δὴ: τί, ἢ  
 A: τί δὴ DU: τίνδε Syr. 311. τε ἡδὲ G: τ' ἡδὲ RT.

instead of the more obvious leather thongs. Such is Benndorf and Reichel's thoroughly satisfying explanation of a line which had previously puzzled commentators, ancient and modern alike, with the single exception of Brandreth, who had hit upon the truth: Forsitan fila aurea erant, quibus coria ligno (?) assuebantur, et virgae vocabantur, quia his in scutis vimineis plectendis utebantur. The only difficulty is the use of ῥάβδος in a sense different from that to which we are accustomed. But when we consider that the primitive meaning of the word was originally a *young shoot* of a tree and then *wand*; that there is no special Greek word for *wire*; that, whatever the origin of ῥάβδος, the author of the passage evidently connected it with ῥάπτειν: and that the appearance of the stitches outside the leather would be that of little *rods*, there need be no hesitation in accepting this interpretation. Cf. Schol. A ἔρραψε τὰς βοείας ῥαφαῖς ῥαβδοειδέσιν ὥσπερ φλεψίν. See App. B, fig. 9.

299–301: cf. § 130–4. πυκινὸν δόμον, *the close-fenced dwelling* or farm-stead.

302. παρ' αὐτοῖσι, as N 42, T 140, Ψ 147, 640, but always as a variant beside παρ' αὐτόφι (cf. T 255 ἐπ' αὐτόφιν, A 44 ἀπ' αὐτόφιν). The adverbial termination must be right in N 42, and seems preferable in all cases (*H. G.* § 157).

304. ἀπείρητος, here in active sense, *without an effort*, cf. πειρήσοντα above. διέσθαι, *to be driven off*, pass. only here and Ψ 475, else always mid. = *to pursue*. It goes with σταθμοῖο, as σ 8 Ὀδυσῆα διώκετο οἷο δόμοιο.

306. This line seems to be wrongly adapted from A 675, where ἐν πρώτοισι has its regular meaning, 'among the foremost of *his own* side'; here it must mean among the foremost of the enemy (ἐν προβάτοισι van Herw.!). The phrase is in fact used by force of habit without any more definite sense than 'fall like a hero.' It has also been remarked that the very martial simile is hardly suitably followed by the 'almost elegiac' speech to Glaukos. It is possible that the two passages beginning αὐτίκα δέ (294–308, and 309–29) are alternative readings.

311. See the notes on Δ 262 and H 321, and for 313–4 see on Z 194–5; 316 = Δ 342.



καὶ τέμενος νεμόμεσθα μέγα Ξάνθοιο παρ' ὄχθας,  
καλὸν φυταλιῆς καὶ ἀρούρης πυροφόροιο.

τῷ νῦν χρὴ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισιν ἔοντε 315

ἐστάμεν ἡδὲ μάχης καυστείρης ἀντιβολῆσαι,

ὄφρα τις ὧδ' εἴπηι Λυκίων πύκα θωρηκτάων·

‘οὐ μὰν ἀκλεέες Λυκίην κάτα κοιρανέουσιν

ἡμέτεροι βασιλῆες, ἔδουσί τε πίονα μῆλα

οἶνόν τ' ἔξαιτον μελιηδέα· ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ ἰς 320

ἐσθλή, ἐπεὶ Λυκίοισι μέτα πρώτοισι μάχονται·

ὦ πέπον, εἰ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον περὶ τόνδε φυγόντε

αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν ἀγῆρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε

ἔσσεσθ', οὐτέ κεν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ πρώτοισι μαχοίμην

οὐτέ κε σὲ στέλλοιμι μάχην ἐς κυδιάνειραν· 325

νῦν δ' ἔμπης γὰρ κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο

315. ἔΟΝΤΕ T: ἐόντας Ω (cf. 322, 330).

316. ἐστάμεναι U. || αὐστηρῆς S.

317. εἴποι Q. 318. μῆν JP Vr. b. || ἀκλεέες Ar. (see below) R (Par. g

supr.): ἀκλειεῖς CG: ἀκλειεῖς R<sup>m</sup> (corr. from ἀκλειεῖς) U<sup>2</sup> (do.) Par. f, Eust.:

ἀκλειεῖς Ω. || κατακοιρανέουσιν Syr. 319. ἔδουσι δὲ JT. || τε om. Syr. 320.

οἶνον δ' Vr. A. 322. φυγόντες DGJPRSU Syr. 324. πρώτοισι: προ-

μάχοισι S. 325. ἐς: ἀνά C, γρ. Vr. b. 326. ἐφέστασαν Vr. A.

318. ἀκλεέες, which still survives even in MS. tradition, was doubtless the reading of Ar.: οὕτως ἀκλεες (sic) αἱ Ἀριστάρχου καὶ αἱ χαριέστεραι Did. (ἀκλεές δὲ Ἀριστάρχος κατὰ συγκοπὴν, ὡς τὸ δυσκλέα Schol. T). This shews at all events that Ar. did not read either ἀκλειεῖς or ἀκλειεῖς of the vulg., and as his reading must have been metrically possible, ἀκλεέες is a certain correction. The unique survival of such a form in a late book is noteworthy, and a remarkable confirmation of the theory that the open forms should always be restored. The correction had already been made by P. Knight.

320. With οἶνον supply πίνοισι (zeugma). ἔξαιτον, choice, else only Od. (e.g. β 307); the derivation is doubtful. Compare the γερούσιον οἶνον of Δ 259.

322. The striking story told by R. Wood about Lord Granville (Carteret) and the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763 deserves quotation as one of the most eloquent comments on this noble passage. "Being directed to wait upon his Lordship, a few days before he died, with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris, I found him so languid, that I proposed postponing my business

for another time: but he insisted that I should stay, saying, it could not prolong his life, to neglect his duty; and repeating the following passage, out of Sarpedon's speech, he dwelled with particular emphasis on the third line (324), which recalled to his mind the distinguishing part he had taken in public affairs. ὦ πέπον (322) . . . ἵομεν (328). His Lordship repeated the last word several times with a calm and determinate resignation: and after a serious pause of some minutes, he desired to hear the Treaty read; to which he listened with great attention: and recovered spirits enough to declare the approbation of a dying Statesman (I use his own words) on the most glorious War, and the most honourable Peace, this nation ever saw" (*Essay on the Original Genius of Homer* p. vii.).

323. ἀγῆρω τ': rather ἀγῆρᾶν, and so P 444. Cf. B 447.

326. νῦν δ' ἔμπης γάρ are to be taken all together, as νῦν δέ goes with ἐφεστᾶσιν: there is no parenthesis beginning with ἔμπης. For the proleptic use of γάρ see H. G. § 348 (2). But since as it is death in any case is to come. ἐφεστᾶσιν, stand in reserve, in wait for

μυρίαί, ἅς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι,  
ἵομεν, ἥέ τωι εὖχος ὀρέξομεν ἥέ τις ἡμῖν."

ὥς ἔφατ', οὐδὲ Γλαῦκος ἀπετράπετ' οὐδ' ἀπίθησε·

τῷ δ' ἰθὺς βήτην Λυκίων μέγα ἔθνος ἄγοντε.

330

τοὺς δὲ ἰδὼν ῥίγησ' υἱὸς Πετεῶο Μενεσθεύς·

τοῦ γὰρ δὴ πρὸς πύργον ἴσαν κακότητα φέροντες.

πάπτηνεν δ' ἀνὰ πύργον Ἀχαιῶν, εἴ τιν' ἴδοιτο

ἡγεμόνων, ὅς τις οἱ ἀρὴν ἐτάροισιν ἀμύναι·

ἔς δ' ἐνόησ' Αἶαντε δύω, πολέμου ἀκορήτω,

335

ἑσταότας, Τεῦκρόν τε νέον κλισίῃθην ἰόντα,

ἐγγύθεν· ἀλλ' οὐ πῶς οἱ ἔην βώσαντι γεγωνεῖν·

τόσσος γὰρ κτύπος ἦεν, αὐτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκε,

βαλλομένων σακέων τε καὶ ἵπποκόμων τρυφαλειῶν

καὶ πυλέων· πάσας γὰρ ἐπώιχετο, τοὶ δὲ κατ' αὐτάς

340

328. εὖχος: κῦδος T: θόξαν P. || τινὲς ὑποτιθέασι στίχον· θώξει ἀποκτάμενος κλυτὰ τεύχεα καὶ δόρυ μακρόν An. 329. ἐπετράπετ' C. 330. ἰθὺς: γρ. εὐθὺς Lips. || Βήτην: Βλήτην G. || ἄγοντε Ar. Ω: ἄγοντες GPR Par. a e f. 331. ῥίγησεν C<sup>1</sup> Lips.: ῥίγησε G. 332 om. R<sup>1</sup>. 334. ὅς τις: εἴ τις H. || ἀμύναι: ἀμύνει GR (T *supr.*): ἀμύνειεν P: ἀμύνῃ Cant. 335. ἔς: ὡς Jm, || αἵαντας G. 337. οὐπω GJ. || βώσονται P. 338. ἦεν: ἔην T. || ἴκε: ἦκε(n) GPQR. 340. πάσας: πᾶσαι Ar. (v. Ludw.) Δ (T *supr.*): πάσαις Harl. b (doubtless copied from T, αι over ας). || ἐπώιχετο Zen. Ω: ἐπώιχατο Ar. AH Par. k: ἐπώχατο T.

us; the sense of ἐπί is the same as in ἐφεδρος. So Hes. *Opp.* 114 οὐδέ τι δεῖλδν γῆρας ἐπῆν. (Verrall on Aisch. *Ag.* 552.) For the κῆρος see B 302.

331. For Menestheus see B 552. His appearance here, especially in close conjunction with the Salaminian Aias, naturally suggests Athenian influence; see on B 558.

332. The repetition of πύργον in this line and the next causes some difficulty, as the sense must be slightly changed. Hence Bekker, followed by several edd., reads τείχος in 333, without authority. Others take πύργον Ἀχαιῶν to mean the army of the A.; but πύργος when used of a body of men would seem to indicate a formation of a limited number for service in the field (Δ 334, 347) rather than a host generally, even when defending a wall as here. It is therefore best to take πύργον in both lines in the sense of wall (not tower, see on Δ 334); and to understand τοῦ πρὸς πύργον as meaning 'to his part of the wall.' But the line has all the appearance of a quite needless explanation, added subsequently.

334. ἀρὴν: al. Ἀρην, an uncertainty found elsewhere, e.g. Ξ 485, Σ 100. But in β 59 ἀρὴν has nothing to do with disaster in war. We must recognise, therefore, a word meaning disaster generally (quite distinct from ἀρή = prayer, with ᾱ); in all probability it is a masc. ἀρης, gen. ἀρῃ (mss. ἀρης or ἀρεω), acc. ἀρην (with accent corrupted in mss. by the analogy of ἀρὴν prayer). (So Fick.) This suits every passage where the word occurs except Hes. *Theog.* 657 ἀλκτῆρ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀρης γένεο κρυερόιο, where we must read ἀρεω with synizesis (note the masc. adjective).

336. This line apparently refers to Θ 334, where Teukros is taken to his tent after being wounded by Hector.

337. ἐγγύθεν: the station of the Telemonian Aias was next the Athenians, B 558. βώσαντι: for this contracted form see note on K 463, and compare μ 124 βωστρεῖν (βοδοντι P. Knight). γεγωνεῖν, to make his voice heard, as usual.

340-1. This couplet, which has given

ιστάμενοι πειρώντο βίηι ῥήξαντες ἐσελθεῖν.  
 αἶψα δ' ἐπ' Αἴαντε προΐει κήρυκα Θωώτην·  
 “ἔρχεο, δῖε Θωῶτα, θεῶν Αἴαντε κάλεσσον,  
 ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον· ὃ γάρ κ' ὄχ' ἄριστον ἀπάντων  
 εἴη, ἐπεὶ τάχα τῇδε τετεύχεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος·  
 ὧδε γὰρ ἔβρισαν Λυκίων ἄγιοί, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ  
 ζαχρηεῖς τελέθουσι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.  
 εἰ δέ σφιν καὶ κεῖθι πόνος καὶ νείκος ὄρωρεν,  
 ἀλλὰ περ οἷος ἵτω Τελαμώνιος ἄλκιμος Αἴας,  
 καὶ οἳ Τεῦκρος ἅμα σπέσθω τόξων ἐν εἰδῶς.”  
 ὧς ἔφατ', οὐδ' ἄρα οἳ κῆρυξ ἀπίθησεν ἀκούσας,  
 βῆ δὲ θέειν παρὰ τείχος Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,  
 στή δὲ παρ' Αἰάντεσσι κιών, εἴθαρ δὲ προσηύδα·

341. εἰσελθεῖν HTU: ἐπελθεῖν P. 342. ἐπ': ἐς Q. || αἶαντε Zen. JR  
 (supr. a) (T supr.) Syr. Par. j (Harl. a supr.): αἶαντα Ar. Ω. 343. αἶαντε  
 Zen. JP (T supr.) Syr. Par. j (Harl. a supr.): αἶαντα Ar. Ω. 347. ζαχρηεῖς G.  
 348. καὶ κεῖθι Ar. Ω: κἀκεῖθι DHQU Syr. Par. e f k, γρ. T: κἀκεῖσε Zen.  
 349. ἄλκιμος om. GQ. || αἶας: υἱὸς D. 350 ἄθ. Ar. Aph. || ἅμα σπέσσω  
 H Syr.: ἅμ' ἐσπέσσω [A]P (ἐ-): ἅμ' ἐπέσσω Ω. || τόξων R (supr. ω). 352. δὲ  
 σέων DGU: δ' ἰέναι R. || παρὰ ADQ: κατὰ Ω, γρ. A. || τείχος: λαὸν PR.  
 353. δὲ παρ': δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Par. j, Eust. || ἴσαρ Ap. Lex. 90, 24 (τινὲς δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰ  
 διφθόγγου).

endless trouble, is doubtless an addition by the same hand which has given us 175-81, and has the same object, to insist on it that the camp had several gates. It betrays itself at once by the clumsy way in which καὶ πυλέων is added as an after-thought, and by the non-Homeric form πυλέων instead of πυλάων (see on H 1). αὐτάς too is used in the weak anaphoric sense. The nom. to ἐπώιχετο is presumably αὐτή, the war-cry was ranging over all the gates, i.e. all were now being attacked, not that on the left only. (Cf. δ 451, of Proteus and the seals, πάσας δ' ἄρ' ἐπώιχετο, λέκτο δ' ἀρθρόν he went over them all.) Ar. thought that he could save his theory of the single gate without the need of athetesis, by reading πᾶσαι γὰρ ἐπώιχατο, and explaining the whole gate was shut. This, however, will not serve unless we read ἐπώχατο, and take it to be a perf. from ἐπέχειν: even then the form and the sense shut to are without analogy (ἐπέχειν τὰ ὦτα, τὸ στόμα come under the general sense to keep back), and even if πᾶσαι=ὅλαι there is no sense in saying that the whole gate was

shut (see note on B 809). ἐπώιχατο from ἐπιFόλγω is equally impossible in sense and form.

344. μὲν μᾶλλον, the μάλιστα μὲν of Attic prose; the compar. being here used because there are only two alternatives. ὃ may be a relative, even with γάρ, see on K 127.

346. ὧδε ἀντὶ τοῦ οὕτως, An. Acc. to Ar. ὧδε always meant *thus*, never *here*, in Homer. Zen. took it to be *here*, as he read κεῖσε in 359, and he is not improbably right, as it seems arbitrary to deny to Homer a use so common in later Greek, and so much more natural both in this passage, K 537, and Σ 392.

347. ζαχρηεῖς: cf. E 525, and for the present after πάρος περ, indicating that a state of affairs in the past still remains, A 553. The old form of the adj. was presumably ζαχραφέες.

350. Athletized, apparently, merely on the ground that no special summons was needed for Teukros, who always shot from under the shield of Aias. For the question between ἅμα σπέσσω and ἅμ' ἐσπέσσω see on E 423.

“Αἶαντ’, Ἀργείων ἡγήτορε χαλκοχιτώνων,  
 ἡνώγει Πετεῶο διοτρεφέος φίλος υἱὸς 355  
 κεῖσ’ ἵμεν, ὄφρα πόνοιο μίνυνθά περ ἀντιάσαιτον,  
 ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον· ὃ γάρ κ’ ὄχ’ ἄριστον ὑπάντων  
 εἴη, ἐπεὶ τάχα κεῖθι τετεύχεται αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος·  
 ὦδε γὰρ ἔβρισαν Λυκίων ἀγοί, οἳ τὸ πάρος περ  
 ζαχρηεῖς τελέθουσι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμῖνας. 360  
 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐνθάδε περ πόλεμος καὶ νείκος ὄρωρεν,  
 ἀλλὰ περ οἷος ἵτω Τελαμώνιος ἄλκιμος Αἴας,  
 καὶ οἱ Τεύκρος ἅμα σπέσθω τόξων ἐν εἰδώς.”

ὥς ἔφατ’, οὐδ’ ἀπίθησε μέγας Τελαμώνιος Αἴας.  
 αὐτίκ’ Ὀϊλιάδην ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 365  
 “Αἶαν, σφῶϊ μὲν αὖθι, σὺ καὶ κρατερὸς Λυκομήδης,  
 ἐσταότες Δαναοὺς ὀτρύνετον ἱφί μάχεσθαι·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ κεῖσ’ εἶμι καὶ ἀντιὸν πολέμοιο,  
 αἶψα δ’ ἐλεύσομαι αὖτις, ἐπὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπαμύνω.”  
 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἀπέβη Τελαμώνιος Αἴας, 370  
 καὶ οἱ Τεύκρος ἅμ’ ἦιε κασίγνητος καὶ ὄπατρος·  
 τοῖς δ’ ἅμα Πανδίων Τεύκρον φέρε καμπύλα τόξα.

355. διοτρεφέος HJ. 356. ἀντιάσαιτον R: ἀντιάσχετε G: ἀντιάσονται Q  
 (γρ. -ητον): ἀντιάσhton Ω. 358. τετεύχεται U. 359. ὦδε Ar. Ω: κείσε Zen.  
 360. ζαχρηεῖς G. || κρατερὴν ὑσμῖνῃν T Syr. 362. ἄλκιμος om. G. || αἴας:  
 υἱὸς Q. 363 ἀθ. Ar. || ἅμα σπέσθω Syr.: ἅμ’ ἐσπέσθω [AH]P: ἅμ’ ἐπέσθω  
 Ω. || τόσον R (supr. ω). 365. αὐτίκα δ’ T. || Ὀϊλιάδην: ἄρ’ ἰλιάδην Zen.  
 366. σφῶϊ: σφῶε Zen. || σὺ καὶ: καὶ ὁ GH: σὺ καὶ ὁ JT. || Λυκομήδης:  
 γρ. διομήδης Harl. a. 367. μάχεσθον Q. 368. κείσ’: κείει Zen. G. 369  
 om. G. || αὖτις CH. || εὔ om. C (ins. καὶ C man. rec.): αὖ U (supr. εὔ U<sup>2</sup>). || ἐπα-  
 μύνω: ἢ ἐπιτείλω Eust. (cf. N 753). 372 ἀθ. Ar. || ἅμα: ἄρα H.

355. ἡνώγει: imperf. referring back to the giving of the message, cf. B 28 ἐκέλευσε.

356. ἀντιάσαιτον or ἀντιάητον was conj. by Monro, as the long vowel in the aor. subj. ἀντιάσητον is irregular. The former now has MS. support. The opt. is explained by the past tense in the preceding line, though it must be admitted that the subj. is more natural; *H. G.* § 82.

359. Zen. read κείσε for ὦδε, to agree with the local sense given to ὦδε in 346.

365. For αὐτίκ’ Ὀϊλιάδην Zen. read αὐτίκ’ ἄρ’ ἰλιάδην, perhaps a reminiscence of an older αὐτίκα ἰλιάδην, cf. B 527, N 203, 712, O 333, in all of which Ἰλεύς or Ἰλιάδης is found as a variant; and compare Ἰλιάδα, the probable reading in

Pind. *O.* ix. 112. The correct form of the patronymic would be Ὀρλεῖδης, and so Nauck reads (*Fi*λ*Fe*ιδης P. Knight).

368–9 = N 752–3.

371. κασίγνητος καὶ ὄπατρος, son of the same mother and father, as A 257. κασίγνητος is elsewhere used in a more general sense (e.g. O 545, II 456), but here the addition of ὄπατρος seems to shew that it means a brother uterine (cf. T 293). In that case it is in contradiction with Θ 284 (q.v.) (Τεύκρον) νόθον περ ἐόντα. It is, however, perhaps possible to take καὶ ὄπατρος exegetically, ‘his brother, to wit the son of his father.’

372. This line was athetized by Ar. on the ground that Teukros did not need any one to carry his bow for him.



εὔτε Μενεσθήος μεγαθύμου πύργον ἵκοντο  
 τείχεος ἐντὸς ἴοντες, ἐπειγομένοισι δ' ἵκοντο,  
 οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἐπάλξεις βαῖνον ἐρεμνῇ λαίλαπι ἴσοι, 375  
 ἰφθιμοὶ Λυκίων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες·  
 σὺν δ' ἔβαλον μαχέσασθαι ἐναντίον, ὦρτο δ' αὐτή.

Αἶας δὲ πρῶτος Τελαμώνιος ἄνδρα κατέκτα,  
 Σαρπηδόντος ἐταῖρον, Ἐπικλῆα μεγάλθυμον,  
 μαρμάρωι ὀκρίεντι βαλὼν, ὃ ῥα τείχεος ἐντὸς 380  
 κεῖτο μέγας παρ' ἐπαλξιν ὑπέρτατος· οὐδέ κέ μιν ῥέα  
 χεῖρεσσ' ἀμφοτέρηις ἔχοι ἀνὴρ, οὐδέ μάλ' ἠβῶν,  
 οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰς· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ὑψόθεν ἔμβαλ' αἰέρας,  
 θλάσσε δὲ τετράφαλον κυνέην, σὺν δ' ὅστέ' ἄραξε  
 πάντ' ἄμυδις κεφαλῆς· ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἀρνευτῆρι εἰοικῶς 385  
 κάππεσ' ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ πύργου, λίπε δ' ὅστέα θυμός.  
 Τεῦκρος δὲ Γλαῦκον κρατερὸν παῖδ' Ἴππολόχοιο

373. εὔτε : οὔτε Syr. || ἵκανον J. 374 om. Syr. || ἐελδομένοισι T : ἐπειγο-  
 μένοις PR<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup>. || ἵκανον S, γρ. Vr. b. 377. ἔβαλον μαχέσασθαι T : ἐβάλλοντο  
 μάχεσθαι Ω. 379. οἰκλήῃα Vr. b *supr.*, Ar. *Lex.* 140. 20. 380. ὀκρύνοντι  
 JPR. || ἐντὸς : ἐκτὸς T<sup>1</sup>. 381. κε om. DU. || ῥεῖα H. 382. χεῖρεσσ' ἀμ-  
 φοτέρηις Ar. Ω (χείρες(c)ιν DU Lips. Eton. : ἀμφοτέρηιςιν HT : ἀμφοτέροιςιν DU),  
 γρ. J : χεῖρί γε τῇ ἐτέρῃ "αἱ κοινότεραι" AGJ Harl. b<sup>1</sup>, Par. a d e f g j, fr. Mosc.  
 Vr. b A. || ἔχοι : ἀνέχοι Harl. a : φέροι A (H *supr.*) Mor. fr. Mosc. Vr. b A :  
 φέρει U. 383. ἐν ἄλλωι ὁ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἶος A (= 449, E 304).  
 384. ἐλάσσε : ἡ ἐραῦσε Eust. || δέ : δέ οἱ J. 385. ἄρ' om. PR<sup>m</sup>T Syr. ||  
 ἀρνευτῆρι Syr. 386. ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ : γρ. ἀπ' εὐεργέος A Vr. b.

374. For the dat. ἐπειγομένοισι cf. H 7, H. G. §§ 143, 246. The apodosis begins with the next line.

377. σὺν δ' ἔβαλον μαχέσασθαι, the reading of T only, agrees better with Homeric use than the vulg. ἐβάλλοντο μάχεσθαι. Cf. II 565 σύμβαλον ἀμφὶ νέκνι κατατεθνηῶτι μάχεσθαι. The mid. συμβαλέσθαι always means *to fall in with, meet*.

381. ὑπέρτατος, the top of a heap of stones piled up by way of ammunition against the breastwork. The acc. ἐπαλξιν may be explained perhaps by the use of κείμαι as a perf. of τίθημι, and so implying motion. But we should expect ἐπάλξει, for the use of παρά with acc., without a verb of motion, is used only of one thing, or series of things, *stretching along* another. οὐδέ κέ μιν ῥέα : Brandreth conj. οὐδέ κε ῥεῖα χεῖρί Fe τῇ ἐτέρῃ (χεῖρά μιν ἀμφοτέρηισιν ἀνὴρ ἔχοι Nauck), Menrad οὐ κέ Fe ῥεῖα.

382. Of the two ancient variants in

this line Ar. preferred the text on the ground that it was no marvel if a modern man could not lift such a stone with *one* hand. For the disparagement of modern men see E 304.

385 = μ 413. For the comparison to a man 'taking a header' cf. II 742, where the idea is worked out, ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὡς ῥεῖα κυβιστᾷ, κτλ. Paley quotes also Eur. *Suppl.* 692 ἐς κρᾶτα πρὸς γῆν ἐκκυβιστώντων βίαι, and *Phoen.* 1150. It is possible that the omission of ἄρ' (see above) may be the relic of a genuine tradition δὲ *Farνευτῆρι*, but the word is practically unknown except in these three passages of H., and the der. can only be guessed at. The reading of Syr. suggests ἀρα νευτῆρι (Curetton : cf. νευτήρ· κολυμβητής Hesych. There is no need to correct this to νευστήρ, cf. Eur. *Phoen.* ut supra, ἐς οὐδας εἶδες ἂν πρὸ τευχέων | πυκνοῦς κυβιστητῆρας ἐκνευεκότας).

ἰῶι ἐπεσσύμενον βάλε τείχεος ὑψηλοῖο,  
 ἦι ῥ' ἴδε γυμνωθέντα βραχίονα, παῦσε δὲ χάρμης.  
 ἀψ' δ' ἀπὸ τείχεος ἄλτο λαθών, ἵνα μή τις Ἀχαιῶν 390  
 βλῆμενον ἀθρήσειε καὶ εὐχετόωιτ' ἐπέεσσι.  
 Σαρπήδοντι δ' ἄχος γένετο Γλαύκου ἀπιόντος,  
 αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ τ' ἐνόησεν· ὅμως δ' οὐ λήθετο χάρμης,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε Θεστορίδην Ἀλκμάονα δουρὶ τυχήσας  
 νύξ', ἐκ δ' ἔσπασεν ἔγχος· ὃ δὲ σπόμενος πέσε δουρὶ 395  
 πρηνής, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ βράχε τεύχεα ποικίλα χαλκῶι.  
 Σαρπηδὼν δ' ἄρ' ἔπαλξιν ἐλὼν χερσὶ στιβαρήσιν  
 ἔλχ', ἣ δ' ἔσπετο πᾶσα διαμπερές, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε  
 τείχος ἐγυμνώθη, πολέεσσι δὲ θῆκε κέλευθον.  
 τὸν δ' Αἴας καὶ Τεῦκρος ὁμαρτήσανθ' ὃ μὲν ἰῶι 400  
 βεβλήκει τελαμῶνα περὶ στήθεσφι φαεινὸν  
 ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης· ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς κῆρας ἄμυνε  
 παίδος ἐοῦ, μὴ νηυσὶν ἔπι πρυμνήσι δαμείη·  
 Αἴας δ' ἀσπίδα νύξεν ἐπάλμενος, οὐδὲ διαπρὸ  
 ἦλυνθεν ἐγχείη, στυφέλιξε δέ μιν μεμαῶτα. 405  
 χώρησεν δ' ἄρα τυτθὸν ἐπάλξιος· οὐδ' ὃ γε πάμπαν  
 χάζετ', ἐπεὶ οἱ θυμὸς ἐέλδeto κῦδος ἀρέσθαι.

388. ἐσσύμενον S. 390. ὅ om. D. 395. ἔκ: ἐν H. || ἔσπασ' PR. ||  
 δὲ σπόμενος: δ' ἐσπόμενος Ω: δὲ σπόμενος Hesych.: δ' ἐπάλμενος G. ||  
 πέσε: περὶ Hesych.: βάλε Vr. b (γρ. πέσε). 401. στήθεσφι ADGTU Harl. a:  
 στήθεσσι Ω. 404. νύξεν μετὰλενος PR. || οὐδὲ Δγ. Ω: ἣ δὲ Α (supr. ου)  
 (C sup.) D<sup>2</sup>GQS Par. f g j: ἠδὲ J Harl. d, Par. b d e<sup>1</sup>: ἠδὲ Syr. 406. χώρησαν  
 C<sup>2</sup>DQ fr. Mose.<sup>1</sup> || οὐδ' ὅ: οὐδέ G. 407. ἐέλδeto (A supr.) C<sup>2</sup>GHJR Syr.  
 Harl. (a supr.) b, Par. b c (supr. π) d g j k, γρ. T: ἐέλδεται P: ἐβούλετο T:  
 ἐέλετο Ar. Ω.

388. **τείχεος** must go with **ἐπεσσύμενον**, *dashing at the wall* (so also II 511). The genitives in 406, 420, do not justify us in joining **βάλε τείχεος**, 'shot from (his position on) the wall.'

393. **ὅμως**, for the Homeric **ἐμπης**. Lehrs conj. ὃ δ' οὐδ' ὤς, which is the regular phrase, and probably right. λ 565 (al. ὁμῶς) is the only other instance of ὅμως in H., in a very suspicious passage.

397. The **ἐπαλξιν** is no doubt a breastwork of planks; it has been undermined, so that when it is pulled down in one place, it falls 'all along' the wall (**διαμπερές**). The nom. to **ἔθηκε** may be **τείχος** (the wall, by being stripped of the breastwork, makes an opening), but is much more naturally **Σαρπηδῶν**. The gap is not passed as yet by any of the

Trojans; they did not appropriate the passage thus made (**θέσθαι κέλευθον** 411, 418). This distinction between mid. and act. is the only resource to avoid the discrepancy between 399 and 411.

400. **ὁμαρτήσαντε**, simultaneously. For the 'distributive apposition' by which this dual is followed by two verbs in the singular, compare H 306.

403. **νηυσὶν ἐπὶ πρυμνήσι** are the emphatic words; his fate is to be killed in the open plain.

404-5 = H 260-1. The variant **ἣ δέ** for **οὐδέ**, found in some mss. and quoted by Did. as the *κοινή*, comes thence, but has been altered here because the weapon does not reach his body; he is only staggered by the shock.

407. **ἐέλδeto**, *desired*, is preferable to

κέκλετο δ' ἀντιθέοισιν ἐλιζάμενος Λυκίοισιν·  
 “ὦ Λύκιοι, τί τ' ἄρ' ὧδε μεθίετε θούριδος ἀλκῆς;  
 ἀργαλέον δέ μοί ἐστι, καὶ ἰφθίμῳ περ ἔοντι,  
 μούνῳ ῥηξαμένῳ θέσθαι παρὰ νηυσὶ κέλευθον·  
 ἀλλ' ἐφομαρτεῖτε· πλεόνων δέ τοι ἔργον ἄμεινον.”

410

ὥς ἔφαθ', οἱ δὲ ἄνακτος ὑποδδείσαντες ὁμοκλήν  
 μᾶλλον ἐπέβρισαν βουληφόρον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα.  
 Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐκαρτύναντο φύλαγγας  
 τείχεος ἔντοσθεν· μέγα δέ σφισι φαίνεται ἔργον·  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἴφθιμοι Λύκιοι Δαναῶν ἐδύναντο  
 τείχος ῥηξάμενοι θέσθαι παρὰ νηυσὶ κέλευθον,  
 οὔτε ποτ' αἰχμηταὶ Δαναοὶ Λυκίους ἐδύναντο  
 τείχεος ἀψ' ὤσασθαι, ἐπεὶ τὰ πρῶτα πέλασθον.  
 ἀλλ' ὥς τ' ἀμφ' οὔροισι δὴ ἀνέρε δηριάασθον,  
 μέτρ' ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, ἐπιξύνῳ ἐν ἀρούρῃ,

415

420

408. ἀντιθέοισι καθαπτόμενος QST. 409. μεθείετε HT<sup>1</sup>. 412. ἐφομαρ-  
 τεῖτε HPQR Syr. Par. k (T *supr.* p. ras.): ἐφαμαρτεῖτε Δγ.: ἐφομαρτεῖτον Ω  
 (Did. mentions all three variants). || δέ τ' G: δέ τι S Mor. 413. ὑποδείσαντες  
 L. 416. σφισι: σφι(ν) GPQRU. 420. ὤσεσθαι G Vr. A. || πρῶτ' ἐπέλασθον  
 αρ. Did. 421. οὔρεσσι R.

the vulg. ἐέλπτο, *hoped*, on account of the aor. infin. We cannot here translate *hoping that he had won*. See note on Γ 28.

408=Π 421 (cf. M 467). These and § 241 are the only passages in which ἀντίθεος is the epithet of a nation.

411. θέσσαι κέλευθον: see 397. παρὰ νηυσί: we should rather have expected παρὰ νῆας.

412. For ἐφομαρτεῖτε most mss. give ἐφομαρτεῖτον: the dual for the plural is doubtless the reading of Zenodotos. Cf. Ψ 414 (note also 413=Ψ 417). δέ τοι is the vulgate, in spite of the F of *Fέργον*, but there is faint ms. evidence of variation. We can choose between Bentley's δέ τε and Hoffmann's τοι. MS. evidence is in favour of the former, with the generalizing τε.

416. σφισι would most naturally refer to the Greeks, as the party last mentioned, as in χ 149 μέγα δ' αὐτῷ φ. ξ.: but what follows shews that we must understand it of both parties, 'a mighty task was revealed to them, set before them'; cf. Α 734 ἀλλὰ σφι . . φάνη μέγα ἔργον "Ἄρμος, and Π 207 νῦν δὲ πέφανται φυλόπιδος μέγα ἔργον.

420. τὰ πρῶτα, *once*, as A 235.

421. The simile is clear evidence of the existence in Homeric times of the 'common-field' system of agriculture, where the land of the community is portioned out in temporary tenure from time to time. For the οὔρα see K 351; they are stones (Φ 405) marking off the allotments, and are easily movable by a fraudulent neighbour (X 489). Such a fraud could only be detected by re-measurement, and it is over such a dispute that the two men are engaged. The common field was usually cut up into very small strips, of which each man had several in different parts, so as to apportion fairly the various qualities of soil. It is easy to see how such a system would lead to continual disputes about boundaries. The point of the simile of course is that the two parties stand close to one another divided by the breastwork, as the two neighbours are only divided by the stone over which they are quarrelling. The Ἰσθ (see Α 705) is the allotted space of land. (So Ridgeway in *J. H. S.* vi. 319 ff. on *The Homeric Land System*.)

ὦ τ' ὀλίγωι ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐρίζητον περὶ ἴσης,  
 ὥς ἄρα τοὺς διέεργον ἐπάλξεις· οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτέων  
 δήμιον ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσφι βοείας, 425  
 ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισήϊά τε πτερόεντα.  
 πολλοὶ δ' οὐτάζοντο κατὰ χροά νηλεῖ χαλκῶι,  
 ἡμὲν ὅτῳ στρεφθέντι μετάφρενα γυμνωθεῖη  
 μαρναμένων, πολλοὶ δὲ διαμπερὲς ἀσπίδος αὐτῆς.  
 πάντῃ δὴ πύργοι καὶ ἐπάλξεις αἵματι φωτῶν 430  
 ἐρράδατ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀπὸ Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐδύναντο φόβον ποιῆσαι Ἀχαιῶν,  
 ἀλλ' ἔχον ὥς τε τάλαντα γυνὴ χερνήτις ἀληθής,  
 ἥ τε σταθμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ εἶριον ἀμφὶς ἀνέλκει  
 ἰσάζουσ', ἵνα παισὶν ἀεικέα μισθὸν ἄρῃται· 435

423. ὦ τ' : οἷ τ' T : οἷ δ' R. || ὀλίγη ἐνὶ χώρῳ Zen. || ἐρίζετον DGTU. ||  
 ἸΗΣ: ΝΙΚΗΣ Ar. *Lex.* 169. 33. 424. ἐπάλξεις T. || αὐτῶν JT : αὐτῶν DPRU. ||  
 After this *add.* Βάλλον ἀμυνόμενοι χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχέειναι GPR. 425. ΣΤΗΘΕΣΦΙ  
 TU Vr. A : ΣΤΗΘΕΣΙ Ω. 428. ὅτῳ Ar. Ω : ὅτεωι Zen. || ΣΤΡΑΦΕΝΤΙ J. || ΓΥΜ-  
 ΝΩΘΕΝΤΙ P. 430. ΔΗ Ar. Ω : Δὲ GJT : Δ' οἱ L : Δ' ἢ Tyrannio. 432 *om.* J  
 Ambr. 433. ἔχεν Ar. *Lex.* 149. 4. || ὥς τε : ὥτε Herod. || ἈΛΗΘΗΣ : ἈΛΗΤΙ-  
 C R, Ar. *Lex.* 24. 9, γρ. P. 435. ΑΕΙΚΕΑ, ΑΝΕΙΚΕΑ, and ΑΜΕΜΦΕΑ Ar. (*v. infra*). ||  
 ἄρῃται : ἔλῃται Schol. BT on II 7.

424. αὐτέων, for αὐτῶν, and in the weak sense, is not to be interfered with in a late passage. For 425-6 see E 452-3.

428. ὅτῳ: so all mss., Zen. alone reading ὅτεωι, which most edd. adopt. The form gains support from O 664, where most mss. give it; but in β 114, the only place where it recurs, it is a trisyllable. So τῳ is an iambus in II 227, λ 502, υ 114; for τῳ see A 299, Μ 328, Ν 327. Van L. suggests ὅτε.

433. ἔχον is used intransitively in the first clause (as E 492, K 264, etc.), and hence ἔχει must be understood transitively in the second, by a sort of Zeugma, 'they held on, as a woman holds the scales.' ἀληθής seems to be used here in the primitive sense, 'not forgetting,' i.e. *careful*, anxious about her task. The adjective elsewhere is only used of spoken words. To make it here = *honest*, 'conscientious,' is to introduce an entirely un-Homeric conception. The woman weighs the wool not out of motives of conscientiousness, but in order to make sure that by giving full weight she will earn her pay. The variant ἀλήτης, *beggar-woman* (fem. of the Odyssean ἀλήτης, *vagabond*), is harsh

after χερνήτις (which is apparently from χεῖρ, a handworker), and does not suit the picture. Though it is given in Apoll. *Lex.*, the explanation there appended only suits ἀληθής (οἶον δίκαια παραλαβάνειν τὸν σταθμὸν καὶ παραδίδοναι).

434. ἀμφίς goes with ἔχουσα, *holding (one) on each side*. ΣΤΑΘΜΩΝ = *weight*, only here in Homer. ἀνέλκει, as O 72.

435. We must not look upon the μισθός as anything but payment in kind, food and perhaps cloth for garments. For ἀεικέα (*miserable, meagre*: cf. Ω 594 οὐ μοι ἀεικέα δῶκεν ἄποινα) Ar. read ἀνεικέα, explaining ἔξω νείκους, τὸ ἴσον αὐτοῖς ἀπονέμουσα, ἀμεινον δέ, φησιν, ἀεικέα τὸν εὐτελεῖ. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς τὸ Ξένωνος παράδοξον προφέρεται ἀμεμφέα μισθόν (Did.): a rare instance of vacillation. The simile is particularly interesting as giving us one of our few glimpses into the life of the Homeric poor. Elsewhere the working of wool is always carried out by the women of the house for themselves—even by Queen Arete in Phaiakia. Only here do we find the beginning of a special industry of wool-working, the spinning, as it would seem, being given out for payment.



ὥς μὲν τῶν ἐπὶ ἴσα μάχῃ τέτατο πτόλεμός τε,  
πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ Ζεὺς κῦδος ὑπέρτερον Ἑκτορι δῶκε  
Πριαμίδῃ, ὃς πρῶτος ἐσήλατο τείχος Ἀχαιῶν.  
ἦυσεν δὲ διαπρύσιον Τρῶεσσι γεγωνώς·

“ ὄρνυσθ', ἱππόδαμοι Τρῶες, ῥήγνυσθε δὲ τείχος  
Ἀργείων καὶ νηυσὶν ἐνίετε θεσπιδαῆς πῦρ.” 440

ὥς φάτ' ἐποτρύνων, οἱ δ' οὔασι πάντες ἄκουον,  
ἴθυσαν δ' ἐπὶ τείχος ἀολλέες. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα  
κροσσάων ἐπέβαινον ἀκαχμένα δούρατ' ἔχοντες,  
Ἑκτωρ δ' ἀρπάξας λᾶαν φέρειν, ὅς ῥα πυλᾶων 445  
ἐστήκει πρόσθε, πρύμνους παχύς, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν  
ὀξὺς ἔην· τὸν δ' οὐ κε δύ' ἀνέρε δήμου ἀρίστω  
ῥηϊδίως ἐπ' ἄμαξαν ἀπ' οὔδεος ὀχλίσειαν,  
οἶοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰς· ὁ δέ μιν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἶος.

τόν οἱ ἐλαφρὸν ἔθηκε Κρόνου πᾶϊς ἀγκυλομήτεω. 450  
ὥς δ' ὅτε ποιμὴν ῥεῖα φέρει πόκον ἄρσενος οἶδος  
χειρὶ λαβὼν ἑτέρῃ, ὀλίγον δέ μιν ἄχθος ἐπείγει,

436. πόλεμός J Harl. a, Lips. 437. υπερτατον Ambr. 439. τρῶεσσι :  
δαναοῖσι H. 440. ῥήγνυσθ' τε L. 441. ἐνίετε (*supr.* i) HT. 442. φάτ' :  
ἔφατ' AT. 443. ἔουσιν J. 444. ἀκαχμένα κτλ. : ἐπεὶ θεοῦ ἔκλυον αὐδὴν  
Zen. 445. ἀρπάσας P. 446. ἐστήκει Ar. CHQRS Lips. Ven. B, fr. Mosc. Vr.  
A : ἐστήκει Harl. a : ἰστήκει Syr. : εἰστήκει Ω. 447. δ' om. Syr. 448. ἐφ'  
ἄμαξαν CGPQR Vr. b. || ὀχλίσειαν DGJ (*supr.* c over c). 450 αθ. Ar. Aph.,  
om. Zen. || ὅακε S. 451. φέρει Ar. Ω (others φέρηι ?) : φέροι T (*supr.* ei :  
lemma has φέρει, *supr.* oi : Schol. φέρην (*sic*)· οὐ φέρει). 452. δέ JT : τέ Ω.

436. See note on H 102.

438. In II 558 the same expression is used of Sarpedon. For the difficulty therein involved see the introduction to this book.

439 = Θ 227. Ar. strangely enough made Zeus the subject of ἦυσεν, on the ground that Hector could not shout loud enough for *all* to hear him (442). Zen. must have taken the same view if he is correctly reported to have read ἐπεὶ θεοῦ ἔκλυον αὐδὴν for the second half of 444.

442. οὔασι, pleonastic, like ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖν, ἐκαλέσατο φωνῇ (I 161). It is not necessary to suppose with Aeneis that it implies any emphasis, such as hearing *willingly*.

444. κροσσάων : see on 258.

446. πρυμνός, at the base. For this adverbial use cf. μέσος, ἄκρος, πρῶτος, etc. The use with a second adj. is, however,

rare ; with a participle it is not uncommon (λαβρὸς ἐπαγίζων, etc.).

447. ὅαμου ἀρίστω, as A 328, 'the best of a whole community.'

448. ὀχλίσειαν, as ι 242. A few mss. give ὀχλήσειαν (cf. 259 ἐμόχλεον) ; but Kallimachos and Ap. Rhod. use the form ὀχλίζω. The derivation and connexion of the word with ὄχλος or μόχλος are very obscure. Φ 261 ὀχλεῖνται seems to be distinct.

450. Athetized as diminishing the greatness of the feat. But, as Heyne remarks, the aid of a god only explains, without diminishing, a hero's superiority to common men.

451. For the indic. instead of the usual subj. after ὥς ὅτε cf. Δ 422. There seems, however, to have been a variant φέρηι, though it is not recorded in our mss.—Hehn (*Cult.* p. 435) notes that πόκον properly means *wool plucked out* ; shearing may possibly have been still unknown in Homeric days.

ὥς Ἴκτωρ ἰθὺς σανίδων φέρε λαῶν αἰείρας,  
 αἶ ῥα πύλας εἵρυντο πύκα στιβαρῶς ἀραρυίας,  
 δικλίδας ὑψηλάς· δοιοὶ δ' ἔντοσθεν ὀχῆες 455  
 εἶχον ἐπημοιβοί, μία δὲ κληῖς ἐπαρήρει.  
 στῇ δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ἰών, καὶ ἐρεισάμενος βάλε μέσσας,  
 εὖ διαβάς, ἵνα μὴ οἱ ἀφαιρότερον βέλος εἴη,  
 ῥῆξε δ' ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρους θαιρούς· πέσε δὲ λίθος εἴσω  
 βριθοσύνηι, μέγα δ' ἀμφὶ πύλαι μύκον, οὐδ' ἄρ' ὀχῆες 460  
 ἐσχεθέτην, σανίδες δὲ διέτμαγεν ἄλλυδις ἄλλη  
 λαὸς ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς. ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἔσθορε φαίδιμος Ἴκτωρ  
 νυκτὶ θοῇ ἀτάλαντος ὑπώπια, λάμπε δὲ χαλκῶι  
 σμερδαλέωι, τὸν ἔεστο περὶ χροῖ, δοιὰ δὲ χερσὶ  
 δοῦρ' ἔχεν· οὐ κέν τις μιν ἐρύκακεν ἀντιβολήσας 465  
 νόσφι θεῶν, ὅτ' ἐσᾶλτο πύλας· πυρὶ δ' ὄσσε δεδήει.

454. ῥα : ῥά τε Syr. 455. ἔκτοσθεν T. 456. ἐπαμειβοί Q (*supr.* οἱ over ei) : ἐπημοιβηδόν Vr. b (*supr.* οἱ). 457. δὲ μάλ' ἐγγύς : ἐν ἄλλωι δ' ἄρ' ἐπου-  
 δὸν A. 459. ἀπ' om. D : ἐπ' CGQ Syr. Vr. b<sup>2</sup>, Eton. fr. Mosc. || δὲ : δ' αὖ  
 PR : δὴ G. 460. ἀμφί P. 461. διέτμαγον DG<sup>2</sup>HPR. 462. ὑπαὶ CJPU,  
 γρ. Eust. || ἔκθορε P. 464. σμερδαλέος *ap.* Eust. 465. ἔχεν : ἐχον Syr. :  
 ἔσχεν Q. || οὐ κέν Ar. P : οὐκ ἄν Ω. || ἐρύκακεν Ar. R Par. e : ἐρυκάκη D :  
 ἐρυκάκοι Ω. 466. πυρὶ : περὶ P Cant., γρ. Vr. b.

454. πύκα goes with εἵρυντο, στιβαρῶς with ἀραρυίας. For εἵρυντο cf. A 216. But the Homeric form is εἰρύατο : P. Knight conj. ἐρύοντο. The σανίδες seem here to be literally *the boards* of which the two doors are made (the epithets shew that πύλαι cannot mean the *opening* as opposed to the two doors which close it). But it is to the two doors that the name σανίδες is usually given, e.g. I 21, β 344 (where the epithet δικλίδες, here belonging to πύλαι, is applied to σανίδες).

456. ἐπημοιβοί apparently means *shifting*, movable from side to side. This suits the use of Z 339 ἐπαμειβεταί ; cf. ξ 513 ἐπημοιβοὶ χιτῶνες, *changes of tunics*, the only other instance of the adj. in H. Two such horizontal draw-bars across the top and bottom of the gate may have been strengthened by a vertical bolt. But the ancients seem to have understood the phrase to mean cross-bars in the shape of an X, with the κληῖς at the intersection. We have no material for decision. A different arrangement is given in Ω 453, where

the door of Achilles' hut is held by a single ἐπιβλής, apparently identical with the κληῖς.

458. διαβάς, setting his legs well apart. ἀφαιρός is else used only of persons. Notice the curious use by which μὴ ἀφαιρότερον = *more powerful*, a comparative in the dependent form of οὐκ ἀφαιρός = *strong* by *litotes*.

459. σαιρούς, hinges, projecting vertical iron pegs at the top and bottom, working in stone sockets, such as have been found at Tiryns.

463. ὑπώπια, here in the sense of *face* generally ; the phrase is curious, as it is in the brow, *above* the eyes, that we are accustomed to see a dark expression.

465. ἐρύκακεν and ἐρυκάκοι are of course equally possible (see on E 311), the sense in either case being *none could have stopped him*.

466. Heyne and others are inclined to doubt the genuineness of this line, as the addition of νόσφι θεῶν, and still more of ὅτ' ἐσᾶλτο πύλας, is very flat ; while the last clause seems to contradict the

κέκλετο δὲ Τρῶεσσιν ἐλιξάμενος καθ' ὄμιλον  
 τεῖχος ὑπερβαίνειν· τοὶ δ' ὀτρύνοντι πίθοντο.  
 αὐτίκα δ' οἱ μὲν τεῖχος ὑπέρβασαν, οἱ δὲ κατ' αὐτὰς  
 ποιητὰς ἐσέχυντο πύλας. Δαναοὶ δὲ φόβηθεν 470  
 νῆας ἀνὰ γλαφυράς, ὄμαδος δ' ἀλίσστος ἐτύχθη.

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468. ὀτρύνοντι Ar. Ω (others ὀτρύναντι): ὀτρύνοντα J: ὀτρύνοντο P. ||  
 ὀτρύνοντος ἄκουσαν Schol. B (Porph.) on M 12.

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preceding simile, and may possibly be a  
 vague reminiscence of B 93 ὅσσα δεδήκει.

470. ποιητὰς=ἐνποιήτας E 466, etc.

## APPENDIX A

### ON THE HOMERIC USE OF THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

ὅς, ἐός<sup>1</sup>

ALL branches of the Indo-European family of languages possessed a reflexive pronominal stem *seve*, *sve*, *se*, which was used for all persons and numbers alike in the reflexive sense *self*. This use has survived untouched to the present day in the Slavonic languages; e.g. in Russian the acc. *sebyá* means *my*-, *thy*-, *him*-, *her-self*, *our*-, *your*-, *their-selves*, according to the subject of the principal verb. The same is the case with the mod. Persian *khu-d* (*khu*=*sva*-). Traces of it are found in other languages; e.g. in Latin *se* and *suus*, in German *sich*, are used for the plural as well as the singular; the characteristic passive ending *-r* in Latin and Keltic is probably an appended *-se*, just as in mod. Scandinavian the passive of all persons and numbers is formed by the addition of *-s* (originally *-sk*) to the active.

The universality of this use makes it almost certain that the stem was once used in the same free way in primitive Greek also. But in Homeric Greek there are practically no traces of it in the substantive personal pronoun. It is indeed clear that οὗ, οἱ, ἐ were once purely reflexive—the absence of a nominative and of distinction of gender, which in a reflexive pronoun are needless, indicate this. But in Homer at least the pronoun has fallen into rank with ἐμοῦ and σοῦ: it is not only confined to the 3rd person singular, but has developed into an anaphoric pronoun.

It has not, indeed, lost the reflexive use: this is frequent, and was distinguished by Aristarchos from the anaphoric use by accentuation (ἐὸ reflexive, ἐό anaphoric, *H. G.* § 254).<sup>2</sup> But in a large majority of

<sup>1</sup> The following is mainly taken from Brugman(n) *Ein Problem der Homerischen Textkritik und der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft* (Leipzig 1876), and Dyroff *Geschichte des Pronomen Reflexivum*, erste Abt., Würzburg 1892.

<sup>2</sup> Dyroff has suggested that the superior antiquity of the reflexive use is indicated by the fact that the word makes position

only when reflexive in the strictest sense, as though it then still retained both initial consonants, in the phrases ἀνὸ ἐό (= ἀνὸ cfέο), ἀνὸ ἔθεν, πρὸς οἱ (Φ 507). It is possible, however, that the lengthening here may be explained by metrical necessity and (in Φ 507) by the sixth ictus; see App. D.



cases where the pronoun is used, the employment of it is reflexive only in a wide sense; it does not belong to the grammatical subject of the principal verb, but to the logical subject, i.e. that which is most prominent in the speaker's mind. For instance, in subordinate sentences it often refers to the subject not of the verb of its own clause, but to that of the principal sentence. The gradual extension of laxity through such sentences can be traced till we reach the purely anaphoric use, in which  $\epsilon$  is entirely equivalent to  $\mu\iota\eta$ .

This restriction to the 3rd sing. involved the use of other reflexive forms for the 1st and 2nd sing. and the 3rd plural. For the 1st and 2nd persons the oblique cases of  $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ ,  $\kappa\upsilon$ ,  $\eta\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  and  $\upsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  were at hand, and were used freely in a reflexive sense, with or without the addition of a case of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . For the 3rd plural, which on the evidence of Latin and Teutonic was the last to go, Greek created its own forms  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\eta$ ,  $\sigma\phi\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ , with the enclitic  $\sigma\phi\iota$ ,  $\sigma\phi\alpha\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ .

The only passages in Homer where it has been thought that traces remained of the original "free" use of the substantive pronoun (see notes on B 196, K 398) do not warrant the conclusion, which is indeed incompatible with the developed anaphoric use.

With regard to the adjectival forms  $\delta\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ , however, the case is different. It has been often held since the early days of criticism that these words could be used equally, in the general sense *own*, for all persons and both numbers. This view was held by Zenodotos but impugned by Aristarchos, who confined the adjective to the 3rd sing. The question is still in dispute. The following are the main arguments in the case.

There is MS. evidence in Homer for the use of  $\delta\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  for other persons than the 3rd sing. In nearly all cases, however, there is a variant which was preferred by Aristarchos.

This is taken by Brugmann and others as proof that Aristarchos altered the MS. tradition "for the sake of a fad." For such an accusation there is not the least ground; all the evidence shews that Ar. could not alter the tradition, however he may have wished to do so. All that he did was to choose that one of the existing variants which agreed with his view.

There are a number of passages in Homer where it seems likely from internal reasons, though there is no MS. evidence, that a form of  $\delta\omicron\varsigma$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ ) has been supplanted by another less suitable word, in order to avoid the application of the pronoun to another person than the 3rd sing.

The free use of the adjective is common in the imitative Epics, Apollonios Rhodios, and Kallimachos. This shews that it existed in the Epic poems which they had before them. They extended the use, indeed, from the adjective to the substantive pronoun.

If, then, Aristarchos is right, and  $\delta\omicron\varsigma$  was always confined to the 3rd sing. in Homer, it appears that the later archaizing poets, or rather the older texts which they followed, must, with no analogy to guide them, have invented a use which, as our knowledge of cognate languages shews, was actually primitive. The improbability of this, compared with the other theory, that the "free" use of  $\delta\omicron\varsigma$  actually survived in a few cases in Homer, is enormous. This, and not any question of the relative

authority of Zenodotos and Aristarchos, is the most cogent argument in favour of the genuineness of the free use of the adjective in Homer.

The fact that the archaizing poets extended the free use to οὖ, οἶ, ἔ is of little importance; this was a natural thing for those to do who had the analogy of the adjective before them; it is an obvious conclusion that if ὅς can = ἐμός, then οὖ can = ἐμοῦ: but if ὅς never meant anything but *his* in Homer, as ἔ never means anything but *him*, it would be an amazing step for an imitator, against all the usage of his own day, to make it = *my*.

The analogy, indeed, is so obvious that it may at first sight seem hard to understand how the pronoun and its adjective can have gone such different ways. But it is certain that, even on Aristarchos' theory, the two had materially diverged in use; for while the reflexive use of the pronoun is rare compared to the anaphoric, and almost confined to a few prepositional phrases,<sup>1</sup> in the adjective it is almost universal, though the reference is occasionally not to the grammatical subject but to a person who is at the moment specially prominent. Thus in cases where the reference is to the grammatical object instead of the subject, this object almost always precedes (see, for instance, Z 500 γόον Ἑκτορα ὦι ἐνὶ οἴκῳ). In Ω 36 ἦι τ' ἀλόχῳ ἰδέειν the pronoun is attached to the indirect object in the dative and refers to the direct object in the acc. X 404 ἔῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ is peculiar in that there is neither pronoun nor name immediately preceding to which ἔῃ can grammatically refer; but Hector is so prominently the logical subject of the whole passage that there can be no ambiguity. There are only two cases (σ 345, ω 196) where the reference is to an indirect object in the dative.<sup>2</sup> With this degree of latitude it may be said that ὅς is always reflexive.<sup>3</sup>

It will be seen that Homer does not possess any unemphatic anaphoric possessive adjective: the place of one is taken by the very common possessive use of the dat. οἶ, more rarely by the gen. τοῦ, τῆς, and still more rarely by αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς.

The following passages of Homer, where the reading is undisputed, point to the free use of the adjective.

δ 190-2 Ἀτρεΐδῃ, περὶ μὲν σε βροτῶν πεπνυμένον εἶναι  
Νέστωρ φάσχ' ὁ γέρων, ὅτ' ἐπιμνησάμεθα σέο  
οἷσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐρέοιμεν.

Here it is possible, though awkward, to take οἷσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι with Νέστωρ φάσκε: but the order clearly suggests that οἷσιν = ἡμετέροισι, and it was presumably on this ground that Ar. athetized 192.

<sup>1</sup> According to Dyroff p. 19 the sole exceptions, if we regard only cases of strictly grammatical reflexion, are λ 433, τ 481, against 43 instances of the use with prepositions. When we take into consideration the "logical" reflexion in subordinate clauses, etc., it soon becomes difficult to draw the line between anaphora and reflexion. Under the head of subordinate clauses however Dyroff includes cases such as B 239, Δ 400, E

800, which might fairly be regarded as direct reflexion. See *H. G.* § 253 (1).

<sup>2</sup> So Dyroff; but see II 800 τότε δὲ Ζεὺς Ἑκτορι δῶκεν | ἦι κεφαλῇ φορέειν, and K 256 Τυδείδῃ μὲν δῶκε . . . φάσγανον ἄμφηκες, τὸ δ' ἐὼν παρὰ νηϊ λείπειτο.

<sup>3</sup> A similar latitude is familiar in Attic with the unquestionably reflexive ἑαυτοῦ. See Kühner ii. § 455 (3).

ι 28

οὐ τι ἐγὼ γε

ἢς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.

This is translated, "I can see no sweeter thing than *a man's own country*"—a form of expression which no one would defend if it were not held illegitimate to translate "*my own country*."<sup>1</sup>

ν 320 ἄλλ' αἰεὶ φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἔχων δεδαϊγμένον ἦτορ ἠλώμην.

Here ἦσιν must = ἐμῆσιν: the opponents of the "free" use have no resource but the athetesis of 320-3.

H 153 θάρρει ὦι is most simply taken to mean θάρρει ἐμῶι: see note ad loc.

We pass on to a number of passages which are closely connected:—

A 393 ἄλλα σύ, εἰ δύνασαι γε, περίσχεο παιδὸς ἔηος.

O 138 τῷ σ' αὖ νῦν κέλομαι μεθέμεν χόλον υἱὸς ἔηος.

T 342 τέκνον ἐμόν, δὴ πάμπαν ἀποίχεται ἀνδρὸς ἔηος;

Ω 422 ὥς τοι κήδονται μάκαρες θεοὶ υἱὸς ἔηος.

Ω 550 οὐ γάρ τι πρήξεις ἀκαχήμενος υἱὸς ἔηος.

In all these cases Zen. read ἐοῖο for ἔηος (the Scholia A on Ω 422 are lost, but there can be no doubt that Zen. was consistent here also). In A 393 a large number—perhaps a majority—of the mss. that have been examined either read ἐοῖο or give it as a variant. In O 138 it is read by HR and is a variant in L. In Ω 422 and 550 Pap. ν has τεοῖο in the margin. In Ω 550 P<sup>1</sup> has ἐοῖο. In T 342 alone has no ms. evidence yet been quoted for anything but ἔηος.

In all these lines ἐοῖο = *thy* gives excellent sense; in O 138, Ω 422 it is not strictly reflexive but refers to the preceding pronouns **σε, τοι**—an extension of the use to which parallels have been given.

The word ἔηος is commonly taken to be the gen. of ἥυς, for ἥεος with metathesis of quantity, and for this reason some of the grammarians (e.g. Apollonios) wrote ἔἥος, but against the best tradition (La R. II. T. p. 234). But this explanation is untenable.<sup>2</sup> ἔἥος can only come from \*ἑεύς. It occurs undoubtedly twice in the *Od.* (ξ 505, ο 450), where the sense *good* is admissible but not particularly appropriate. In these two places Brugmann would take ἑεύς to mean *lord*. The former line was atheized by Athenokles and Ar.; in the latter the sense '*mine own lord*' is not absolutely inadmissible, and here Ven. iv. 9 reads ἐοῖο, M<sup>a</sup> γρ. ἐμοῖο.

But even if we admit this anomalous word in the sense *good*, there remains the curious fact that ἐοῖο is used instead of it whenever the reference is to the 3rd person. We have υἱὸς ἐοῖο N 522, Ξ 9, Σ 138, πατρὸς ἐοῖο B 662, Ξ 11, T 399, Ψ 360, 402, ξ 177, (ν 289), παιδὸς ἐοῖο Ξ 266, Σ 71. Only in Ξ 9 (ἔἥος Eust.), Σ 71 (ἔἥος Eust., ἔἥος Cant.? —not Harl. a), Σ 138 (ἔἥος HJ Vr. d, ἔἥος D—not Harl. a—ἔἥος Syr., and ἐν ἄλλῳι υἱὸς ἐηος Δ) are there traces of variation to indicate the

<sup>1</sup> A very similar case is Pindar *P.* ii. 91 **στάμας δὲ τινος ἐλκόμενοι | περι-  
cās ἐνέπασαν ἔλκος ὀδυνηρὸν ἔαι  
πρόσε καρδίαι:** 'as if *one's heart* for *their heart*,' Gildersleeve.

<sup>2</sup> Recourse may perhaps be had to Schulze's theory of the lengthening permitted in the sixth arsis (see App. D), so that ἔἥος would stand for ἑέος.

effects of such reminiscence of the disputed passages as may have produced the single converse variant  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$  in  $\omicron$  450.

Curiously enough, we find another anomalous usage which, like that of  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , is entirely confined to clauses where reference is made to the 1st or 2nd persons, while  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  is always used where the 3rd person is in question. This is the questionable use of the article in place of a possessive pronoun with words of relationship (see *II. G.* § 261. 3 b).

Λ 142  $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \delta\grave{\eta} \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\epsilon\tau\epsilon \lambda\acute{\omega}\beta\eta\eta\iota.$

Here Zen. read  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$ , others  $\varsigma\phi\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$ , MSS.  $\tau\omicron\upsilon$  with Ar.

Γ 322  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\delta' \acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota} \kappa\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\phi\theta\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\omicron \pi\upsilon\theta\omicron\iota\mu\eta\iota.$

The Schol. A here are missing, so it is impossible to say if Zen. wrote  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$ . But Monro's translation *If I heard of such a one as my father being dead* is inadmissible. Achilles puts the one extreme case; the whole point is that there can be no other such as his father—his *own* father.

β 134  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma \kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha} \pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota.$

The article has given commentators great trouble; it surely must mean *my*, though some explain "him, viz. *her* (Penelope's) father."

Φ 412  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega \kappa\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\eta\varsigma \mu\eta\tau\rho\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma.$

π 149  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\kappa \kappa\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\mu\epsilon\omega\alpha \nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\iota\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\iota \grave{\eta}\mu\alpha\rho.$

In all these cases the reflexive  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  would be suitable in the sense *mine* or *thine* own.

In the following cases the reference is not to the subject of the sentence, but is made clear by the use of the personal pronoun:—

λ 492  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon \mu\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\upsilon\omicron\upsilon \mu\acute{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\iota\iota \acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota\varsigma\pi\epsilon.$

Γ 331  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\tilde{\nu} \mu\omicron\iota \tau\omicron\tilde{\nu} \pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha . . \varsigma\kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\theta\epsilon\tilde{\nu} \acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\iota\varsigma.$

(Here, however, the article may be resumptive.)

All the above instances, granted the "free" use of the pronominal adjective, can, by substituting it for the article, be brought into line with those where the reference is to the 3rd person, in which  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  is invariably used:  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$   $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\varsigma$  A 404,  $\eta$  3,  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$   $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$  I 633, II 522, Ω 85,  $\omicron$  358, π 411,  $\omega$  56,  $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$   $\upsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$  Ω 122.

The coincidence of the use of the article with the persons referred to is just as remarkable as with  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , but MS. evidence to support the change is lacking, doubtless because the harmless necessary article caused less qualms to editors than the strange form  $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ . How easily it might slip in is shewn by such variants as G's  $\tau\eta\iota$  for  $\varsigma\eta\iota$  Γ 431. Hence we need not be surprised that in Λ 763  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  should for once, in all probability, have displaced an original  $\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  = *his own*.

The favourite connexion of the adj. with words of relationship suggests that the emphatic "own" connoted in such cases "dear."  $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$  ( $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ ) in fact is very nearly equivalent in use (subject to the limitations of reflexion) to  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , which from the sense 'dear' is so often weakened to a mere 'own.' And there is some ground for believing that  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$  has occasionally taken the place of  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  where used for other persons than the 3rd sing.



## Γ 244 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αὖθι, φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

Here Zen. read ἐαί, *their own*; though no ms. support has been found, yet there is at least presumptive evidence that it once existed. So in I 414 ἴκωμαι φίλῃν may point to an original ἴκωμαι ἐήν (see note there). We have in fact τότε δὲ Ζεὺς δυσμενέεσσι | δῶκεν ἀεϊκίσσασθαι ἐαί ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ X 404. ἐήν ἐς π. γ. recurs four times, and ἥν ἐς π. γ. five times (all in *Od.* except O 505). On the other hand, ἐμὴν ἐς π. γ. never occurs. ᾗν ἐς π. γ. is found nine times, φίλῃν ἐς π. γ. some twenty-nine. Brugmann suggests that in all these cases ἐήν or ἥν should be substituted for φίλῃν or ᾗν. In ε 168, η 77, one or two mss. actually read ἥν for ᾗν: but this may be only a reminiscence of ε 26, 144, where the verb is in the 3rd person. In the same way we can account for the sporadic ᾧ for ᾗ in Θ 420 (from 406).

We have already mentioned one passage (ν 320) where φρεσὶν ἥϊσι must = φρεσὶν ἐμῇσι. In seven passages where φρεσὶ ᾗϊσιν occurs ἥϊσιν is found as a ms. variant (Ξ 221 in D, T 174 in GPRT Vr. A, ε 206, ζ 180, ν 362, ο 111, ω 357). Brugmann holds, though with hesitation, that ἥϊσιν should in all cases be written for ᾗϊσιν. The case, in fact, is not strong here. ᾗϊσιν is found without variant in thirty-one passages, and we should expect more evidence had such a wholesale change taken place in historical times.

The preceding cases all fall under the head of more or less fixed phrases. There remain to be mentioned some sporadic instances where there is ms. indication of ὄς as a variant.

## Λ 76 ἀλλὰ ἔκῃλοι | σφοῖσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροις καθέϊατο.

Here GPQST have οῖσιν (ἐν ἄλλῳι A).

## Ξ 249 ἤδη γάρ με καὶ ἄλλο τεὸν ἐπίνυσεν ἐφετμή.

Zen. may have read ἄλλοθ' ἐαί ἐπίνυσες, see note ad loc.

θ 242 ὅτε κεν σοῖς ἐν μεγάροις | δαινύηι.

ο 89 κατέλειπον ἐπὶ κτεάτεσσιν ἐμοῖσι.

In both these places one or two mss. read οῖς, εἰοῖσι.

## α 402 κτήματα δ' αὐτὸς ἔχοις καὶ δώμασι σοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις.

Here there is a large preponderance of ms. evidence for οῖσιν (σοῖσιν UKW: οῖσιν FGTZPH: δόμοισιν οῖς D—Ludwich).

Brugmann's own summary of his conclusions for Homer (excluding the *Hymns* and Hesiod) is given in the following table<sup>1</sup>:—

ὄς = ἐμός Z 221\*, H 153\*, T 322\*, 331, and seven places in *Od.*

ὄς = ὁός A 297, B 33, 70, Δ 39, E 259, I 611, K 237, Ξ 221, 264, Π 36, 444, 851, Σ 463, T 29, 174, Υ 310, Φ 94, 412\*, Ω 504, 557, and twenty-seven in *Od.*

ὄς = ἡμέτερος β 206\*, δ 192\*, π 149\*.

<sup>1</sup> Only the passages marked with an asterisk are regarded by Brugmann as “quite certain”; the remainder are either probable or possible.

ὄς = ὑμέτερος A 142\*.

ὄς = σφός A 76, Σ 231\*.

έός = έμός I 414, ο 89.

έός = σός A 393\*, Ξ 249\*, O 138\*, T 342\*, Ω 310, 422\*, 550\*,  
σ 270.

έός = σφός Γ 244\*.

The great preponderance of ὄς and έός = σός is chiefly due to the repetition of formulae (φρεσὶ χήϊσιν changed to φρεσὶν ἥϊσιν, etc.).

It is remarkable that there should be so few instances of ὄς = σφός, for in Latin and Teutonic it is in the identity of the 3rd sing. and plur. that we find the clearest trace of the old "free" use of the reflexive stem. Unlike these languages Greek began first by differentiating sing. and plur., creating for this purpose a new stem σφ-. The origin of this form is doubtful. It is now generally held to have taken its rise from σ-φι(ν) where σ- is a weak (ablaut) form of the stem se, and -φι(ν) the case termination. The analogy of ἄμμι(ν) etc. then gave rise to σφε, σφέων, etc., and these again to the dual σφώ. It is quite possible that the 2nd dual σφώ, as well as the 3rd, may have arisen in the same way.<sup>1</sup> In this case the difference of accentuation and form which Ar. (but not Zen.) made between the two persons may be artificial. The adjectival forms σφός, σφέτερος arose naturally from the analogy of έμός, σός, ὄς on the one side, and ἡμέτερος, ὑμέτερος on the other. σφε, σφι, σφας, are of course anaphoric, but σφός and σφέτερος are always reflexive in the strict sense, grammatically as well as logically. This new stem must have arisen while the sense of the free use of ὄς still existed but was dying out; a single example of σφέτερος = ὑμέτερος is found in the (late?) prologue to Hes. *Opp.* 2, and we have σφέτερος = ὄς *Scut. Her.* 90, σφός = ὄς *Theog.* 398. So σφίν = οἱ *Hymn.* xix. 19 (*Scut. II.* 113?). But this is not sufficient to support σφίσιν = ὑμῖν in K 398 (where see note). The extension of σφε to the singular is of course familiar in Attic—no doubt as an archaism—and the imitative Epics freely use both the pronoun and its adjective of all persons and numbers.

The conclusion seems to be, then, that the use of the reflexive adjective for all persons and numbers survived into the Epic period; that it was becoming a rare archaism when the poems took their final form and was generally changed into more familiar words where possible; and that traces of the original form were rare from the first. Here, as elsewhere, two streams of tendency conflicted—the archaizing which made the most of the old forms and extended them beyond their original limits by analogy to the personal pronouns; and the purist school which strove to produce uniformity by preferring the new forms, already in a majority, to the vanishing relics of the old. The struggle between the two—largely, no doubt, an unconscious one—must have been going on as long as the vulgate existed, three or four centuries before Zenodotos and Aristarchos, who here, as elsewhere, represent tendencies, record facts, and state theories, but could produce no material change in the ms. tradition.

<sup>1</sup> See Brugmann *Gr.* ii. p. 804 Anm.  
3 "nach dieser Auffassung hätten die  
Elemente vor \*ue(s) keine besondere

Beziehung auf die 2. Person, und so  
liesse sich σ-φώ wol auch mit σ-φίν ver-  
mitteln."



FIG. 1

## APPENDIX B

### ON HOMERIC ARMOUR <sup>1</sup>

TRADITIONAL views on Homeric armour were revolutionized by the appearance of Wolfgang Reichel's *Ueber Homerische Waffen* in 1894. Though differing in some not unimportant details, I cordially accept Reichel's views on the main question, and have taken them as the basis of the following paragraphs.

The general outline of these views may be thus summarized. The armour of Homeric heroes corresponds closely to that of the Mykenaeen age, as we learn it from the monuments. The heroes wore no breastplate; their only defensive armour was the enormous Mykenaeen shield, which protected both sides as well as the front of the body, and the helmet.

When the Mykenaeen period had passed away, a complete change took place in Greek armour. A small round shield and corslet between them displaced the unwieldy shield, and the hoplite supplanted by his superior mobility the warrior who had to rely upon a chariot to move his shield and himself along the line. By the seventh century B.C. or thereabouts, the idea of a panoply without a breastplate had become absurd. By that time the Epic poems had almost ceased to grow; but they still admitted a few minor episodes in which the round shield and corslet played a part, as well as the interpolation of a certain number of lines and couplets in which the new armament was mechanically introduced into narratives which originally knew nothing of it.

The different pieces of armour will be treated in the following order:—(1) ἄσπίς, κάκος. (2) κνημῖδες. (3) ἐώραξ. (4) μίτρον. (5) χιτών. (6) ζωστήρ. (7) κόρυς. (8) λαϊχίον. (9) εἶφος. (10) τόξον.

#### I.—THE SHIELD

(1) The construction of the shield is as follows. First, one or more layers of ox-hide (Aias' shield has as many as seven) of a circular shape

<sup>1</sup> My special thanks are due to Mr. Bayfield for his help in drawing up this Appendix, which is enlarged from that which he wrote for the school edition

of the *Iliad* published in 1895. It will be seen, however, that I have found it necessary to introduce some material changes.





FIG. 2

(hence called κύκλοι<sup>1</sup> in Υ 280) are well dried (βῶν ἀζαλέην II 238, βοήις . . αὔηις στερεήις, etc.), presumably on a last, and firmly stitched together (see note on M 297). Two points in the circumference (*a* and *b* in Fig. 5), a little above the level of the horizontal diameter, have been



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

previously taken and drawn towards each other, so that the shield assumes the form shewn in the illustrations (see Figs. 1, 2, 8, 9, and 10). It is preserved in this shape by two 'staves' (κανόνες), probably of wood, placed inside. One runs from top to bottom of the shield,

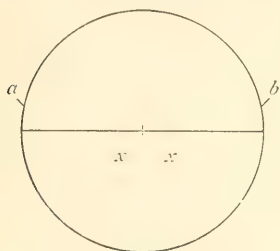


FIG. 5.



FIG. 6



FIG. 7

lying close against the leather throughout its course. Seen in profile it is of the shape shewn in Fig. 6. The other (seen from above or below, its shape is that shewn in Fig. 7) is placed horizontally between the points *a* and *b* (see Fig. 5). Along the lines *ac* and *bd* it is laid against the leather; but from *c* to *d* it is free, leaving room for the hand to grasp it (see Fig. 9). It will be seen that viewed from the front the shield is divided into two unequal hemispheres<sup>2</sup> connected by a sort of bridge. The middle point of this bridge (which will vary in length and width according to the way the sides are drawn in) is the ὀμφαλός

<sup>1</sup> The κύκλοι of Α 33 are another matter; the shield of Agamemnon there described is altogether of a later type than the Mykenaeen.

<sup>2</sup> The object of this was no doubt that the centre of gravity might be below the

hand. It will be observed that, viewed from the front, the cutline of the shield resembles that of the figure 8, the form given to it in the Mykenaeen representations. See Figs. 8 and 10.—M. A. E.



FIG. 8

or 'boss.'<sup>1</sup> The outer face of the shield was covered with metal, which might be laid on in various manners; an arrangement in concentric rings is a natural one. The edge of the leather was turned up outwards, forming a rim (*ἀντις*), in order to protect the wearer from the sharp edge of the metal face. The shield was suspended by a broad baldrick (*τελαμών*) of leather, often richly ornamented, which passed under the right arm and rested on the left shoulder. The baldrick must have been fairly long to allow free manipulation of the shield, but its exact points of attachment are difficult to determine.<sup>2</sup> This baldrick crossed that of the sword, which lay over the right shoulder, about the middle of the breast:  $\Xi$  404.

(2) The size, and consequently the weight, of the shield were very great. When hanging from the shoulder in front, it reached from the neck to the middle of the shin. There were three positions for it.

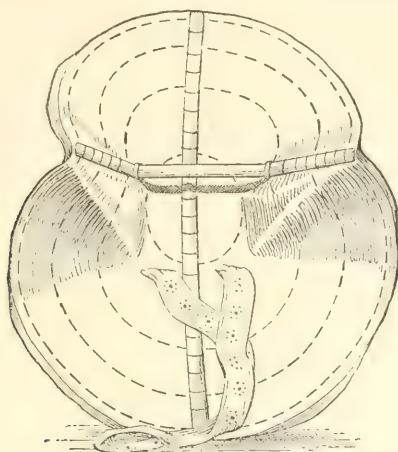


FIG. 9.—Interior of shield made after the Mykenaeen figure-of-eight pattern. The two *κανόνες* are shewn, and the *ράβδοι* ('back-stitching') of M 297.

- (a) When not in use it could hang behind the back, and would strike against the neck and ankles of the warrior as he walked (cp. Z 117).  
 (b) By a pull at the baldrick with the left hand it could be brought round the right side to the front. Supported in this position solely by the left shoulder, while protecting the whole body, it left the wearer's arms free, so that he could hold a spear in each hand or use both for the

<sup>1</sup> It is of course possible that the Mykenaeen armourer succeeded in bringing his side folds to a point, so that the *óμφαλός* had not the appearance of a flat bridge but resembled rather a point which very conspicuously formed the centre of the shield. To such a point the word *óμφαλός* undoubtedly would apply, and a shield so formed would lose the rather cranky and crumpled

appearance which it must be admitted is perceptible in Figs. 1, 2, and 9. See the shield added as an ornament at the top left-hand corner of the siege (Fig. 10).

<sup>2</sup> From experiments I have myself made with shields of buckram, I think the points would be very nearly in the position of *x x* in Fig. 5, below the centre. See Fig. 9.—M. A. B.





FIG. 10

long thrusting-lance. (c) Crouching down, the warrior grasped the horizontal **κανών** with his left hand and held the shield away from him, its lower rim resting on the ground (cp. A 593, N 157). This would be the natural position at close quarters, unless the sword were being used, when of course the warrior would need to stand his full height. It would then be a matter of choice whether the shield should hang for protection in front or for convenience behind.

(3) It appears that the epithet **εὐκυκλος** (E 453, 797, M 426, N 715, Ξ 428) is properly applied to the shield, which is made of circular plates. **πάντος ἔϊσι** more probably indicates *even balance*, though it is generally taken to be the same as **εὐκυκλος** (see note on A 306). **ἀμφιβρότη** expresses the peculiarity of the Mykenæan shield, that it covers the man *on both sides* as well as in front, while **ποδηνεκής** aptly describes its great height. We understand too how its weight tired the left shoulder (cp. II 106 **ὁ δ' ἄριστερόν ὤμον ἔκαμνεν, | ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἔχων κάκος αἰόλον** and E 796-7); how easy it was to trip over the shield (O 645 ff.), and how it was quite possible to sleep under it (ξ 474 ff.).

(4) It was the great weight of the shield which led to the use of the war-chariot. This, as the poems shew, the warriors used less for fighting than as a means of rapid transport from one part of the field to another. The archers, being shieldless, employ no chariot; and if Odysseus and the Salaminian Aias have none either, the want is to be explained by the fact that their homes are small rocky islands. We find at the same time the answers to two other problems:—(i) Why did not the Homeric heroes ride? Because no man could carry such a shield on horseback. (ii) Why did the war-chariot disappear so completely in historic Greece? Because the introduction of breastplate and light shield rendered it no longer necessary.<sup>1</sup>

(5) Besides that described above there was an alternative form for the Mykenæan shield. It might be a rectangular oblong, bent into the form of a half-cylinder. This was no doubt the shape of the shield of the greater Aias, who is described as **φέρων κάκος ἥτε πύργον** (H 219).

<sup>1</sup> In his recent work *La Civilisation des Celtes et celle de l'Épopée homérique* (Paris, 1899, vol. vi. of *Cours de Littérature Celtique*), M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has called attention to a curious analogy which shews that this type of armament naturally arises in certain circumstances. The ancient Celts used no defensive armour but the long shield, and fought in chariots. The introduction of the coat of mail seems to date from the first century A.D., and to be imitated from Rome. The author ascribes the older armament to the advantages it gave against an enemy armed with bows alone, its disuse to the disadvantages against spears. "Lorsque les boucliers étaient, comme ceux des Gaulois, assez grands pour protéger tout le corps du guerrier et que le guerrier

ne se découvrait pas, les flèches de l'armée ennemie ne pouvaient l'atteindre. L'archer, n'ayant pas de bouclier, n'avait aucun moyen d'éviter le javelot lancé par son adversaire. Quant à la fatigue qu'aurait causée à celui-ci la charge du bouclier, elle était supprimée par l'emploi du char; le guerrier n'en descendait qu'au moment d'aborder l'ennemi qui, s'il était archer, dépourvu de bouclier, n'avait plus possibilité de se défendre. L'emploi du bouclier et du char de guerre a donné en Europe aux Indo-Européens, élèves des Hittites, à une époque préhistorique, il y a environ quatre mille ans, une supériorité analogue à celle que les Espagnols arrivant en Amérique ont due aux armes au feu lors des grandes conquêtes faites par eux aux seizième siècle de notre ère" (p. 349).



FIG. 11

These shields had a small projection on the upper edge for the protection of the face (see Figs. 2, 4, and 8—particularly the hunting-scene on the dagger, where the two types of shield alternate).

The small circular shield of later times, of which there are no traces in the Mykenaeen prime,<sup>1</sup> is equally unknown to Homer, with a very few curious exceptions. (i) In K Odysseus and Diomedes ride, though they have shields; and the company of Diomedes sleep (K 152) with their shields under their heads. The Mykenaeen shield might serve for coverlet (see 3 above) but hardly for a pillow. Hence in K the shield is light and round. (ii) The shield of Agamemnon (Λ 32-40), so far as the description is intelligible, seems to be conceived in the same way. (iii) In Λ 373 the mention of the breastplate indicates that the shield there "taken from the shoulders" is of the small later form.

## II.—κνημῖδες. ἐπισφύρια

(1) The κνημῖδες were gaiters of stuff or leather. In ω 228 the word is used of the farmer's gaiters: *περὶ δὲ κνήμησι βοείας | κνημίδας*



FIG. 12.—A gold leg-guard found at Mykene.

*ῥαπτὰς δέδετο, γραπτὺς ἀλεείνων.* Such gaiters are worn by the warriors on the great Mykenaeen "warrior-vase" (Fig. 11). In only two places in the poem is the material said to be of metal. In H 41 the Achaeans are called *χαλκοκνήμιδες*, but, as is pointed out in the note there, the author of the line has ventured to desert the traditional

<sup>1</sup> The Warrior Vase from Mykene (Fig. 11) shews that the round shield had come in by the end of the Mykenaeen epoch, see III. (5) below.



ἐκ κνήμιδες because he required a long syllable, ignorant of the fact that he was thus offending against archaeological correctness. In Σ 613, τεύξε δέ οἱ κνήμιδας ἑανοῦ κασιπέροιο, Hephaistos makes greaves for Achilles of tin. This, however, is only natural; the divine smith substitutes his softest metal for the leather usually employed. The object of the greaves was not protection against the foe; for in that case Hephaistos would certainly have used something stouter than the weak and practically useless tin. Their sole purpose was to prevent the chafing of the legs by the edge of the shield. Accordingly we find that the archers, since they carry no shield, wear no greaves; but when Paris arms for the duel and takes a shield, κνήμιδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμηςιν ἔθηκε (Γ 330).

(2) A further protection to the shin was afforded by the guard, a drawing of which is given above, and which is perhaps to be identified with the ἐπισφύριον. The broad band clasps the leg just under the knee (being fastened by a wire which passes through two small holes in its extremities), and the guard is kept in its place by a bar-shaped button of metal attached to the gaiter and passing through the ring of the guard, which is left incomplete for that purpose (see Fig. 1). Specimens of these guards (one round the knee of a corpse) have been found in three of the Mykenæan tombs; but—and it is a significant fact—no metal greaves.

### III.—εἶρη

(1) As soon as we come to inquire into the nature of the Homeric breastplate we find ourselves involved in difficulties. This piece of armour, unlike the shield, is rarely alluded to, and never with such detail as to enable us to get any precise idea of its nature. We learn only that it is composed of γύαλα, presumably two, viz. a breastplate and backplate, though we are never told this. But of the means by which they were fastened, though the appliances required must have been of a comparatively refined nature, we learn nothing. Nor, with the exception of the adj. ἄστερόεις (II 134) and the very late description in Δ 20 ff., do we learn of any adornment of the surface. And the difficulties are not merely negative. For instance, in Γ 357–60, repeated in Η 251–4, the introduction of the breastplate (in 358) throws the whole passage into confusion; it is obvious that after a spear has passed through a breastplate there is no longer any possibility for the wearer to bend aside and so avoid the point, though such a manœuvre would be quite practicable behind the great shield, as the passage would mean if 358 were absent.

(2) Inconsistencies such as these multiply as we follow out the details of the poems. For instance, we find that no breastplate is ever mentioned in the *Odyssey*, though we should certainly expect to hear of it had Odysseus worn one in his story of the ambush in ξ 470–502, or in the long and detailed fighting with the suitors in χ. In the *Iliad*, instead of finding that it belongs to the essential equipment of every hero, we discover that it is given to some only, and that in the most capricious fashion. For instance, while Odysseus, Diomedes, Achilles, and Hector sometimes have it, we never hear of it in the case of Aias, Nestor,

Idomeneus, Aineias, Sarpedon, Glaukos, Pandaros. It is particularly significant that there is actually no mention of a breastplate in the *Doloneia*, which more than any part of the Epos delights in the detailed description of dress and armour. Note particularly that the arming of Odysseus is minutely described there, yet he wears no corslet; but in the next book, in one single line,  $\Lambda$  436, he has one. Twenty lines farther on the corslet has again disappeared (see 456-8). And this single line 436, the only one in the whole Epos which gives a corslet to Odysseus, is the very line which caused trouble in  $\Gamma$  358 = H 252. In this place as in the others it can simply be dropped out at once.

So again Diomedes, who in K wears no corslet, has one in E 99, but by E 112 it has vanished again, nor has it returned in 795. The other two allusions to a corslet worn by Diomedes,  $\Theta$  195,  $\Psi$  819, both belong to passages of the latest character. The corslet of Menelaos appears in  $\Delta$  136, again in the offending line, only to vanish in lines 185 ff., 213 ff. This has caused infinite trouble in the explanation of the passage, with which nothing can be done till 136 has been expelled as the intruder that it is. So, again, Achilles seems in Y 259 ff. to have no corslet, though one has been mentioned among the arms made by Hephaistos,  $\Sigma$  610, where, however, it is spoken of in such scanty terms as to suggest that the line is a shamefaced intruder. Hector has a corslet only in H 252, of which we have already spoken, and P 606; we hear of none when he is killed, and in X 124 ff. he speaks of himself as  $\gamma\mu\mu\acute{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$  when he has laid aside shield, helmet, and spear. The same is the case with Lykaon in  $\Phi$  50  $\gamma\mu\mu\acute{\nu}\omicron\varsigma$ , ἄτερ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἄσπίδος, οὐδ' ἔχεν ἔγχος. In fact, shield, helmet, and spear are repeatedly enumerated as composing the panoply. See, for instance, N 713 ff.,  $\Xi$  370 ff., O 125 ff.; and as a general proof of the absence of corslets the notable words of M 424-9.

(3) On going through the passages where the word  $\epsilon\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\kappa\epsilon$  occurs, we may classify them as follows:—

(a) The formal line  $\delta\epsilon\upsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\ \epsilon\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\delta\upsilon\nu\epsilon\nu$  occurs three times,  $\Gamma$  332,  $\Pi$  133, T 371. It can always be cut out without leaving a gap; but in the two former passages the following line also must go with it.

(b)  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \delta\iota\grave{\alpha}\ \epsilon\acute{\omega}\rho\eta\kappa\epsilon\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\delta\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\ \hbar\rho\acute{\eta}\rho\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$  occurs four times ( $\Gamma$  358,  $\Delta$  136, H 252,  $\Lambda$  436), and can always be cut out, mostly to the great advantage of the context.

(c) The following single lines or couplets can be cut out in the same way: E 99-100, 189, Z 322, N 265, 342,  $\Pi$  804,  $\Sigma$  460-1, 610, T 361. It is probable enough that some or all these are additions to the text made at a time when it seemed absurd to think of a man in full armour without a corslet.

(d) In certain cases, however, the corslet is bound up with an episode of greater or less extent, from which it cannot be severed. This is the case with  $\Theta$  194-5,  $\Lambda$  19-28, 373-5, N 581-600, O 529-34,  $\Psi$  560-2, 819. Of these two come in the funeral games of  $\Psi$ , and another, the description of Agamemnon's corslet, clearly belongs on other grounds to the latest portion of the poems. The same may be said of the couplet  $\Theta$  194-5. The three remaining episodes are colourless incidents, which may be of any date, and are of no importance to the framework of the *Iliad*.

(e) There remain a number of passages similar to the last but differently treated by Reichel. They are B 544, Δ 133 = Υ 415, E 282, Λ 234, Ν 371, 397, 507, P 314, 606. In all of these Reichel suggests (though often with great hesitation) that the word **εῶρῃς** does not mean *corslet* at all, but, like the verb **εωρῆσσειν**, is used in a general sense, meaning *armour*, or more particularly *a piece of armour*, i.e. either the shield, or the **μῑτρῃ**, with which we shall deal below. Here it must be confessed that it is difficult to follow him; to believe, for instance, that the words of P 606 **βεβλήκει εῶρῃκα κατὰ στήθεος παρὰ μαζόν** can imply anything but a corslet, or that **εῶρῃκος γύαλον** in Ν 507 = P 314 can mean the hollow of the shield. It is clear from the place taken by the description of the shield of Agamemnon in Λ that the corslet had become a familiar and essential piece of armour before the *Iliad* had ceased to be receptive of new additions. It seems, therefore, more reasonable to suppose that together with the few admitted cases classed under (d) other allusions to the corslet have found their way into the text, not as mechanical interpolations, as Reichel holds, but as more or less unconscious anachronisms, expressing the habits of the latest Epic age. It does not follow that the entire passages in which they occur are all late; it is possible that the allusions may have been introduced in the course of successive modernisation such as the oldest parts of the *Iliad* seem in many cases to have passed through. But in fact Λ 234 is the only mention of a corslet in any of the oldest strata, so far as we can distinguish them. Reichel there takes **εῶρῃκος ἔνερεε** to mean *under the shield*, but on his own shewing that must have been the one way in which it was impossible to wound a man armed with the Mykenaeen shield; a weapon might be got past the side or over the top, but clearly not underneath so as to reach his waist.<sup>1</sup> The words seem clearly to imply some piece of armour which protects the body above the waist; and this can hardly be anything but a corslet. On the other hand, in Δ 133 = Υ 415 Reichel may be right in taking **διπλόος ἦντετο εῶρῃς** to refer to the belt itself regarded as a piece of defensive armour (in Δ 133 perhaps the belt and **μῑτρῃ** together), "where the buckles of the belt were fastened, and the armour was double against the blow." To this difficult passage we shall have to recur.

(4) We must ascribe to a late period the epithet **χαλκεοεῶρῃς**, which occurs twice only (Δ 448, Θ 62), and no doubt meant "with bronze corslet" from the first. **λινθοεῶρῃς** (B 529, 830) seems clearly to imply this, for the epithet "with *linen* corslet" could only come into existence when the corslet was usually made of bronze. But the much commoner **χαλκοχίτωνες**, which occurs over thirty times, and is scattered fairly through all parts of the *Iliad*, can hardly imply any allusion to the corslet specifically. Here Reichel is probably right; the epithet is to be regarded as a picturesque expression, like the **λαΐνος χιτών** of Γ 57, and refers to the bronze-covered shield. "Bronze-vested" is no more an extravagant description of the Mykenaeen warrior, with his **ἀσπίς ἀμφιβρότη** covering him on both sides as well as in front, than is **εἰμένα χαλκῶι** of the **ευστά** in O 389.

<sup>1</sup> Unless indeed he is on a chariot, and so above his assailant, as in Λ 424.

(5) Reichel holds, on the evidence of the monuments, that the change of armament was not complete till about 700 B.C., and fixes this as the approximate date when all allusions to the round shield and corslet were simultaneously interpolated. But the change must in all probability have been gradual, and somewhat in advance of its representation on the monuments. And it must have been in progress, if not complete, at the end of the Mykenaeen period; for the Warrior Vase (Fig. 11) clearly shews not only the small round shield, but in one case the handle by which it was carried. There is no doubt that the Vase, however late and debased in style, is yet truly Mykenaeen, for precisely similar armour is depicted on the wall paintings of the palace. The change must therefore have come in long before the *Epos* had been virtually completed and stereotyped. Here as elsewhere the wisest conclusion is that the poets were singing the traditional customs of older days, the Mykenaeen prime, which they knew to be different from their own. The tradition they followed was historically correct, but not vivid enough to exclude completely the occasional intrusion of anachronisms.

#### IV.—*μίτρη*

(1) The *μίτρη* is mentioned only in two passages, Δ 137 (with 187. 216) and E 857; though it is implied also in the epithets *αἰολομίτρης* E 707 and *ἄμιτροχίτωνες* Π 419. We learn from Δ that it was a metal guard worn round the waist, in conjunction with *ζωστήρ* and *ζώμα*.

(2) Helbig, followed by Reichel, identifies it with a piece of armour of which specimens, presumably prehistoric, have been found in Eubœia and Italy. This is a richly ornamented band of metal, meant evidently to be worn round the waist and fastened at the back. In the front, where it is broadest, it is nearly a foot wide, but it becomes rapidly narrower towards its extremities, so that at the back its breadth is not more than three inches. Reichel sees representations of this in the ridge which is to be discerned running round the waist of the warriors in several of the Mykenaeen pictures; it may be detected in Figs. 3 and 4, and still more plainly in the men of the Vaphio cups.

(3) But against this identification there are very serious doubts to be raised. The ridge in the pictures is surely meant for a girdle (*ζωστήρ*), holding up the waist-cloth (*ζώμα*) so characteristic of Mykenaeen dress; there is not a hint of the peculiar shape of Helbig's metal bands. Moreover, the ridge is even more conspicuous in the herdsmen of the peaceful scene of the cups than in the warriors of the intaglios. This seems decisive against taking it to represent what must have been purely a piece of war-gear, a positive hindrance to a herdsman with his cattle. There is thus no ground for attributing Helbig's strips of metal to the Mykenaeen age at all.

(4) Nor is there any ground for supposing that the Homeric heroes universally wore the *μίτρη*. The extreme rarity of allusions to it precludes such a supposition, and almost all the arguments on which Reichel relies to prove the absence of a corslet militate just as strongly against the presence of such a *μίτρη*, which is in fact just the lower half



of a corslet. Among such arguments come, of course, all the passages where spear, shield, and helmet are enumerated as forming the panoply, and still more decidedly others such as E 539, 616, II 821, P 519, where blows falling on the same spot as in E 857 either meet no resistance, or, still more significantly, pass through the belt but find no **μίτρη**. Moreover, even in the passage in Δ, on which all hangs, there is a serious difficulty, sufficient to arouse the gravest suspicion. It seems that this metal belt is actually worn next the skin, under a girdle and a loin-cloth. The arrangement is absurd, and becomes still more so when we consider the epithet **αἰολομίτρης**. This is equally inappropriate, whether we translate it *with agile (?) mitré* or *with glancing mitré*; for, as Aristarchos justly remarked, "Homer does not make epithets of invisible qualities."

(5) The conclusion seems inevitable that the metallic **μίτρη** is just as much an intruder into the armament of the Epos as the corslet. But for the passage in Δ we might understand it to be identical with the **ζῶμα** or loin-cloth; this is certainly the most natural interpretation of E 857; it well suits the epithet **αἰολομίτρης**, *with bright-coloured loin-cloth*, and **ἀμιτροχίτωνες**, *wearing no loin-cloth with the chiton*, and agrees with the use of the word **μίτρα** in later Greek. But what the author of the wounding of Menelaos can have meant by combining with the **ζῶμα** a **μίτρη τὴν χαλκίαν κάμον ἄνδρες** is still obscure to me. It is conceivable perhaps that the change of armament took place in three stages. First the small round shield was introduced. Then the need felt for protection to the body led to the use of the metallic **μίτρη** of Helbig, a rudimentary half-cuirass. Only as technical skill improved could the third and final stage, that of the elaborate cuirass, be attained. The mention of the **μίτρη** in Δ may be a reminiscence of this intermediate second stage, the real position of the now disused **μίτρη** being forgotten and confused.

#### V.—THE TUNIC

The chiton was a loosely-fitting garment, reaching apparently as low as the knees (Studniczka p. 59), but gathered up into the belt for active exertion; the loose part hanging over formed a **κόλπος** (Υ 471). Hence **ζώνησθαι** means to make ready for battle, Δ 15. It had short sleeves, as we can see in the case of the recumbent warrior at the foot of the siege-picture, Fig. 10. The material was doubtless linen (Studniczka p. 56). The tearing, or even the stripping off the chiton seems to have been the mark of triumph over a fallen foe (see B 416, Δ 100), an indirect proof that no corslet was worn.

It seems highly probable that in N 439 a linen chiton has been converted into a bronze corslet by the addition of two lines, 440–1. The phrase **χιτῶν χάλκεος** is found nowhere else, and looks like a late invention.

#### VI.—THE BELT

(1) The belt was presumably of leather, though in Δ 237 it is at least adorned with silver. In one of the later tombs at Mykene were found fragments of a gold-plated bronze band some two inches broad, with spiral ornaments and holes at the end by which it had been stitched

to a piece of cloth. This was apparently such a metal-faced **ζωστήρ** (Tsountas-Manatt p. 174). Its function was probably in the first place to support the waist-cloth or **ζώμα**, so that it lay beneath the chiton, and appeared only when the lower part of the chiton was gathered up and tucked into it. But the metal facing helped it to play at times the part of a piece of defensive armour (see III. (3) above).

(2) The only difficulty connected with the mention of it in Homer is due to the repeated phrase **οἱ ζωστήρος ὄχῃες χρύσειοι κύνεχον καὶ διπλός ἦν τε το ὁ ὥρῃς** Δ 132, Υ 414. The trouble lies in the fact that the spot described by the same words is different in each case. Menelaos is hit in front, Polydoros behind. It is hard to suppose that the belt was fastened in two places; but it is of course possible that some belts may have been fastened in front, some behind, and that the authors of the two passages were thinking of the different fashions. In this case it is apparently necessary to accept Reichel's explanation of **ὁ ὥρῃς** as meaning a piece of armour different from the corslet.<sup>1</sup> In both cases it is most natural to apply it to the belt itself, and to understand it to mean the point where, owing to the buckling, the two ends overlapped, and so opposed a double thickness to the point. Reichel would take it in both cases to mean "where belt and **μίτρῃ** formed a double defence." But from what has been said it is impossible to suppose that Polydoros wears a **μίτρῃ**, and even if that were otherwise, it is clear that the double defence would run all round, as the belt must coincide with the **μίτρῃ**, so that the mention of the particular point in the circumference where the buckles were loses all significance. Taking into consideration the terrible state of confusion into which the passage in Δ seems to have got, it seems likely that the phrase has been borrowed without understanding from Υ, and that the **μίτρῃ** may be left out of question altogether.

## VII.—THE HELMET

(1) The helmet on Figs. 1 and 2 is adapted from the very rudely drawn helmets of the warriors on the obverse of the Mykenaeen Warrior Vase (Fig. 11). This is the most intelligible authority we have for the Mykenaeen helmet, though indeed the vase comes from the very end and degeneracy of that epoch. From the intaglios of the best Mykenaeen period nothing can be made out, and in the picture of the siege there is little more. An ivory head from one of the tombs in the lower town at Mykene shews detail in abundance, but there is no agreement as to the interpretation of it (figured in Tsountas-Manatt p. 197 as well as in Reichel).

(2) This helmet answers in the main to the requirements of the Epos. It will be seen that it is horned—a survival no doubt of a primitive type, which consisted in the scalp of an animal drawn over the head, while the

<sup>1</sup> The difficulty in taking it to mean *corslet* is that we should have to suppose that the plates joined in the middle,

both before and behind, instead of at the sides, which seems to be the only reasonable arrangement.

skin clothed the shoulders.<sup>1</sup> The horse-hair crest evidently comes from the mane, and another survival of the same sort is probably to be found in the boar's teeth with which the cap in K 263 is set.<sup>2</sup> These horns are the **φάλοι** of which we often hear. The helmet might have two or four of them. When it had two it is called **ἀμφίφαλος**, when four **τρυφάλεια** (for **τετρυφάλεια**).

(3) The **φάλαρα**, whence the adjective **τετραφάληρος**, are explained by Helbig from the later use of the word in Sophokles, Herodotos, and others, and of its Latin derivative *phalerae* (metal bosses for decorating harness), to be metal plates or bosses set round the helmet; the four would naturally be placed one each in front, behind, and on either side. As Reichel remarks, this seems to imply that the body of the helmet was then of leather. That it was not always so is proved by the epithet **πάγχαλκος**. No evidence for such bosses, however, has yet been found in the monuments.

(4) There was, however, another sort of helmet in use, during part at least of the Epic period. This was a helmet with cheek-pieces, presumably like that known later as the Corinthian. The existence of it, at least in the imagination of the singers, is proved by the use of the epithet **χαλκοπάρηιος**. This occurs three times only in the *Iliad*, and not in early parts, M 183, P 294, Y 397, besides ω 523. It is possible, therefore, that it may have been a later style.

(5) Reichel denies that **χαλκοπάρηιος** implies cheek-pieces, and refers the adjective to the "side parts over the temples." The helmet as a whole, he says, is regarded as a head, and the sides are its "cheeks of bronze." This view I cannot but regard as wholly erroneous. The fact that the parts of a garment are habitually named from the parts of the body they cover makes such a metaphor from a neighbouring but different part impossible. Reichel adds: "one might ask why the poet did not apply the adjective [if taken in the sense of cheek-pieces] not to the helmet, but to the wearer, to whom it would more properly apply." That is, we must not use the word "double-breasted" of a waistcoat, but must apply it to the wearer!

(6) The fact is that both Helbig and Reichel are in error when they assume alike that there was only one type of Homeric helmet. This is precisely the piece of armour where variety has in all ages been aimed at, if only to make the wearer conspicuous to his own men in the rush of battle. We cannot prove such variety from the Mykenaeon monuments for the reasons already given, but it can easily be exemplified for the succeeding age; in the well-known Melian vase (Conze *Mel. Thong.* Pl. 3) representing a combat between two warriors, one wears a helmet with, and the other without, cheek-pieces. It is quite possible, though incapable of proof, that the numerous names for the helmet, **κόρυς**, **κυνέη**, **στεφάνη**, **πήληξ**, may all indicate different forms, as **τρυφάλεια** clearly does. Reichel regards **στεφάνη** as a metal rim to a leather helmet. But in K 30 it clearly must mean *helmet*, not *rim*, and may do so in the other places where it occurs; so that Reichel's assumption lacks support.

<sup>1</sup> See *J. H. S.* iv. (1883) 294 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Sixty boar's tusks found by Schlie-

mann at Mykene in Grave iv. came in all likelihood from such a helmet.

(7) **αὐλώπις** was explained by the ancients either as *having an αὐλός* or tube for the plume; or *tube-faced*, from the narrow opening of the vizor between the projecting cheek-pieces. The former explanation is now justly rejected. Reichel of course, denying the existence of the form with a vizor, has to give another account of the word; he makes it mean "tube-eyed," the horns (**φάλοι**) being regarded as eyes like a snail's at the end of a tube. To this I decidedly prefer the second interpretation. The adjective occurs in E 182, A 353, N 530, II 795.

### VIII.—**λαϊκήϊον** and **αἰγίς**

The **ἀσπίς** was armour for the chiefs alone—for those who could keep a chariot to carry them and **θεράποντες** to assist them in taking off this ponderous defence (see for instance H 122). Twice in the description of the mellay (E 452, M 425) we have the lines

**Θήιουν ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι βοείας,  
ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαϊκήϊά τε πτερόεντα.**

It seems to be a legitimate deduction that the **λαϊκήϊα** were the shields of the common soldiers, and further, as the word seems to be connected with **λάσιος**, that they consisted of animals' skins with the hair left on. So Herodotos must have understood it when he says (vii. 91) of the Kilikes **λαϊκήϊα δὲ εἶχον ἀπ' ἀσπίδων, ὠμοβοέης πεπονημένα**. Such skins are the most primitive of shields, and as such are given in vase-paintings to giants, Centaurs, and the like. Two of the animal's feet are commonly fastened round the neck, and the skin is held out in front of the body by the left arm when required for defence. Thus the panther-skin worn by Paris in Γ 17 (**παρδαλέην ὠμοισιν ἔχων καὶ καμπύλα τόξα**) is the archer's **λαϊκήϊον**. So Dolon (K 334) wears a wolf-skin.

The aegis of Athene is itself a **λαϊκήϊον**, which has remained a divine attribute in virtue of its archaic character, though it has fallen out of fashion among the heroes. See note on B 447.

### IX.—THE SWORD

(1) The swords of the *Iliad* are two-edged, and are used almost entirely for cutting; the use of the point seems not to be distinctly indicated, except in the formal line **νύσσοντες (νυττομένων) εἰφεσὶν τε καὶ ἔγχεσιν ἀμφιγύοισιν**, and by inference in Δ 531, Υ 459, 469, Φ 117, 180. The ordinary Mykenaeen sword, of which great numbers were found in the shaft-graves by Schliemann, does not answer this description. It is too long (often over 3 feet) and slender to be used for cutting; so brittle a material as bronze would need to be more strongly made if used for anything but thrusting. Schliemann found, however, not in the shaft-graves, but in the superficial layer of earth on the citadel, a sword which seems to answer the requirements of the poems; from the position it would seem to have been a later development of those in the older graves.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schliemann, *Mycenae*, p. 144. Tsountas-Manatt, Fig. 87, p. 199.



It is about 2 feet long, with a two-edged blade comparatively broad at the handle, but gradually narrowing towards the point. Tsountas has since found other swords of the same type in the later strata at Mykene, so that it seems that a change took place towards the end of the period in favour of the use of the edge. This type seems to have been introduced from Northern Europe, where it is abundantly represented. Tsountas suggests ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1897, 104 ff.) that it probably reached Greece through Thrace, and thus became known as the Thracian sword (see N 577, Ψ 808); and that it may even have come southward with the migrations from Central Europe which ultimately led to the Dorian invasion.

(2) On some of the swords found by Tsountas there still remained part of the decoration of the handles, notably the heads of some golden nails. The reality thus surpasses the silver nails of the poet (see note on B 45), just as the golden gaiter-holder of Mykene represents the ἀργύρεα ἐπισφύρια of Homer.

(3) Some of the handle-decoration of Tsountas's swords shews a pattern which seems to suggest thongs wound round and round. It is probably here, as he says, that we can find an explanation of the adjective μελάνδετα (O 713). The handle was originally formed by binding leather thongs round the metal tang in which the blade ended, and the pattern was retained after the handles were formed of better material. The adjective recurs in Hesiod *Scut. Herc.* 221, Eur. *Or.* 821, *Phoen.* 1091, *frag.* 374. The application of it to a shield in Aisch. *Septem* 43 is explained by Z 117 δέρμα κελαινόν, ἄντ' αὖ πυμάτῃ θέειν ἄσπίδος ὀμφαλοέσσης. The leather of the shield-rim as of the sword-grip is black with use, so that both alike are "bound in black."

(4) The sword-baldric is spoken of in Δ 31 as though made of gold (see note there). This can hardly have been for actual war; but Schliemann found at Mykene a golden baldric, 4 ft. long by 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. wide, with a fragment of a sword still attached to it, and similar baldrics of gold occurred in other graves. These were doubtless made for funeral purposes—possibly also for pageants—but a tradition of them may have descended to the author of the lines in Δ.

## X.—THE BOW

(1) The principal questions touching the Homeric bow are those which are discussed in the notes on Δ 105–26. But since those notes were written some fresh points have been raised by F. von Luschan, "Ueber den antiken Bogen" (*Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* 189 ff.). The usual idea of Pandaros's bow is that it was simply made of two horns joined by a handle in the middle. To this von Luschan objects that, though a bow could, with difficulty, be made in this way, no human power could draw it. He calculates that the horns of the ibex would give a pull of from 1000 to 2000 pounds or more. A modern long-bow with a pull of 60 pounds is considered strong.

(2) But he goes on to point out that the bow still used in Central Asia is a composite bow, in the manufacture of which horn plays an important

part. The bow is made of a core of wood. This is covered on the belly (that side which is towards the archer when shooting) with a thick layer of carefully prepared sinews, which is put on by pressure, and gradually turns to an inseparable mass, hard as bone, and highly elastic. On the back, the side which is away from the archer, there are fitted long curved plates of horn. These are first roughened with a rasp and then attached with fish-glue. The process is long and elaborate; a good bow, owing to the length of time required for the repeated thorough drying, takes from five to ten years in the making. These bows are strung across the thighs in the way described by Reichel, see note on Δ 113. The remains of precisely similar bows from Asia Minor have been found in Egypt, one of the thirteenth, the other of the seventh century B.C. It is therefore not impossible that something of the sort may be the construction implied by Δ 110-11 *καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄσκήσας κερασεῶος ἥραρε τέκτων, πᾶν δ' εὖ λειήνας χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε κορώμην*. But the words of 105, *τόξον ἐύεσον ἰσάλου αἰγός*, seem to imply a more important part played by the horn—as though the author of the passage knew the bow as covered with horn, but believed it to be solid and not merely plated.

(3) The question of the *ῥλυφίδες* (see note on Δ 122) depends on the manner in which the arrow was shot. The method universally employed in the West is to pull the string with three fingers, the arrow lying loosely between the first and second. But the alternative plan, of holding the butt of the arrow firmly between the thumb and first finger, has been customary in many parts of the world. It seems, however, that the Greek fashion coincided with our own. An interesting proof of this for Asia Minor is given by von Luschan in the same paper; he publishes a figure from the Senjirli reliefs which quite clearly shews an archer with the three finger-tips or “draw-glove” of the modern English archer. The date of this is about 730 B.C. According to von Luschan, “numerous vase-paintings shew that the same practice held with the Greeks. It is all the stranger that there should be no word in Greek literature of such finger-tips, drawing gloves, or similar apparatus. But there are vases on which they are represented,” and he gives sketches which bear out his statement. It is necessary, therefore, to withdraw any explanation of the *ῥλυφίδες* which implies that the arrow was held by thumb and first finger; we are reduced to the old idea, that they are the “nocks” which fit on to the string; the plural number may possibly mean that there were two of them at right angles, not one only as in the modern arrow.

## APPENDIX C

### THE HOMERIC HOUSE

THE problem of the Homeric House<sup>1</sup> is one for a commentator of the *Odyssey* rather than of the *Iliad*. The discovery of Mykenaeen palaces in ground plan at Mykene, Tiryns, Hissarlik, and Gha, has in many respects thrown striking light on the poems, while in other respects fresh difficulties have been raised.

The chief of these is due to the fact that there are at Tiryns two houses side by side, of similar plan, communicating only, so far as can be discovered, by narrow passages and circuitous routes.

It is commonly supposed that the smaller of the twin houses formed the women's quarters. It is doubtful, however, if anything is gained by this name. It naturally suggests to us an Oriental harem; but that at least the Tiryns house cannot have been. The last arrangement to suit a Sultan would be one by which the harem, while accessible with difficulty, and entirely incapable of observation, from his own habitual haunts, should have free entrances and exits of its own outside the main building. Yet such is the case with the "Women's Apartments" at Tiryns. And, indeed, the plan as little suits the later Greek **ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝÎΤΙC**, which was carefully sequestered from the public street. It would probably give a fairer idea of the Tirynthian palace in modern phrase if we spoke of the "public reception rooms" and the "residential portion" of the house. The plan contains nothing to indicate that the women were excluded from the former; in fact it rather hints, from the absence of any portion of the buildings which could be shut off, that women were allowed great freedom and lived on equal terms with men. As for access of men to the "women's apartments," it must be remembered that in a monogamous society, where early marriage is presumably universal, those who would in any case be excluded, the males (unmarried sons and slaves) from the age of about 14 to 24, could hardly, on any reckoning, form 10 per cent of the family; their sleeping quarters, therefore, would be quite insignificant, and we should not expect them to be distinguishable on any plan.

<sup>1</sup> See Jebb in *J. H. S.* vii. 170 ff. and Appendix to *Homer: an Introduction to the Iliad and Odyssey*; P. Gardner *New Chapters in Greek History* 145 ff.; Perrot

and Chipiez *Histoire de l'Art* vi. 701 ff., vii. 81 ff.; Tsountas and Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* p. 62; Joseph *Die Paläste des Homerischen Epos*.

It cannot, therefore, be said that the palace at Tiryns affords evidence of any radical difference in social habits between the Mykenæan culture and Homer. On the other hand, it certainly cannot be brought into harmony with the palace of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, for there the residential quarters, where the women are commonly found, unquestionably communicate directly with the μέγαρον. No trace of such a communication exists at Tiryns; at Mykene an approach seems to be made to it in the fact that the side-door of the antechamber opens into a passage immediately opposite some of the sleeping chambers, others of which open on the court-yard opposite the entrance to the μέγαρον. In Hissarlik no trace of residence has been found; at Gha<sup>1</sup> the palace consists of a number of large chambers *en suite*, and it is hardly possible to distinguish between reception and sleeping rooms. In these circumstances it is clear that we cannot speak of any relation between the two elements of the palace as characteristically Mykenæan; the house of Odysseus may well be a later development. Here, as elsewhere, we find that the Homeric age is in close relation with the Mykenæan—closer by far than with the classical—but evidently later than the bloom of that age as revealed in the palace of Tiryns and the shaft-graves of Mykene.

Into the details of the Odyssean house, such as the meaning and position of ὄρσοῦρη and ῥῶγες μεγάροιο, it is not necessary here to enter. The appended plan will sufficiently illustrate the few questions arising in the *Iliad*. It is adapted from the Tirynthian palace; I have brought the "residential" portion into closer connexion with the μέγαρον on the model of Mykene; from what has been said above it will be seen that I do not prejudice the problems of the *Odyssey* by not making the communication immediate.

In the account of Priam's palace (Z 242 ff.) we must suppose that the fifty chambers, ἐν αὐτῷι, for the sons are in the portion I, the extent of which is not indicated in the plan; while H H answer exactly to the rooms of the married daughters, ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλᾶς. These two rooms are taken from the Tirynthian palace, where no doorway, however, is found. I have made them open upon the αἴθουσα, which in Priam's case must have been well surrounded by such rooms.

The only question of difficulty raised in the *Iliad* is that of the meaning of πρόδομος in I 473. It has been generally taken to mean the antechamber B as distinct from the αἴθουσα δόμου C; and on this supposition I have put the side-door L of this chamber to face the εἶλαμος, so that a fire in B may be said to be πρόσθεν εἰλάμοιο ευράων. But it must be admitted that this is not entirely satisfactory. The room B is not a likely place for a fire to be kept up night and day. And though this antechamber is found at Tiryns and Mykene, there is no trace of it at Hissarlik and Gha; it is not, therefore, an essential element of the μέγαρον. One would rather expect the fire to be in C, in the open air. πρόδομος may be either another name for αἴθουσα δόμου, or include all that is "in front of the δόμος" or μέγαρον, i.e. both B and C. A fire in C and another in the colonnade by H would keep the court well lighted, so as to make escape more difficult. It appears

<sup>1</sup> Tsountas-Manatt, Appendix B, p. 374.



that Phoinix was locked into a **εάλαμος** at night; as he has to burst the doors to escape we may conclude that the **εάλαμος** had neither window nor opening in the roof. He "over-leapt the courtyard wall" presumably by swarming up one of the wooden pillars of the colonnade.

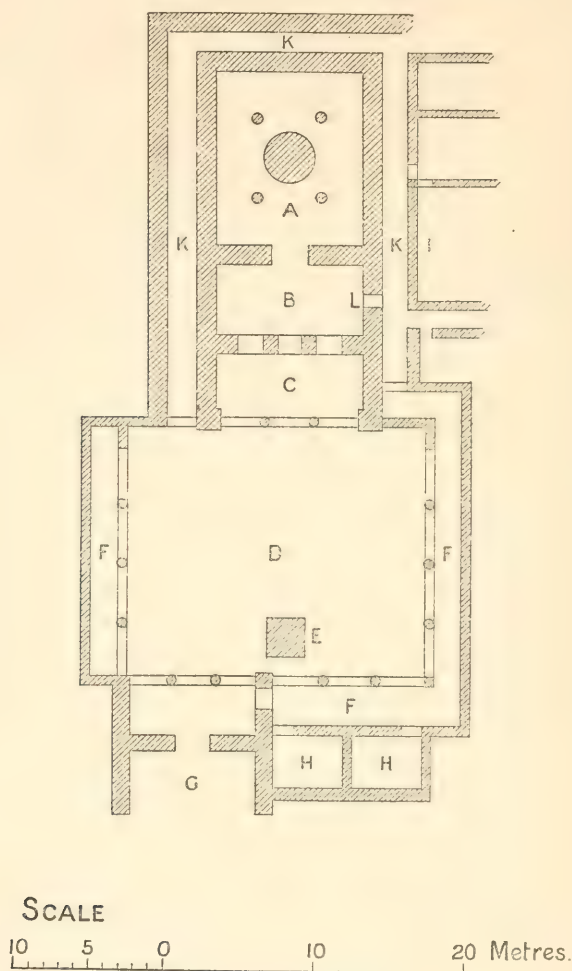


FIG. 13.—Plan of the Homeric house.

#### EXPLANATION OF PLAN

A, **μέγαρον** with circular hearth in the middle surrounded by columns presumably carrying a raised 'lantern' for entrance to light and exit to smoke.

B, **πρόδομος** (?). See above.

C, **αἴθουσα δόμου** of *Odyssey*, not distinguished in *Iliad* from other **ξεσταὶ αἴθουσαι**.

D, **αὐλή**.

E, Altar of Zeus Herkeios (represented at Tiryns by a sacrificial pit).

F F F, **αἴθουσαι**, covered colonnades.

G, **πρόευρον, πρόευρα**, formed of two porches back to back—whence the frequent use of the plural. It is the type of the later Greek Propylaia.

H H, **θάλαμοι ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἔνδοθεν αὐλῆς**.

I, Beginning of “residential portion”—details and limits probably very variable.

K K K, The **λαύρη** of the *Odyssey*, a narrow passage from courtyard to **θάλαμος**.

L, Door from **πρόδομος** to **θάλαμος** (?). See above.

## APPENDIX D

### ON THE EPIC LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS

THE fact that short vowels are often lengthened for metrical convenience in Homer has long been recognized. Fick considers this "vowel-sharpening," as he calls it, to be an Aiolic peculiarity, and has pushed the principle to such an extent that it may almost be said that an Epic poet can, in his view, use either a long or short vowel indifferently at the beginning of a foot. This theory, though apparently indispensable to explain certain cases of lengthening, is clearly exaggerated and unsatisfactory, and leaves unexplained certain important classes of lengthening in thesis.

Much fresh light has been thrown upon the subject by the publication of W. Schulze's *Quaestiones Epicae* (Gueterslohæ, 1892, pp. 576), in which this question of lengthening is systematically investigated, and the rules by which it was circumscribed in practice are laid down in a manner which may be provisionally accepted as at least a great advance upon any previous inquiry. As the book, owing chiefly to the enormous accumulation of material, is not easy to read, the following abstract of the contents may be useful.

The main theses which Schulze sets himself to prove are as follows (p. 8):—

#### A. Lengthening in arsis is permitted—

- (1) In the case of one out of three or more consecutive short syllables, either in a single word, or in two words so closely joined as to be regarded as one.
- (2) In the first syllable of antispastic words (i.e. of the form  $\cup - - \cup$ ).

#### B. Short syllables may be lengthened in thesis—

- (1) In the case of any short vowel between two long syllables, where it is (i.e. once was) immediately followed by *F*.
- (2) In the case of **ι** or **υ**, when between two long syllables and immediately followed by a vowel; e.g. **πρὸςυμίνισι** ( $\cup \acute{ } \cup \acute{ } \cup$ ).

#### C. The Epic hexameter allows a short syllable in place of a long one—

- (1) In the first arsis.
- (2) In the first thesis, when there is diaeresis between the first foot and the second.
- (3) In the last arsis.

All these metrical licences, especially those grouped under C, were being avoided before Homeric days, and were gradually removed from the text, so that in the poems as we have them only a few survivals are left. A purely metrical shortening of a syllable long by nature was never permitted.

The lengthening of a final short syllable in the caesura is taken as already proved by others. With this exception Schulze denies that any other purely metrical lengthening is found.

It will be seen that some of the cases given above imply a real metrical necessity; i.e. none of the words included under B could be otherwise used, nor any words under A (1) where three consecutive short syllables occur in four-syllabled words. But the right to lengthen the first syllable is given also to trisyllabic words, where the last can always be used long in caesura, or with position made by a following word, and can generally be elided. For instance, metrical lengthening is admitted in ἄορι θεινομένηων K 484, though we have ἄορι πλῆξειε with ἄ in 489.<sup>1</sup> In antispastic words, again, there is no absolute necessity; the last syllable can equally be elided or lengthened by position.

Further laws are discovered in the course of investigation. We follow the author's detailed examination, omitting much preliminary though important matter, and paying especial attention to what concerns the *Iliad*.

A (1). In words beginning with three short syllables followed by a long, the third short might be lengthened as well as the first; where the fourth syllable is doubtful, the second also might be lengthened; but unless for some particular reason, the first is always lengthened for choice.

Typical examples are ἀθάνατος, ἀκάματος, ἀφασίη (P 695), ἀγοράσασθαι, ἡγέρεσθαι (ἡ for ἄ on the false analogy of the imperf. ἡγέρεσθοντο<sup>2</sup>), ἀπονέεσθαι, ἀποδίωμαι, Πριαμίδης, Φυλακίδης (B 705, N 698), διογενής, εἰνόςφυλλος, ἐννοσίγαιος (cf. ἐνόςιχθων: but the νν is irregular), εἰαρινός, κυάνεος (κυανοχαίτης etc.), ουγατέρα etc. (though εὔγατρα is available), οὐλόμενος (see on A 2), Πουλυδάμας, πουλυβότειρα (other compounds have πολυ- only<sup>3</sup>), γεινόμενος for γενόμενος, aor. part. (see on K 71.)

Of trisyllabic words, where metrical necessity does not exist, there are not many instances; and those which are found are all (with the apparent exception of πείκετε for πέκετε σ 316) aided by the circumstances which render the lengthening easiest phonetically; i.e. the

<sup>1</sup> In trisyllabic words ending with a doubtful syllable, e.g. ἄορος, the right to lengthen is altogether denied.

<sup>2</sup> The quality of the vowel is never altered by metrical lengthening; ἡγάθεος, ἡνεμόεις, ἡγορέη (cf. ἀνὴρ) are regarded by Schulze as instances of primitive

length, as in the Skt. *vṛddhi*, and confined to derived forms. See Schulze's own words, p. 147, which I do not altogether follow.

<sup>3</sup> For the simple πουλύς see note on K 27.



vowel lengthened is either followed by a liquid or *F*, or is *i* followed by another vowel. ἄορι has been already mentioned (here we can only guess that it stands for ἄφορι). οὔνομα cannot be explained in any other way; and Schulze remarks that Homer never has οὔνομ' elided, which in so common a word we should expect to find if the οὔ- really belonged to it. μείλανι (Ω 79) admits of no other explanation. τείρεα stars Σ 485 is the same word as τερέων, Alkaios frag. 155.

ἱερός is discussed at length, as it gives the forms ἱερόν, ἱεροῦ (—οο) where the lengthening of the *i* cannot be metrical. Schulze distinguishes, therefore, no less than four, or possibly five, words:—

- (1) ἱερός *holy*, always with ῑ except in ἱερά, where metrical lengthening is admissible.
- (2) ἱερός with ῑ, *strong, active*, Skt. *ishiras*, in ἱερόν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο, φυλάκων ἱερόν τέλος K 56, ἱερώϊ ἐνὶ δίφρῳ P 464 (and read ἱερόφῳνοι with metrical lengthening for ἡερόφῳνοι).
- (3) ἱερός (*i*) or rather εἶερος in the same sense but from the strong form of the root, *eis-* for *is-*. Hence ἱερός ἰχθύς Π 407, and ἀλιπόρφυρος εἶαρος ὄρνις Alkman fr. 26. Perhaps also κνέφας εἶερον (*swift*) Δ 194.
- (4) ἱερός (*i*) from a reduplicated form of the same root *isā=i-isā* in the sense *making active, busying*; ἱερόν ἡμαρ, cf. Shakespeare's *busy day*; ἄλφιτον ἱερόν, ἱερός ἀκτὴ = *strengthening*.

But Schulze confesses that he is not entirely satisfied with this and is inclined to call in yet another root *is=desire*, reduplicated *i-is*, so that *isaros=longed for*, cf. especially κνέφας ἱερόν in Δ 194.

The preposition *ἐν* takes the form *εἰν* only in phrases such as *εἰν ἀγορῇ*, *εἰν Ἀἴδαο* (hence only in arsis; whereas *εἰς* is constantly used in thesis, the *εἰ* here being a compensatory lengthening for *ἐνς*). Here the preposition and its noun are to be regarded as one word. So *εἰνὶ εὐρύχῃ*, but *εἰνὶ ὀρόνῳ* is an analogical extension, for *ἐν ὀρόνῳ* is not metrically impossible. *εἰν ἁλί*, *εἰν ἐνί* (E 160 etc.) are to be counted among trisyllabic words.

The second of three short syllables is lengthened in *ὑπεῖρ ἄλα*, *ὑπεῖρεχον*, *ὑπεῖρέβαλον*, *θεμέλια*, *διῖφιλε* (whence the scansion has passed to *διίφιλος*, -ον instead of the more regular *διίφιλος*, cf. *διογενής*<sup>1</sup>), *διππετός*, *descending by the will (or aid) of Zeus* (not *from Zeus*, which would be *διοπετής*).

Lengthening of the third syllable occurs in *μετεκίασθον*, *ἀριδείκετος* (from *δεκ=dec-us*?), *ἀπερείσια* (also *ἀπειρέσιος*), *μαχεούμενος* (beside *μαχειόμενος*).

The third short syllable after a long seems to be lengthened in *αὐτοχόωνος* Ψ 826 (probably we should read *αὐτοχόᾱνος* from *χόᾱνον*).

<sup>1</sup> Schulze does not admit that the -*i* of the dat. was ever long by nature; see *H. G.* § 373. It is lengthened chiefly when it comes after two short syllables—*Ἄϊδι*, *δέπαι* etc.—and in the antispastic words *Ἀχιλλᾶϊ*, *Ὀδυσσᾶϊ*. The

same is true of the -*a* of neut. plur., which is lengthened under metrical necessity in *ὀπταλέᾳ*, *πορφυρέᾳ* etc., and in trisyllables *ἐτεᾶ*, *φλόγεᾶ* etc. For *τά* at the beginning of a line see below, C (1).

In **κυβόσια** (A 679, ξ 101) for the more regular **κυβόσια** the choice of the syllable seems to be due to the fact that **ι** followed by a vowel particularly invites lengthening; see B (2).

**καταλοφάδια** (or **-εια**) κ 169 is a unique instance of two vowels metrically lengthened in one word.

#### A (2). *Antispastic words.*

It has been already pointed out that the lengthening of the first syllable here is due rather to metrical convenience than to necessity: Homer can say **Ἀπόλλωνα προσέφη** without lengthening the **Ἀ-**. But the license is permitted in a few words, and has, moreover, been extended to words with a doubtful or long final syllable at the end of the line. Thus **εἰλήλουσα** for **ἐλήλουσα** is only to be explained by metrical lengthening; but besides **εἰλήλουσα**, **-ε** in the middle of the line (twice only) we have **εἰληλούσει**, **εἰληλουσός** etc. at the end more than 20 times (**εἰληλουσός** O 81). **εἰοικυῖται** (Σ 418) may be similarly explained. Other possible cases are **ἀπηνίζοντο** K 572, **ὑπεμνήμυκε** (for **ὑπᾶμῆμυκε**?) X 491, and **Εἰλείθουια** (only at the end of the line in H.). **Ἀπόλλωνα** and **Ἀπόλλωνι** are found in all parts of the line, **Ἀπόλλωνος** at the end only except in ι 198.

Like the proclitic prepositions in series of three shorts already dealt with, it appears that enclitics may be regarded as part of the preceding word in forming an antispast. The **ου** of **Οὔλυμπος** thus arises in the forms **Οὔλύμποιο** (23 times in *Il.* and *Od.*), **Οὔλυμπόνδε** (10 times), **Οὔλυμπος τε**, **-όν τε** (4 times). The only instances without this excuse are Ξ 298 (= 309), Π 364, Σ 616, Φ 389, λ 315—the last two passages at least very late ones. For **Οὔλυμπόνδ'** Θ 439 see under C (1).

In all these cases the lengthening takes place only before liquids and **F**, except in the unavoidable name **Ἀπόλλων**.

B (1). *Any short vowel followed by F and standing between two longs can be lengthened.*

This lengthening generally takes place in thesis, with no aid from rhythmical accent, and the rules of absolute necessity are very strictly observed in consequence.

As **πν** always makes position in Homer, forms like **πνέ(F)οντες** are impossible. Hence the purely metrical forms **πνεύοντες**, **πνεύουσαν**, **ἐμπνεΐνι** etc. **πνεΐει** (P 447 = σ 131) is the only form in H. where the lengthening is avoidable (see ε 469); here the following **τε** may possibly be regarded as part of the word.

Position before **πλ** may be neglected; hence **πλείοντες** is rare (π 368); for **πλείειν** we should perhaps read **πλέεμεν**.

**ἡγνοΐησε** (A 537 etc.) seems to be **ἡγνόησε** with metrical lengthening from **ἄγνοFέω** (read **ἄγνοέησι** ω 218).

B (2). *ι and υ standing before a vowel and between two long syllables may be lengthened.*

Here again the lengthening is confined to thesis, and the conditions of metrical necessity are rigorous in Homer (enclitics being counted as part of the word). The chief instances are **ὑπεροπλήνι** A 205, **προευμήνι**

B 588, Ὑπερμήην B 573, (ὑποδείη I 73? see note), ἀτιμίσιν r 142, ἰστὶν τ' ξ 159 etc., ἀκομιστὶν τε φ 284, κακοεργίης χ 374, ἀεργίης ω 251. (But ἀναλκίησι, αἰδῶρίησι should probably be -εἰήσι.)

The suffix -ῖων is discussed at length, with the result that the quantity was variable in the earliest times; but in patronymics and the like the short gradually prevailed, so that ἱ remains only from metrical necessity, or in names belonging to the oldest mythology (Πανδῖων, Ὑπερίων, Ταλαῖονίδης, Ἰσιονίδης, κυλλοποδίων—a hypocoristic name, —ἰουπτίωνα).

A further long discussion is devoted to the vowel-length of verbs in -ίω, -ύω. These have to be treated under different heads according as they are primitive or denominative, and roots originally ending in a consonant have to be distinguished from the vocalic.

(α) Primitive verbs. The original quantity of the root-vowel can be traced, and is always preserved. The verb εὖω (εὐίω, for the forms are confused in our authorities) represents five different roots: (1) *dhūs*, *fūr-ere*: in A 342 ὀλοῖσθι φρεσὶ εὖει (read εὐίει from *dhūs-jo*): εὐιάς, εὐσολα. (2) *dhū* = *rush*, εὖω, εὖ-νω. (3 and 4) *dhū*, *dhūs*, both meaning *breathe*, *smoke* (θυμός *spirit* = *fūmus*: but θυμός *anger* = *dhus-mos* from (1); Lett. *dusma* = *anger*). (5) *dhū* = *sacrifice* (εὖος, εὐσίη). But the different senses cannot always be clearly separated; e.g. περιπρὸ γὰρ ἔρχεῖ ὅθεν (εὐθεν) may belong either to (1) or (2).

The following verbs always have *ū* except before *c*: δύω (δύω Σ 192, φ 559, δύηι A 194 are aor. subj. from ἔδυν, and retain the long vowel of the indic.); *Ferū* = *draw* (with a by-form *Frū*): in Δ 492 we should perhaps read ἐτέρωσσε *Φερύπτα* from a non-thematic \**Férūmi*: so Ψ 21 θεῦρο *Φερύς*, Ω 16 τρίς δὲ *Φερύς* (here as aorist). Perf. and plupf. εἶρου for *FeFrū*-, εἶρῦτο εἶρῦμένα. In εἰρύσεται *ū* has become *ŭ* before the vowel, but in Ξ 75 εἰρύσεται has *ū* from analogy of the other forms. λύω: ἀλλύσκεν, ἀλλύουσιν take *ū* from metrical necessity: for ἔλυεν Ψ 513 read ἔλυσεν, λύει (*ū*) in η 74 is wrongly imitated from λύω Ξ 205. Thus λύω, εὖω (sacrifice), δύω, φύω (all with *ŭ*) follow the analogy of verbs in -άω, -έω, -όω. βουλυτόνδε (Π 779) has *ū* by nature, not metrical necessity, as is shewn by Aristoph. *Av.* 1500; it is not from the adj. λυτός, but from a subst. (properly a *nomen actionis*) which takes the long vowel as elsewhere. For the root πνῦ = *be vigorous*, beside πνῦ, πνεF, *breathe*, see note on E 697, and for (c)ερῦ, (c)ρῦ on A 216. In all these cases the original quantity of the *u* is preserved throughout.

(β) All denominative verbs in -ύω from stems in -*u* originally had *ŭ* (with -ύσω, -ῦσα), and this quantity is retained not only in Homer but in Pindar and the older epic and lyric poets generally; the *ū* in the present is an Attic innovation, due to the analogy of fut. and aorist (note that the defective μεθύω, which has no sigmatic forms, retains *ŭ* throughout). Hence in ἐρητύοντο, ἐπ-ἰεύουσι (Σ 175) the lengthening of the *u* is due solely to metrical necessity.

The same holds good of denominative verbs in -ίω (-ίω, -ίσα, -ῖα in Homer). μῆνιε B 769 is a late form (see note there). The defective ἐσείειν, with no sigmatic forms, never has *ī*, like μεθεύειν. κονίω is from an *c*-stem, for κονί-ζω (κονιά = κonic-ιά, cf. σποδιή by σποδός). ὄτομαι (*ī*) is of unknown origin, but evidently for ὄc-ζομαι, cf. ἀν-ώc-τος, ὠc-σθην. The act. ὄτω (*ī*) seems to follow the analogy of ἄτω.

Of primitive verbs in **-ίω, τί-ω** *honour* has **ī**, which, however, may be split into **-īj-** before vowels. The root is *kēi*: *kī* (Skt. *cāyati*) and different from *kēi*, *kī* (Skt. *cāyate*), root of **τεί-νυμι, τείω, τίσις** etc., which means *avenge, exact payment* (whence also **ποινή**). Here our MSS. nearly always write **-ι-** for **-ει-**. The similarity of the two verbs in Greek has caused some interchange of meaning, e.g. Γ 288 **τιμῆν τινέμεν** (**τί-νFέμεν**) is evidently meant for an etymological play, and **ποιῆς** in 290 is equivalent to **τιμῆς**.

**φθίσις** (**ī**) from **ἔφθοιεν** is due to metrical necessity.

Derivative verbs in **-άω, -έω, -όω** equally retain the short vowel. **νεικείω, πενθεύω, ἀκείόμενος** are, of course, from **-εσ** stems (**-είω = εσ-ῖω**). **ὀκνεύω**, however (E 255), is an exception, apparently due to the false analogy of these verbs. **ἀχρεῖον** B 269 is a participle from **ἀχρεῖω = to be colourless** (**ἀχρής : χρώς : ἀναιδής : αἰδώς**): thus **ἀχρεῖον ἰδών = with pallid look**, cf. **πεφροντικός βλέπει** Eur. *Alc.* 773, **σεσαρὸς γελᾶν** Theokr. xx. 14, **κλέπτον βλέπει** Aristoph. *Fesp.* 900, and various other similar cases. So **ἀχρεῖον δ' ἐγέλασσε**, a *pallid laugh*, σ 163. **μαχεύόμενος** like **μαχεύμενος** is explained by metrical necessity.

In the case of denominative verbs in **-άω**, there are some exceptions hard to explain, except by the analogy of primitive verbs with long stems such as **μνά-ομαι** *remember*, **μαι-μά-ω, ζώω** for **ζά-ω**, etc.; e.g. **μενοινώω** (for **-άω** or **-ήω**), **μνά-ομαι** *woo* (if for **\*βνά-εσθαι**, from **βανᾶ = γυνή**). **ἡβώομι, ἡβώωσα, ἡβώοντες** (**ω** for **ᾱ**) might seem to be excused by metrical necessity, but this Schulze does not admit in the absence of analogies in **-α-** verbs.

In **-ο-** verbs **ἰθρώ-ω** and **γελώ-ω** are from **-ω** stems. The only difficulty is caused by **ὑπνῶντας** (Ω 344 **τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνῶντας ἐγείρει**). Schulze remarks that a magic wand is not needed to wake a sleeper; he suggests that **ὑπνῶων** is a desiderative like **ὀψείων, ἀκουσεύων**, deriving it (after Wackernagel) from **ὑπνωι ἰόν**. *Hermes* does not *wake the sleepers*, but *quickens the tired*, those who from weariness are falling asleep.

C (1). *A short syllable can stand in place of a long one in the first arsis* (**στήχος ἀκέφαλος**).

In this and the next two sections it is to be understood that the short syllable is not lengthened as in the preceding, but remains short. Hence in the tradition either **ε** and **ο** are not changed to **ει** and **ου**, or if **ει** and **ου** are found we ought to write **ε** and **ο** for them.

**ἐπίτονος** μ 423, **ζεφυρίη** η 119, **τὰ περὶ καλὰ** Φ 352, **τὸν ἕτερον** ε 266 would be sufficiently excused by metrical necessity. But this does not account for **εἴανοῦ** (**Φεανοῦ**) Π 9, **ῖομεν** B 440, and five other places, **ἐπεὶ διὰ** often (*not* from **ἐπFει**), **θαῖζων** Λ 497 (**ᾱ** about 20 times), **ἀεῖδνι** ρ 519 (**ᾱ** about 100 times), **διὰ** Γ 357 etc., **φίλε** (**φίλε**) Δ 155 etc., **Ἄρες** E 31, **λύτο** (**λῦτο**) Ω 1, (**βορέης** with synizesis? I 5, Ψ 195), **Οὔλυμπόνδ'** Θ 439 (see under A 2), (**κάος ἔεεσ'**? X 332), (**στροφάετ'** X 557? see on O 666), **κλύτε** (**κλύτε**) *passim*, **εῖρυσα** (**Φέρυσα**) Δ 9, Ξ 32, Π 863, **κπέιο** (**κπέο**) K 285, **οὔρεος** (*only* in the first foot, else always **ὄρεος**: in ζ 102 read **οὔρεα**. **οὔρεα** for **ὄρεα** is explained by the three short syllables. But **οὔρεαι** is a difficulty, as there is here no metrical necessity, the



alternative form ὄρρσι being at hand. Schulze hesitatingly suggests that for οὔρσι we should always read οὔρεϊ—in Ω 614 ἐν οἰοπόλοισιν ὄρρσιν, as λ 574).

C (2). *A short syllable can stand in place of a long one in the first thesis (στίχος λαγαρός).*

Schulze recapitulates the evidence given by Hartel and others shewing that the very weakest "position" is sufficient to lengthen a short syllable at the end of the first foot, e.g. πολλὰ λισσόμενος (λ for cλ?), πολλὰ ῥυστάζεσκεν (Fpu-) Ω 755, πυκνὰ (F)ρωγαλέην ι 438. So perhaps χεῖρα FFην (cFην) I 420, Ζεὺς δὲ FFὸν Α 533 for χεῖρα ἐήν, Ζεὺς δὲ ἐόν, and ὅς τε FFᾶς θ 524. But the instances he quotes to shew that a real trochee could stand for a spondee at the beginning of the line are very scanty and almost all more or less conjectural—generally from the *Odyssey*. His strongest case is Αἴαν Ἰδομενεῦ τε Ψ 493 (where see note). In Α 187, 202 he thinks that the original reading was ὄφρα μέν κεν, written perhaps ὄφρα μμέν κεν (cf. ἐνιμμεγάροισιν) and so corrupted to ὄφρ' ἂν μέν κεν.

C (3). *A short vowel can stand for a long one in the sixth arsis (στίχος μεῖουρος).*

Here the evidence is somewhat stronger. The chief instances are αἰόλον ὄφιν Μ 208 (see note there), εἴω, -νι (for ἔω, subj. of εἰμί, see Η 340, I 245, Ψ 47), κἀνεια (κ 355) from κἀνεον. κυφειοῦ (κ 389) from κυφέον, νέμεσσι Ζ 335 (generally explained by the false analogy of the verb νεμεσσάομαι), οὐδὸν for ὀδὸν ρ 196, ἑάγη Α 559, ἐφείς Α 51 (ἦμι elsewhere always has ῑ except under metrical necessity, ἰέμεναι, μεοιέμεναι, μεοίετε, etc., whereas *Φίεμαι* = *aim at* always has ῑ). ὕδωρ has ῡ only at the end of the line, ὕδατος only at the beginning, ὕδατι (by metrical necessity) in any place; the only exceptions are Φ 300, where read ὕδατος πλῆτ' for πλῆθ' ὕδατος, and ε 475; and the phrase *Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*, which is invariably treated as a single word *Στυγοςὕδωρ*, with the υ lengthened by metrical necessity. Schulze points out that *Στύς* is never used alone by Homer; to him the name of the river is "Water of Loathing"; cf. *Κυνόκουρα*, *Ἑλλήσποντος*, and Herod. vi. 74 ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει λέγεται εἶναι τῶν Ἀρκάδων τὸ *Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*. *Στύς* first appears by itself in Hes. *Theog.* 389.—Other possible instances of the licence are *διδούναι* Ω 425, ἄδην or ἄδδην Ε 203.

"*Ἀρης*: the α must be short by nature, as it is never long in thesis in Homer. It is used long (1) in the first and sixth arsis, (2) in the forms *Ἀρνος*, *Ἀρνή*, *Ἀρνα*. This suggests that (1) follows from the licence allowed in these places, and that *Ἀρνος*, *Ἀρνή*, *Ἀρνα* with ā represent *Ἀρεός*, *Ἀρεΐ*, *Ἀρεά* from a nom. \**Ἀρε(ς)-εως*, with ā lengthened by necessity (-εος for -νος as in *Τυδέος*, *Ἀτρείος*). For the full discussion of this doubtful matter, however, reference must be made to the original.

*ἀνὴρ* like *Ἀρης* has ā only in the first or last place, except Μ 382, Ψ 112, μ 77. In the first we can read *ἀμφοτέρησιν ἀνὴρ ἔχοι*: in the second the phrase seems to be deduced from ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρες ἔσθλοι ὄροντο (γ 471, ξ 104). In the trisyllabic forms ā is permitted in any place whether the word ends with a vowel or consonant; *ἀνέρος* follows by

analogy from **ἀνέρι** the more easily, because both forms had been entirely supplanted in common use by **ἄνδρός, ἀνδρί**, so that consciousness of the real quantity was lost.

In spite of the extraordinary mastery of material and fertility of resource with which Schulze defends his theses, it is obvious that they are in very different degrees probable or proved, and some are in important respects hardly defensible. It will be sufficient here to mention a few of the broader difficulties raised by Schulze's position.<sup>1</sup>

A (1). As soon as Schulze admits the lengthening of the first syllable in trisyllabic and antispastic words, he abandons metrical necessity and sets up metrical convenience in its place. When once the Epic poets allowed themselves for convenience to use **ᾄορι** as a dactyl as well as an anapaest, they had really made the first syllable common for all poetical purposes; it is impossible to suppose that they were any longer governed by the stern conscientiousness which Schulze imputes to them, and refused to use **ᾄορος** as a dactyl before a vowel. The facts point in the same direction; apparent cases of such "forbidden" use are abundant, and a large part of Schulze's capacious book is occupied with heroic attempts to get rid of them. His treatment of **ἱερός** is a good instance. We may agree with him that the **ι** is naturally short, and was first lengthened for metrical convenience in the often-recurring form **ἱερά**. But the other cases of lengthening were certain to arise when once the idea had grown up that the **ι** was common—hence **ἱερός, ἱερόν**, and even **ἱεροῦ** as dactyls. The consequence seems, indeed, so inevitable that Schulze's struggles to evade it are most puzzling. In fact he has himself to admit the force of analogy in some cases, e.g. **εἰνὶ θρόνῳ**. Hence for all its ingenuity I regard his analysis of **ἱερός** as needless and entirely unconvincing, and still believe that while the *Iliad* was composing **ἱερός** always bore, more or less vividly, the sense of *holy*.

A (2). The forms **εἰλήλουθ-α, -ας, -εν, -μεν, -ώς, -ει** occur 30 times at the end of the line, **ἐπήλουθα, -ε** in the middle of the line only twice (*v* 257, *v* 191). It would seem more reasonable, therefore, to attribute the lengthening to the "fifth arsis" than to the antispastic form of the words, which in a majority of cases does not exist. It is then rarely transferred, when the **εἰ-** had been consecrated by usage, to other parts of the line. **Εἰλέθυσια** occurs only at the end of the line in Homer, and at the beginning in Hesiod. **Ἀπόλλωνος, -α, -ι** with **ᾱ** occur 11 times at the end, once at the beginning, and 6 times inside the line. All this points to a licence of lengthening spreading from the end of the line, while Schulze would have us believe that it began in the middle, where alone the antispastic character is felt. Only in the case of **Οὔλυμπος** does there seem to be ground for Schulze's theory, as **Οὔλύμποιο** occurs 14 times and **Οὔλυμπόδε** 8 inside the line against 10 and 2 at the end. But from these forms the **οὔ** clearly spread to the other cases at an early date. Schulze's attempts to get rid of the outstanding six cases are complete failures. In *Θ* 439 it appears that he would give

<sup>1</sup> See some very sound criticism in Danielsson *Zur metrischen Dehnung im älteren griechischen Epos*, Stockholm

1897, of which I have made free use in what follows.

completely different accounts of the **ou** according as we read **Οὐλύμπόνδ' ἐδίωκε** or **Οὐλύμπόνδε δίωκε**!

B (1) (2). Here there can be little question that the lengthening of the vowel in thesis originated as Schulze supposes in cases of absolute necessity. But again he seems to err in trying to introduce a too rigid limitation, and to deny metrical lengthening when the final syllable, though normally long or doubtful, is capable of being shortened; to admit, for instance, the lengthening in **πνείειν**, but to deny it to **πνείει**. His theory would be all the stronger for a little elasticity; though it must be said that in this particularly valuable section of the work the facts more nearly bear out the rigid conclusions than in other parts.

C (1) (2) (3). The evidence to shew that metrical lengthening can take place in the sixth arsis seems strong; but it is entirely against Schulze's theory that the vowel was left short in recitation, so that an iambus actually stood for a spondee. Such an assumption is almost incredible in itself, and with the single exception of **ῥῆς** M 208 the lengthening is always expressed in the traditional text by **ει** and **ου** for **ε** and **ο**. This is not the case in the first arsis, where in several cases the vowel is left short. But even here the lengthening prevails. I have therefore spoken throughout the notes of the lengthening in the first and sixth arsis, not of a short syllable in place of a long one. It need hardly be added that the "power" of a particular place to lengthen a syllable is a mere figure of speech, recording the fact that in this place an unexplained lengthening is so often found as to justify us in supposing that it is not merely our ignorance of the etymological or other cause which is to blame, but that a real licence, for some reason which we do not know, was in this place permitted.

With this caveat before him the student cannot fail to learn much from Schulze's important work, which must beyond question form the foundation of any future inquiries into the matters with which it deals. In details there is an enormous amount of fertile suggestion on which it has been in this brief abstract impossible to touch; much of it will doubtless be proved wrong, but in the meantime it has none the less an illuminating power.

## APPENDIX E

### NESTOR'S CUP

THE following illustrations throw light on the description of  $\Lambda$  632. Fig. 14 is the cup found at Mykene by Schliemann, see Schuchhardt p. 241; while the two ruder instances (from Helbig *H. E.*<sup>2</sup> p. 374),

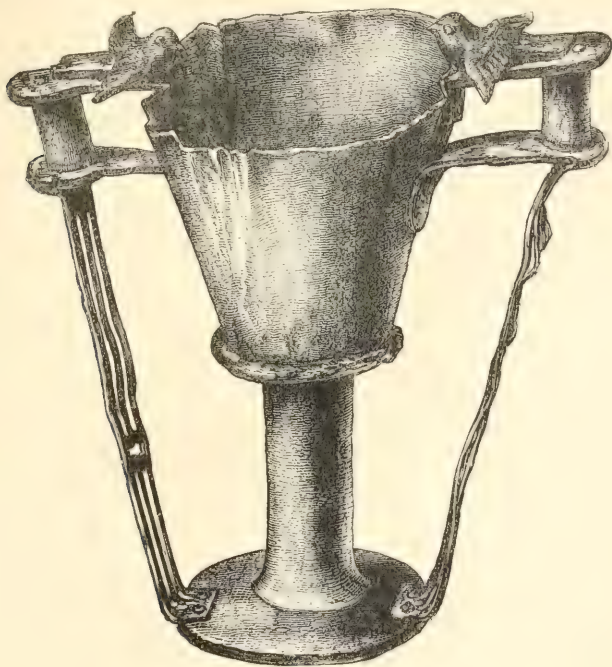


FIG. 14



illustrating the possible meaning of the **πυθιένες**, are both from tombs at Caere.

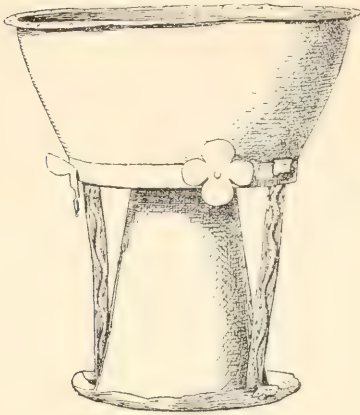


FIG. 15



FIG. 16

## APPENDIX F

A CONSIDERABLE papyrus of E has been published in the second volume of Grenfell and Hunt's *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, which appeared when the preceding sheets had already been passed for press. I add here for the sake of completeness such readings as should have appeared in the Apparatus. This MS. (which I call Pap. π) almost invariably writes ει for ι—a peculiarity which is not further noted.

4. θαίε : δαι. 16. δ' : ε' (*supr.* δ). 31. τειχεσιπλῆτα *supr.* β over π.  
 32. ἐάσομεν. 42 *om.* 43. τεκτονος erased, *supr.* μηονος. 57 *om.* 64.  
 εἴσπατα ἡδει. 68. νυξ. 75 *om.* in text: written in margin but marked for  
 insertion after 83. 87. ᾄμ : αν. 92. δ' : ε'. 104. θῆσα στήσασθαι (*supr.*  
 ε over -σac-). || βέλκος : μένος. 105. απορνύμενος. 118. θον δέ τε μ' (first  
 θ erased and τ *supr.*). 126 *om.* text, added in margin. 127. δ' *om.* 128.  
 γεινώσκοις. 132. θουρι *supr.* χαλκῳ. 141. ανχηστεῖναι. || κέχυνται :  
 τέτανται. 171. coi altered to τοι. 177. εστι, τ erased and c *supr.* 178. απο  
 altered to επι. 183. τ' : δ first hand, *supr.* τ. 200. τρωεσσιν ανα. 205.  
 εμελλεν. 210. ὅτε γ' ἴλιον altered to ὅτε εἴλιον? 221. επιβήσεται. 222. οἴ  
 οἴ. 227. επιβήσομε, *supr.* α over first ε, ο over ι, αι over last ε (i.e. αποβήσομαι).  
 231. ὕφ' : υ]π. 234. ποθεον]τες. 239. φ[ων]ήσαντες. || βαντες. 245.  
 εχοντας. 257. ω]κεας ιππους : α and υc erased, *supr.* ε and ι. 266. άριστοι,  
 ο altered to α and ο (or ω) *supr.* 285. ac[χ]ησεσθαι, *supr.* η over ac. 288.  
 π]ρίν γ. 293. εξελ[υ]θη.

END OF VOL. I







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